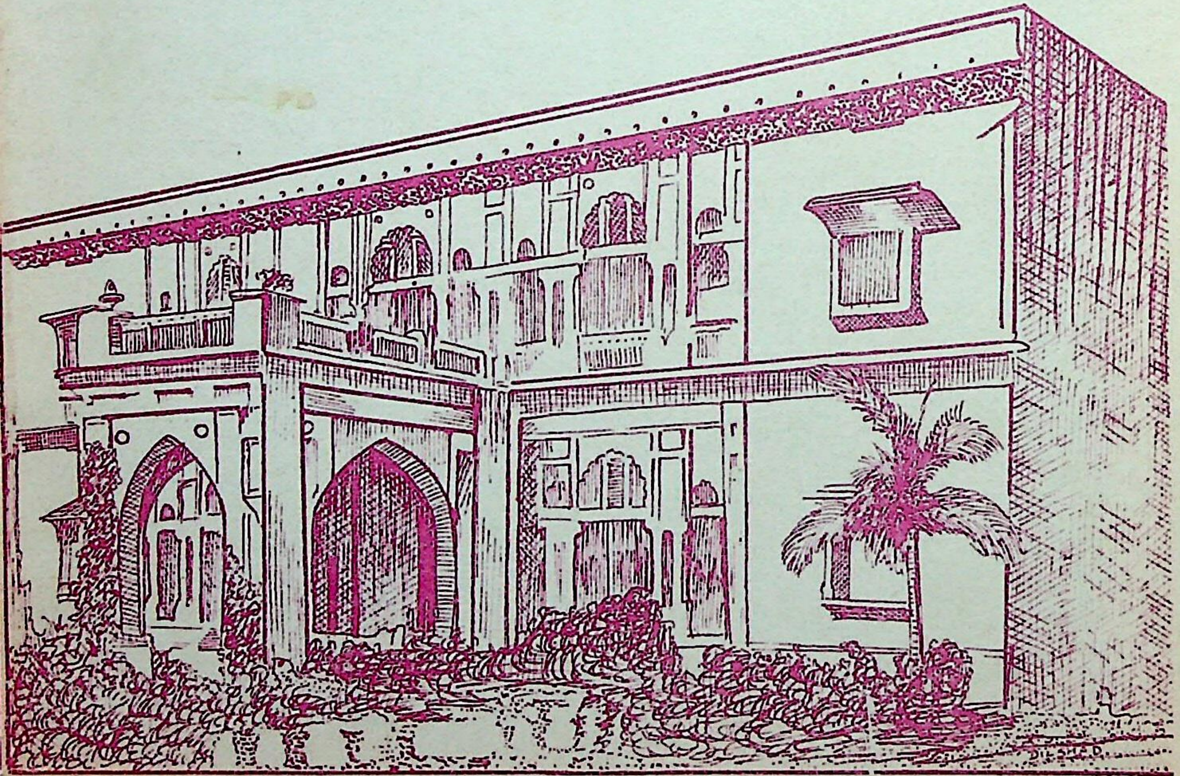
L-LI January-December (1994-1995)

JOURNAL OF THE GANGANATHA JHA KENDRIYA SANSKRITA VIDYAPEETHA

EDITORS

Gaya C. Tripathi
Maya Malaviya



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।। गोविन्दाभिनन्दनम् ।।

(प्रथमो भागः)

Govindâbhinandanam

(Part I)

Prof. Govinda Chandra Pande
Felicitation Volume

Essays on Archaeology, History & Culture, Religion, Philosophy, Art & Architecture, Language and Literature

।। गोविन्दाभिनन्दनम् ।।

Govindâbhinandanam

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Govindâbhinandanam

(Part I)

Journal of Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Vol L-LIII

(Complete in two Parts)

Part I

(Vols. L-LI)

Part II

(Vol. LII-LIII)

Foreword

The Vidyapeetha feels itself honoured by bringing out a Volume of its *Journal* to felicitate Prof. G.C. Pande, one of the foremost Indologists of our country. Prof. G.C. Pande, who has adorned not only the chair of Professor and H.O.D. of Ancient Indian History and Culture at several universities of North India, but has also held the august office of the Vice Chancellor of the Rajasthan and Allahabad Universities, is acclaimed the world over for his original contributions to the various fields of Indic learning. Whereas his expositions, on the one hand, are deeply embedded in and are strongly inspired by the ancient Indian tradition, they are at the same time marked with a novel interpretation of and a fresh approach to the subject. He is thus a rare combination of an ancient Indian Pandit with a modern savant trained on western lines. A perusal of his impressive bio-data published elsewhere in this Volume shall give the reader an idea of his grand professional career as well as his multifarious and invaluable contributions to the field of Indological research.

Habent libri fata sua : 'the books have their own fate', this Latin saying holds absolutely good for the publication of this Felicitation Volume. The idea for presenting a *Festschrift* to Prof. Pande was first mooted as early as 1989 by late Prof. K.D. Bajpai of Saugar, that great doyen of Indic studies who has made an indeliable mark in a number of fields pertaining to ancient Indian culture. After his sudden and sad demise, his worthy son Dr. Santosh Bajpai handed over the whole collection of articles to a publisher of Jaipur who, however, returned the whole packet after three years. Dr. Bajpai then contacted Prof U.N. Rai of Allahabad University and requested him to get the Job done at Allahabad. Prof. Rai thereupon established contacts with the Principal of this Vidyapeetha in 1993 and asked him to undertake this job. At that time the Institute was hardly getting any grant towards publication from the Govt., so the Principal was highly reluctant to enter into this expensive endeavour. But in the hope of the better times to come, he undertook the Job. The progress of composing was very slow, firstly because there were no good presses in the city having

computer programs with diacritical marks and secondly because the whole work was to be done mainly on credit. The Principal of the Vidyapeetha in the meanwhile was transferred to Lucknow retarding the progress of the work which could restart only when he joined the Vidyapeetha after one year. However, one of the presses after composing three hundred pages then went bankrupt and closed its business while the other was burnt down together with the composed matter of about two hundred pages in computers. The Principal then contacted a number of publishers in Delhi for exploring the possibility of entrusting the Job to them but none of them showed any interest in its publication without a heavy subsidy which we were not in a position to pay. Finding no way out, we had to decide to issue the *Festschrift* in form of some combined issues of our Journal and we handed over the whole matter to Sri Upendra Tripathi of Shakuntal Offset who have carried out the Job to the best of their capabilities without till now receiving a single penny from the Institute towards its printing costs. We still do not know how shall we repay our debts to the printers, but the Volume is at least now out. At times not only the authors and other persons connected with the affair, but we ourselves lost hopes and thought that it shall perhaps never see the light of the day, but a seemingly impossible task has accomplished itself by the grace of God and we look ahead hopefully for the solution of our financial problems. we are very grateful to all of our well wishers who stood by us during all these long years of turmoil and trouble, especially to Prof. U.N. Rai who was always a source of great inspiration and encouragement to us and without whose constant insistence the Volume would perhaps still be languishing in Press.

Allahabad
in March, 2000

GAYA CHARAN TRIPATHI
MAYA MALAVIYA

Govindâbhinandanam

Prof. Govinda Chandra Pande
Felicitation Volume
Part I

Edited by

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Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha
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Dr. B.N. PURI
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EMERITUS PROFESSOR

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MY FRIEND GOVINDA CHANDRAJI

A short-statured, soft spoken bespectacled Professor walking at a slow pace and with a composed posture symbolises the septagenarian Professor Emeritus Govind Chandra Pandey with all the traits of an elderly scholar sound and solid, noted for his versatile learning and a master of several languages. Sanskrit is his greatest forte and he can lecture in the Devavāṇī with facile. The family background has inducted in him the value-based saṁskāras, a source of great strength in the modern life style of tension and trivulation.

Dr. Pande switched over from one situation to another more as stepping stones for progress and prosperity. From Allahabad to Gorakhpur and thence on to Jaipur was the natural flow in his life. The culmination point was the Vice-Chancellorship of the Rajasthan University at Jaipur. From sublime to noble was his return to his *alma mater*, as Professor in the department of ancient History. Here also he was Vice-Chancellor for sometime.

My personal contacts with Govindachandraji developed in the seventies when I was back in Lucknow as Professor-Head in the same discipline. He always acceded to my request to conduct the M.A. Final viva-voce examination for a couple of years. I also visited his university and delivered a couple of lectures.

Prof. Pande has attained the state of *sthita-prajña* symbolising the equanimity of mind shorn of any tension and always lying in a relaxed mood. Even illness has never deterred him in his academic pursuits.

Still full of life and years to follow, I as an elderly person bless him for long life and prosperity in the company of his life partner-devoted and jovial-to whom he owes much for all the love and care.

□□□

Dr. B.N. PURI
M.A., M.Litt.(Oxon), D.Phil. (Oxon)
EMERITUS PROFESSOR

Phone: [illegible]
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□□□

PROFESSOR G.C. PANDE

UPENDRA THAKUR

I feel a deep sense of gratitude and regard in offering my humble felicitations to Professor G.C. Pande with whom I had the privilege of working in close contact when I joined the University of Gorakhpur in 1955 as Assistant Professor in the Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology of which he was the founder Professor and Head. Since the day I joined the University his profound scholarship, his great but unassuming personality and his affectionate behaviour drew me nearer and nearer. Soft-spoken, cool, calm and collected, he looked a *sthitaprajña* (a highly evolved soul) and a rare combination of a scholar and a gentleman.

As the university was newly founded at a place (Gorakhpur) which was then a queer conglomoration of medievalism and modernism, we had naturally to face many difficulties in the beginning as regards residence, library and other facilities, but Professor Pande was always there to solve our guide, friend and philosopher. It was a rare sight to find members belonging to different disciplines of the University coming to our Department to discuss their academic problems with him. Be it any branch of Indology, Political Science, Buddhism or Hindi, Urdu, English and other Western literatures-Professor Pande armed with the latest information in the field,was there to give his expert opinion. A widely read scholar and a great linguist, he always hade new interpretations to the various problems of Indology which were at once refreshing and inspiring. In our private conversation in the university hostel, where we stayed in the beginning, we (myself, Dr. Vishwambhara Nath Tripathi, Dr. Dayanath Tripathi, Dr. S.R. Goyal, Prof. Ilahi of the Department of Urdu, and Dr. Sachchidanand Mishra) lovingly called him an 'encyclopaedia' from which one can derive all sorts of knowledge.

Extemely simple and unassuming in habits and always ready to help his students and colleagues in the acquirement of knowledge and their promotion in life Professor Pande indeed belongs to that species of saintly scholar - teachers which is now almost extinct.

I worked with Professor Pande only for a short period, say about a year, but the impression he has left on me I would treasure till the last day of my life. A great scholar but still greater as a man he always reminds me of the following verse in the *Gītā* (II. 64) :

"रागद्वेषवियुक्तैस्तु विषयानिन्द्रियैश्चरन् ।
आत्मवश्यैर्विधेयात्मा प्रसादमधिगच्छति ।"

□□□

PROFESSOR G.C. PANDE: A PHILOSOPHER-HISTORIAN EXTRAORDINARY

SHANKAR GOYAL

Jodhpur

Our century has been shaped by numerous thinkers whose originality of thought has left its mark on every aspect of our lives from the environment, to the revolution in education, to images of self, to the cosmic significance of our place in the universe. After Shri Aurobindo, Professor G.C. Pande is such a living legend in our own country[1]. We Indians owe a great debt of gratitude to

---

1. Professor G.C. Pande was born at Allahabad in 1923. After a brilliant educational career at the University of Allahabad, he worked there as Lecturer and Reader in the Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology from 1947 to 1957. Became Professor of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology at the University of Gorakhpur in 1957, and from there was invited by the University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, as Tagore Professor of Indian Culture and Head of the Departmant of History and Indian Culture in 1962. Worked there till 1978 including a spell as Vice-Chancellor of the University (1974-77). Moved to his *alma mater*, the University of Allahabad, in 1978 as Professor of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology. Retired from there in 1983 while officiating as Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University. Later on became Visiting Gaekwad Professor of Indian Culture and Civilization Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi. Was honoured with the National Fellowship ICHR, New Delhi (1985-88). Presently is Chairman, Allahabad Museum Society, Allahabad.
Professor Pande was elected General President of the Bharatiya Darshana Parishad for its Baroda Session in 1966. He was the Principal Speaker at the Congress of Religions at Colombo 1968, and in 1972 was invited by the Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R., to participate in a conference on Central Asian History at Ashkabad. Again in September 1975 he was invited to Zürich to participate in an international colloquium on Inter-Cultural Research. Presided over the Sixth Session of Rajasthan History Congress, 1974. Presided over the Dharwar Session of the Indian Archaeological Society and over the Indian History and Culture Society in 1978. Was invited for conferences and symposia to New Zealand (1975), Zürich (1976), Mexico (1980) and Hawaii (1981-1989). Invited to become Vice-Chancellor, Rajasthan University, Jaipur, for a second term in February 1982 but declined. Was conferred honorary degree of Vidyā Vāridhi (equivalent to D. Litt.) by Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra in 1981, Honorary Sāhitya Vāchaspati by the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Sāhitya Sammāna by Hindi Sansthan, Lucknow and Śaṅkara award of Rs. One lac in 1992 by K.K.Birla Foundation.

him for his massive contributions to knowledge and scholarship in the past four decades or so. But for his authoritative exposition our understanding of ancient Indian History and culture, especially the history of ancient Indian religious and philosophical thought, would not have been so deep.

A historian by profession, Professor Pande is a versatile scholar and a philosopher, thinker and poet by inclination. He has a deep knowledge of several languages, both Indian and foreign, literatures of various cultures, mathematics, astrology etc. It is indeed difficult, nay impossible to shed light on his multidimensional scholarship or to study even briefly all his works in a small paper[2]. We are, therefore, here taking up only some of his more important works to give an idea of the nature of his contribution to philosophy, philosophy of history, theory of culture and political philosophy.

Professor Pande's first publication *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism* (Allahabad, 1957) was widely acclaimed in and outside India and continues to be an authoritative work on the subject. Since then he has published numerous significant works of enduring value. His second work *Bauddha Dharma ke Vikās kā Itihās* (Lucknow, 1963) is a detailed study of the growth and development of Buddhist religion and philosophy[3]. Mrs. Rhys Davids had raised the all-important question: what was the original message of Buddhism? This pointed query had rudely disturbed the almost settled attitudes of Buddhist scholarship. As soon as it is admitted that the original mandate of Buddhism might have been something different from what it is traditionally reported to have been, we are forced to adopt a more critical, a more historical outlook towards our texts. The adoption of this approach, of which Mrs. Rhys David's was the pioneer, attracted Professor Pande towards a re-study of the problem of Buddhist origins. He realized that even the earliest strata of the Buddhist canon are of uncertain date and heterogeneous in nature. Mrs. Rhys Davids had drawn attention to the fact that the Nikāyas do not preach a uniform set of doctrines.

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2. Apart from about two dozen books Professor Pande has published over 65 papers on Buddhism, philosophy, philosophy of history, social and cultural history and theoretical aspects of Art and Education.

3. During these years two collections of his poems entitled *Agnibīja* (Varanasi, 1962) and *Kshaṇa aur Lakshaṇa* (Delhi, 1964) were also published. Later he also published a collection of his poems in Sanskrit entitled *Astāchalīyam* from Varanasi.

Professor Pande conclusively showed that they contain within themselves the seeds of multiform growth. A historical approach to ancient Buddhism, therefore, entails the stratification of the Nikāyas and the Āgamas. In his *Origins* Professor Pande attempted this task with reference to the Nikāyas which bears at every inch a stamp of high quality and original thinking. When Professor Pande started working on his doctoral dissertation the discoveries in the Indus Valley had revolutionized our perspective of the foundations of Indian religion and culture. They had shown that a developed non-Vedic culture once existed in prehistoric India. This invalidated the common assumption that all higher thought in India existing before Buddha must necessarily have had a Vedic origin. This was what Professor Pande called 'a veritable Copernican revolution.' In fact, civilization in India, as elsewhere, has been a composite creation. Numerous races and cultural communities have met and struggled and mingled in the long history of Indian culture which has progressed through the synthesis of diverse strands. Professor Pande reviewed from this standpoint the development of Vedic religion and culture and of the social and intellectual tendencies of the age of Buddha and Mahāvīra.

Although a great deal had earlier been written on the life of Buddha, it had remained a desideratum to correlate Buddha's life and quest, experience and mission, with his teachings. In his *Origins* Professor Pande has successfully attempted this task. There has been much controversy over the correct interpretation of the Four Noble Truths, Eightfold Path, Pratītyasamutpāda and Nirvāṇa as taught by Buddha himself. The ancient canonical texts had themselves not quite agreed on these points which is understandable enough since the texts in question continued to be expanded and elaborated after Buddha's demise. The 'original gospel' assumed various forms in the course of its development. Professor Pande has argued that unless the ancient Buddhist ideas are analyzed with reference to their historical context it will hardly be possible to trace firmly their original foundations. In his *Origins* he has also attempted a brief analysis of certain historical problems arising out of the early development of Buddhism using Tibetan and Chinese sources also, as far as possible. Professor Pande's classical work, therefore, consists of organically connected historical studies relating to the origins of Buddhism. Here, it is the doctrinal rather than the institutional aspect of Buddhism that is mainly considered. The subject-matter is for the greater part of a literary and religio-philosophic character, but the treatment is intended to be primarily historical.

Professor Pande's *Origins* and *Buddha Dharma ke Vikās kā Itihāsa* were followed by his two works namely *The Meaning and Process of Culture* (Agra, 1972) and *Mūlya-Mīmāṁsā* (Analysis of Value) (Jaipur, 1973). During this period he also translated into Hindi *Apoha Siddhi of Ratnakīrti*, a classical Buddhist text on Logic, (Jaipur, 1972) and *Nyāyabindu of Dharmakīrti*, the most celebrated Buddhist text on Logic (Jaipur, 1973), both with original exposition, commentary and critical introductions. The University Grants Commission, Government of India, awarded Rs. 10,000 to Professor Pande for his *Mūlya-Mīmāṁsā* for outstanding and original writing on philosophy in Hindi. The study values of various cultural traditions is a comparatively new branch of philosophy and there is hardly any work in any language which deals with it thoroughly. Professor Pande's *Mūlya Mīmāṁsā* deals with various dimensions and aspects of value factor in a culture with a dialectical and logical approach and opens new vistas for philosophers and mature thinkers.

In *The Meaning and Process of Culture* Professor Pande has argued that culture is the social expression of value-seeking and history is its process. Value, again, is intrinsic only in the Self. In this sense the quest for self-realization is the deepest motivating force of history. Self is the eternal and universal consciousness underlying that flux of ideas and experiences which constitutes history. The distinction between 'selves' or between 'self' and 'nature' is the product of analysis within experience. Cultural differences arise from the manner in which social experience is analyzed and articulated into concepts, symbols and attitudes. According to him, if this view of history were to be accepted, historiography would be more akin to the philosophical criticism of ideas and symbols as expressed in institutions, philosophies, religions, art, etc., than to the scientific endeavour to discover the laws of the 'motion of society'. The uniqueness of this view consists in the 'contextual' character of historical meaning and the dialectical character of its process.

About this time, with his colleagues Professor Pande also brought out a much needed volume in Hindi entitled *Itihās : Svarūpa evaṁ Siddhānta (History : Nature, and Principles*, Jaipur, 1973). The work contains valuable research papers of Professor Pande himself, Professor Daya Krishna, Shri Yash Dev Shalya and Drs. Gurudev Singh, G.S.P.Mishra, M.R.Singh etc. on philosophy of history and historiography. Professor Pande himself wrote four articles on the nature of historical knowledge, historical process and historical explanation.

In 1977 Professor Pande delivered lectures on Śramaṇism and its contribution to Indian Culture which were published by the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, in 1978 as *Śramaṇa Tradition and its Contribution to Indian Culture.* A year earlier was published his R.K. Jain Memorial Lectures on Jainism by the University of Delhi, Delhi. In his *Śramaṇa Tradition* Professor Pande dealt with the Sramaṇic outlook on life and its impact on Vedic throught as developed in the Upanishads. Here he has shown that Śramaṇism constitutes a system of universal, rational and ethical religion which is wholly non-sectarian, as applicable and relevant today as it was 2500 years ago. He also deals with the Śramaṇic critique of Brāhmaṇism and casteism, validity of the Vedas and idea of God. He opines : Śramaṇic atheism is not a variety of irreligion. It faces the evil and suffering of life squarely and attributes it to human failings rather than to the mysterious design of an unknown being. It stresses the inexorableness of the moral law. No prayers and worship are of any avail against the force of Karman. It emphasises self-reliance in the quest of salvation. Man needs to improve himself by a patient training of the will and the purification of feelings. Such purification leads to an inward illumination of which the power is innate in the soul or mind. This is quite different from the Vedic view where illumination comes from outside, either from an eternally revealed word or from the grace of God. Professor Pande's Introduction to this work is also thought-provoking. Therein he brings out the distinction between culture and civilization, and shows how they are inextricably intertwined in the historical process. Again, he successfully attempts to demonstrate the origin, development and dialactical interweaving of two attitudes of Pravṛtti and Nivṛtti in Indian Culture. In this work he has also opined that the Dharma which Aśoka sought to preach in his edicts represents the quintessence of the Śramaṇic ethos for lay life.

Professor Pande delivered the first of Hiranand Sastri Memorial Lectures at Vatsal Pratishthan, New Delhi, in 1981. The lectures were published as *Bhāratīya Paramparā ke Mūla Svara (Basic Notes of Indian Tradition*, 2nd edn., New Delhi, 1982). It discusses comprehensively the main planks of Indian culture namely spirituality, Yoga, ethics, social reality, aesthetics and view of history. The originality and deep thinking of Professor Pande reflected in each page of this work earned for him the famous Shankar award of Rs. One lac. It removes numerous misconceptions generally prevalent about Indian culture and makes everyone sit up and think afresh on the problems touched in it.

In 1982 Professor Pande lectured on *Jaina Political Thought* for Prakrit Bharati (published from Jaipur in 1984). In it he has traced the development of Jaina political thought within the context of ancient Indian tradition. He has also drawn attention to its universal and theoretical significance and to the richness and creative possibilities of the Jaina tradition. Here Professor Pande has made no attempt to delve into chronological problems or textual details. Rather he has brought out broad trends and features of Jaina political thought which appear to be of crucial significance from the standpoint of political theory. In his concluding remarks on the relevance of Jaina political thought he writes: "From the foregoing survery it would seem to emerge that despite the philosophical originality of the jaina tradition when Jaina thinkers of the classical age turned to the consideration of specifically political problems the horizons of their thought tended to be limited by the actual political conditions then obtaining and the widely prevalent common conceptual framework of the *nīti* tradition. Thus, what thinkers like Somadeva and Hemachandra did was to largely adept and reform a more or less common tradition of political thought. The sharp originality of the Āgamic age tended to be obscured by the broad eclecticism of the Classical age. Indeed, modern interpreters tend to identify Jaina political thought with the ideas of the *nīti* works and seeing only an ethical point of view in the *āgamas*, disregard them for purposes of reconstructing the history of Jaina political thought. Thus the most vital aspect of the jaina tradition tends to be obscured.

"One consequence of this course of historical development was that the relativistic logic of jaina philosophy was not explicitly sought to be applied to political questions. This is a lacuna which modern jaina thinkers need to fill and it is bound to be of great consequence from at least a methodological point of view. All sciences which seek to understand human behaviour have to face its puzzling reality. It seems to be the focal point of scarcely concealed contradictions."

1984 saw yet another substantial two-work volume of Professor Pande. It is entitled *Foundations of Indian culture* (Vol. I: *Spiritual Vision and Symbolic Forms in Ancient India* and Vol. II: *Dimensions of Ancient Indian Social History*, New Delhi, 1984). In this work he has brought to fore his wide range of scholarship, masterly grasp of the original sources and deep understanding to bear upon the intricate problem of the foundations of Indian culture. The work displays a rich, refined, subtle and well organized pattern. These two volumes

together by him may be described as search for the original ideational foundations of Indian Culture. In a way this work recalls the tradition of Coomaraswamy but seeks to join it to the mainstream of critical history - It argues that the living continuity of Indian Culture is rooted in a unique spiritual vision and social experience. Indian Culture is neither the result of merely accidental happenings through the centuries, nor a mere palimpsest of migrations and invasions. It is, in its essence, a development of foundational ideas constituting a creative matrix. Behind its changing historical forms lies a deep and persistent source of creativity which is spiritual in character.

Volume I, subtitled *Spiritual Vision and Symbolic Forms in Ancient India*, has ben divided into two parts. Part I deals with spiritual praxis *(Sādhanā)* and vision *(Parāvidyā)* and part II focusses on symbolism and expression. In the Preface to this volume Professor Pande has succinctly defined his methodological premises: "Despite the radical significance of social being, it has to be reached and understood in terms of a tradition of social experience and awareness". The observation of Professor Pande cannot easily be denied and overlooked that the category of social being has a meaning only in correlation with social consciousness. He propounds the thesis that Sādhanā or Yoga constituted in some sense a universal path of process of seeking and obtaining spiritual vision and inner transformation. The Indian conception of cultural tradition has been viewed as that of an essentially suprasensuous and rational knowledge which laid down the norms to be followed. Here also his reconstruction of the Śramaṇic tradition, represents one of his enduring contributes to the history of the development of Indian religious and philosophical thought. In his opinion, the integrated or synoptic Vedic vision and the Śramaṇic vision of transcendence constituted the fundamental matrix of Indian culture. The interaction of the Vedic and the Śramaṇic traditions has been traced back to the Upanishads: the Śramaṇic tradition is found to have influenced the origins of Jainism, Buddhism, Śāṅkhya, Yoga, etc. Chapter 11 of his Spiritual Vision is of special significance for Indian philosophy. It discusses forms of rational knowledge as patterning data in search for value, characteristics of the Indian rational tradition, and the concept of causality in Indian philosophy. Professor Pande has clearly demonstrated how "the tradition of knowledge in India began with emphasis on intuition in the Vedic age, flowered into the philosophies and sciences of the Classical age, and then sank into scholasticism and superstition in the medieval period." In an illuminating manner he has also discussed the origin, nature, scope and development of the

traditional vidyās or śāstras, sciences or systems - Ānvīkshikī (logic and metaphysics), Trayī (Vedic learning), the six Vedāṅgas, Itihāsaveda, Vāstuśāstra, Vārtā, Daṇḍanīti, Arthaśāstra, Dharmaśāstra, Grammar, Āyurveda, Astronomy, Mathematics, etc. He is of the opinion that philosophic conception of knowledge and reality underlies the different forms of rational knowledge which the śāstras exhibit : even the knowledge of medicine, astronomy, mathematics and logic shows just a partial overlap with modern scientific knowledge in its vyāvahārika (empirical) aspect, but a distinct character as a logical or rational structure. In fact, "The radical distinction which modern thought draws between religious faith, philosophical speculation, moral wisdom and science does not obtain in ancient thought where the fundamental distinction is between mystical intuition and discursive knowledge, the latter comprising all forms of rational knowledge in a hierarchical unity and synthesizing within it the diverse strands of faith and experience in a single web of reasoning." In an Appendix to this Chapter he avers that, with their emphasis on the testimony of human experience and reason, the three heterodox systems of Indian philosophy - Lokāyata, Buddhism and Jainism-could have been held in different ways consistently with scientific progress.

In Volume II, subtitled *Dimensions of Ancient Indian Social History*, Professor Pande's approach to social history is characterized by a more embracing scheme into which both the historicity and the perennial ideality of the social tradition are sought to be subsumed. In his belief what is important for a historian of the ancient Indian social order is not his idealistic or materialistic approach, but his ability "to represent the historical articulation of ancient Indian social self-consciousness."

All in all, in *Foundations of Indian Culture* Indian culture in its essence has been viewed as a development of fundamental ideas constituting a creative matrix, a deep and persistent source of creativity, spiritual in character and lying behind the changing historical forms. The work reflects Professor Pande's remarkable capacity for perceiving a pattern in the crowded canvas of the cultural history of ancient India. The meticulous documentation, wealth of new insight, illuminating reflections and profound generalizations offered in it not only make a substantial contribution to the subject but also have the certain potentiality of stimulating further research.

An Approach to Indian Culture and Civilization (published by B.H.U., Varanasi, 1985) is Professor Pande's another monumental work on the

philosophical bases of Indian culture. To him Indian culture and civilization seem to be at cross-roads today. He has, therefore in this work attempted to analyze the nature of this crisis and seek a method along which the Indian tradition might be studied today and its relevance appreciated. This work of Professor Pande is divided in six chapters : Relevance and Essence, Pattern of Development, Role of Material conditions, Sense of Space and Cosmography, Sense of Time and History and Self-awareness and social Awareness. Here Professor Pande, who combines the best qualities of historian and philosopher, has presented a holistic view of Indian culture and civilization which underlines the central core without ignoring or minimizing the importance of details and developments that have occurred in the long course of centuries. The authentic treatment of Indian culture offered in this book certainly projects a much more correct image of India and sets the path for a true appreciation of its history and culture.

Among Professor Pande's significant contributions to Hindi philosophical literature mention must also be made to his M.M. Gopinath Kaviraj (New Delhi, 1989, Hindi translation published in 1993) in which he has delineated not only the life and personality of Gopinathji Kaviraj but has also brought out the most significant aspects of his thought and sādhanā. As Kavirājji was his paramaguru and he had the good fortune to be in close contact with him, his exposition and assessment of the philosophy of the great saint has acquired an authoritative character.

In recent years Professor Pande has been contributing enormously. Among his recent-most works are included : *Bhaktidarśana Vimarśaḥ* (in Sanskrit, published by Sampurnanand Sanskrit University in 1991), *Studies in Mahāyāna* (published by the Central Institute of Buddhist Studies, Sarnath, 1993), *Sāhitya, Saundarya and Saṁskṛti* (1994) and *Bhāratīya samāja* (1994).[4] In 1991 Professor Pande delivered three Shri Hiranand Shastri Memorial Lectures on Śaṅkarāchārya which were published by Vassal Nidhi in a book form in 1992 entitled *Śaṇkarāchārya : Vichāra our Sandarbha.* More recently he has brought our an English work on Śaṅkarāchārya entitled *Life and Thought of Śaṅkarāchārya* (Delhi, 1994).

Śaṅkara was the greatest exponent of philosophical non-dualism. His super-eminence raised him to the level of a cult-figure. Numerous myths and

4. In 1995 he has also published yet another collection of his poems from Allahabad entitled *Haṅsikā.*

legends which have become so inextricably interwoven with his person make it extremely difficult to separate facts from fiction. Professor Pande has himself raised numerous questions concerning his life and activities and has tried to give their best possible answer.

In his English work Professor Pande has dealt with the sources for the history of Śaṅkara under the categories of (i) contemporary and near-contemporary literature, (ii) monastic traditions and records, and (iii) miscellaneous literary sources. He has made a comparative synopsis of the biographical sources, prepared a list of major episodes and themes and concluded that the legendary biographies are not sufficient to provide even a bare outline of his historical career and that the historical traditions of the Śaṅkarite monasteries are not dependable in most cases. He has deemed it safer to depend on the original writings of Śaṅkara and writings attributed to him, the available traditional biographies, the works of his near-contemporaries and disciples, the general literary works of his age and the epigraphical records.

Professor Pande has established the date of Śaṅkara somewhere between A.D. 650 and 775 and identified three major factors of the growth of the Śaṅkara legends : (i) the belief that Śaṅkara was an incarnation of Śiva destined to eradicate the forces of heresy; (ii) the reorganization of the monasteries and their need of supposed authentic tradition; and (iii) the growing polemic of Advaitic and non-Advaitic schools.

The philosophy of Śaṅkara is vast and extremely sophisticated. It is at the same time enormously complicated and barely seventy pages are not enough for its clear exposition. Even so, Professor Pande has been able to present within this limited space Śaṅkara's subtle and sophisticated approach towards the problems of epistemology, ontology, teleology, cosmology and other aspects of philosophical queries in comparative light as they are revealed in his own works and also in those of his predecessors and commentators.

Regarding Śaṅkara's convergences and divergences with the earlier Vedāntic tradition, Professor Pande has critically analysed the views of Gauḍapāda with his supposed pro-buddhist leanings and also those of Bhartṛhari and Maṇḍana Mishra.Professor Pande's work also deals with Śaṅkara's disputations with other schools of thought in which he came out victorious. Among the philosophical schools, the standpoints of which were theoretically refuted by Śaṅkara, Professor Pande especially discusses

Buddhism, Mīmāṁsā, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Vaiśeshika, Pāśupatas, Bhāgavatas and Jains. According to him, the image of Śaṅkara that emerges from his biographical records is not simply that of a young prodigy, scholar, philosopher, author, debater and wandering mendicant, but also of a Yogī, saint, master of all sciences, wandering religious preacher, reformer and organizer of a new school and monastic centres.

All in all, Professor Pande's lucid exposition of Śaṅkara's highly complicated philosophical doctrines shows the remarkable applications of modern, analytical and sophisticated mind.

Professor Pande has been interested in the study of Mahāyāna Buddhism since his early academic career. His studies in Mahāyāna published from Sarnath, Varanasi, in 1993 is the result of this continued interest. It represents the expanded form of the lectures which he delivered at the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, in February 1992. It is divided into three chapters : I. Mahāyāna : Nature and origin; II. Mahāyāna : vision and philosophy; and III. Mahāyāna: Ideal and Practice.

Mahāyāna has been generally represented by modern historians as a late form of Buddhism which is held to have replaced the austere moral teachings of the founder by an exuberant devotional faith having a virtual pantheon of 'gods' and images, myths and ritual. At the same time, some philosophers have viewed Mahāyāna as a group of mutually inconsistent mataphysical systems which they have sought to interpret and discuss in the light of some modern ideas. Professor Pande, however, seeks to argue that mahāyāna should be understood as the Buddhist notion of universal religion. Far from being a late distortion, it is essentially a continuation of some aspects of original Buddhism (which should not be confused with Hīnayāna, itself a later interpretation of original Buddhism). At heart it is "a religion of universal love which is to be systematically pursued by a Bodhisattva. The moral culture of Mahāyāna has received attention generally and its religious devotionalism has been particularly emphasized in some schools of Buddhism especially in Japan. It is necessary, however, to relate devotional religious attitudes to systematic practice and theory, both of which are centered in the notion of the Buddha."

The Basic ideas of Mahāyāna derived from Buddha's experiences and the higher aspect of his diversified teachings. Reflections on the biography of Buddha and the career of the Bodhisattva led to further developments among

the Mahāsāṅghikas and allied sects in the 2nd and 3rd centuries after the Buddha. Buddhānusmṛti (worshipful meditation on the Buddha) led to the ideal of the imitation of Buddha. At the same time, the absolutistic, idealistic and dialectical tendencies latent in original Buddhism were developed further in these sects in contrast to the analytical empiricism, pluralism, phenomenalism and essentialism of the Abhidharmic literature.

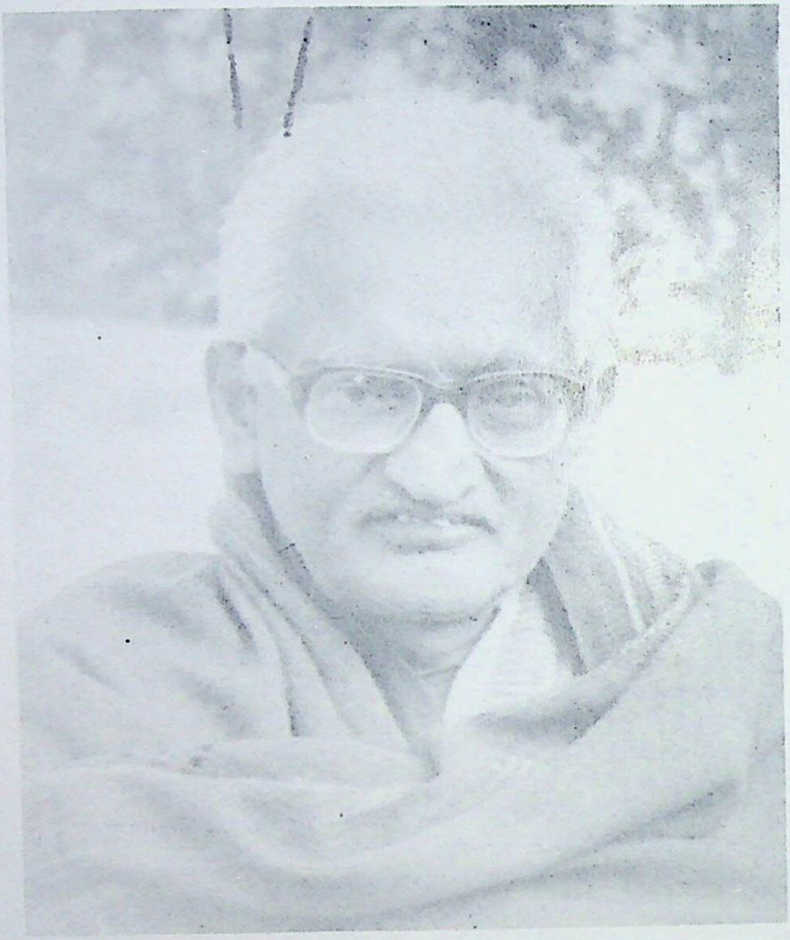
The style of Mahāyānic sūtras is comparable to Purāṇic literature in its popular appeal, mythical descriptions and repetitive exaggeration. Quasi-theistic devotionalism with a new pantheon and cults of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas is also characteristic of Mahāyāna. So also is its catholic and universalist appeal. The parallelism between Upanishadic and Vedāntic concepts of Brahman, Īśvara, Jñāna and Māyā, on the one hand, and Mahāyānic concepts of Dharmakāya, Tathatā, Buddha, Vijñāna and Saṁvṛti, on the other, is undeniable though its precise nature or the history of interaction between them is still a matter of investigation. "Mahāyāna, thus, was undoubtedly affiliated to the general tendencies philosophical and religious, which characterized the cultural development of India in the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana-Kuṣāṇa age, even though it represented a continuing re-interpretation of the teaching of Buddha."

Professor Pande has edited many a learned works. Some of them have already been mentioned. Apart from them, he is also the Chief Editor of *Political History in a Changing World* (Jodhpur, 1992) containing the lead paper entitled 'Need of a New Approach to the Writing of Political History of Ancient India' of Professor S.R.Goyal of the University of Jodhpur, himself a pupil of Professor Pande, on the need to look upon political history not as a record of the deeds and dates of kings but as the political manifestation of political life of a people alongwith over fifty reaction-papers on the same written by other eminent scholars of India (including Professor G.C.Pande himself) and of other countries.

Another work of which Professor G.C.Pande is the Chief Editor is *Indian Art and Culture* (Allahabad, 1994). This work also bears the stamp of his mature erudition. It is a collection of twentynine papers selected out of those presented at the two national seminars organized during February-march 1993 by the Allahabad Museum on 'Relevance of Tradition in Art' and 'Art and Culture of Madhyadeśa'. The very choice of topics reveals the perceptive wisdom of Professor Pande.

Thus, Professor G.C.Pande is a philosopher-historian and a thinker of extraordinary calibre, a multi-faceted genius who has contributed immensely to the study of religion, philosophy, philosophy of history, culture, literature, aesthetics, and numerous other branches of knowledge and whose scholarship cannot be measured by ordinary yardsticks. The dimensions of his knowledge are almost Shri Aurobindo-like and like Shri Aurobindo it will best be judged by posterity. At least it is not possible to measure the greatness of this prodigy with the standard offered by the contemporary scholarship. For me it is a matter of greatest pride and privilege that I have not only seen and met him and learnt much from him but have enjoyed his affection from my early childhood days. The future generations will surely be envious of me for his great and exceptional fortune of mine.

□□□



Prof. G. C. Pande

BIO-DATA AND WRITINGS OF PROFESSOR G.C. PANDE

1. Born : 30 July 1923, Allahabad.

2. **EDUCATIONAL CAREER**

Matriculation	:	Punjab University, 1937, First Division (1937-38 : Went to Burma and did not join any college).
Intermediate, Arts	:	U.P. Board, 1940, First Division and Third Position in U.P. (Distinction & First Position in Sanskrit).
B.A.	:	University of Allahabad, 1942, first Division and First Position.
M.A. (History)	:	University of Allahabad, 1944, First Division and First Position.
D. Phil.	:	University of Allahabad, 1947.

3. **PROFESSIONAL CAREER**

University of Allahabad	:	1947-57 : Lecturer in History (including **Lecturer in Nepal Chair in Asian History, 1947-49**) and later Reader of Ancient History, Culture & Archaeology.
University of Gorakhpur	:	1957-62 : Professor and Head of Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology. 1958-61 : Dean Faculty of Arts.
University of Rajasthan, Jaipur	:	1962-78 : Tagore Professor of History and Indian Culture. 1968-71 : Dean, Faculty of Arts. 1974-77 : **Vice-Chancellor, University of Rajasthan.**

University of Allahabad	:	1978-84 : Professor of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology.
		1981-83 : Head of the Department of Ancient History, Culture & Archaeology.
		1983-84 : **Vice-Chancellor, University of Allahabad.**
Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi	:	1984-85 : Visiting Professor in the Gaekwad Chair of Indian Culture & Civilization.
		1985-88: National Fellow, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi.

4. **OTHER POSITIONS AND DISTINCTIONS**

Received the Honorary Degree of **Vidya Varidhi** (equivalent to D. Lit.) from the **Nava Nalanda Mahavihara** in 1981. Honorary **Sahitya Vacaspati** (Hindi Sahitya Sammelan;) **Sansthana Sammana** (Hindi Sansthan, Lucknow).

Received the Government of India Award of Rs. 10,000 on his publication, **Mulyamimamsa** as an original work in Hindi on Philosophy.

Elected President of the **Darshana Parishad** for its Baroda and Poona Sessions.

Presided over **Rajasthan History Congress** Pali Session, 1974.

Presided over **Indian Archaeological Society**, 1978.

Delivered the Principal lecture, **Congress of Religions**, Colombo (1978).

Delivered **The Buddha Jayanti Lecture, Indian Philosophy Congress**, Delhi (1975).

Delivered **R.K. Jain Memorial Lectures** at Delhi University (1977).

Delivered **L.D. Series of Lectures** at L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad (1977).

Delivered **S. Chattopadhyaya Memorial Lectures** at Vishvabharati, Santiniketan (1982).

Delivered **Debendra Nath Memorial Lecture**, Vasvabharati, 1988.

Delivered **J. Kashyap Memorial Lecture** at Nalanda Mahavihara (1984).

Delivered **G.S.P. Mishra Memorial Lecture**, Rajasthan University, Jaipur (1989).

Delivered **Hiranand Shastri Memorial Lectures**, Vatsal Foundation, New Delhi (1980, 1991).

Delivered **Badrinatha Shukla Memorial Lectures**, Sanskrit University, Varanasi (1991).

Delivered **Gobind Ballabh Pant Memorial Lectures**, G.P. Pant Samajik Vigyan Sansthan, Jhusi, Allahabad (1991).

Delivered **Baldev Prasad Misra Memorial Lectures**, Bhopal, 1991.

Member, Government of India, Committee for the Review of the working of the U.G.C. - 1975-77.

Member, Indian National Commission for Cooperation with the U.N.E.-S.C.O. (Since 1982).

Member, Central Board for Buddhist Studies (since inception).

Member, U.P. Government Committee for Buddhist Studies (since inception).

Member, Board of Governors of the Central Institute of Tibetan Studies, Sarnath.

Member, Board of Governors of S.S.S. Institute of Higher Learning, Prasanti Nilayam (1981-84).

Member, Executive Council, B.H.U. (1982-85), as Visitors nominee.

Member, Indian Council of Historical Research (1987).

Member, Indian Council of Philosophical Research (1988-91).

Chairman, Allahabad Museum Society (1985).

5. **MEMBERSHIP** (from time to time)

Societe asiatique de Paris; Indian Historical Records Commission; Indian Advisory Board of Archaeology; Editorial Board of U.P. Gazetteers; Council of Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute; Council of American Institute of Indian Studies etc.

6. **VISITS**

Invited to and attended International Conferences at :

Colombo (1968); Ashkabad, USSR (1972); Zurich (1973, 1976), Wellington (1975); Salzburg (1976), Mexico City (1980, Hawaii (1981, 1989), Beijing (1991).

7. PUBLICATIONS

I. Books

(A) Buddhism & Allied Themes

(1) **Studies in the Origins of Buddhism** (3rd ed., Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1983).

(2) **History of the Development of Buddhism** (in Hindi), 3rd ed. Hindi Samiti, Lucknow.

(3) **R.K. Jain Memorial Lectures on Jainism**, (Delhi University, 1978).

(4) **Sramanism and its Contribution to Indian Culture** (Ahmedabad, 1978).

(5) **Apoh Siddhi of Ratnakirti**, a Classical Buddhist text on Logic. Translated into Hindi with an original exposition and commentary (1972), Darsana Pratishthan, Jaipur).

(6) **Nyayabindu of Dharmakirti**, the most celebrated Buddhist text on Logic. Translated into Hindi with an original exposition and commentary (1973), Darsana Pratishthana, Jaipur).

(7) **Jain Political Thought** (1984, Prakrit Bharti, Jaipur).

(B) Indian Culture and Ancient Indian History

(8) **Basic Notes of the Indian Tradition** (in Hindi) (1981, New Delhi).

(9) **Foundations of Indian Culture**, 2 Vols. (1984, Books & Books, 1990 Motilal Banarasi Das, Delhi.

(10) **An Approach to Indian Culture and Civilization** (1985, Pub. B.H.U.).

(C) Philosophy of History and Values

(11) **Meaning and Process of Culture** based on lectures delivered in the Department of Philosophy, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur (1972, Agra).

(12) **Analysis of Value** (in Hindi-**Mulyamimamsa**) (1971, Rajasthan Hindi Grantha Academi, Jaipur).

(13) Editor & Co - author, **Nature and Process of History** (in Hindi - **Itihasa - Swarupa aur Prakriya**) (1972, Rajasthan Hindi Grantha Academy, Jaipur).

(14) **Bhaktidarsana vimarsah**, Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, Varanasi, 1991.

(15) **Sankaracarya**, (Vatsala Nidhi, 1991).

(D) **Poetry/Literature**

(16) **Agnibija** (Janapitha, Varanasi, 1962).

(17) **Ksana Aur Lakshna** (Radhakrishna Prakashan, Delhi, 1966). (Poems included in **Modern Hindi Poetry**, published, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1965, under the U.N.E.S.C.O. Collection of Contemporary Works).

(18) Poems in Sanskrit, **Astacaliyam** (Sanskrit University, Varanasi). some published in **Sanskrit - Pratibha** (Sahitya Akademi).

(19) **M.M. Gopinath Kaviraj** (Sahitya Akademi, 1989).

II. Some Articles and Papers

(A) **Buddhism**

(1) 'Historical Approach to Anguttarnikaya' **Allahabad University Press**, 1955.

(2) 'Decline of Buddhism', **Comprehensive History of India** (under publication).

(3) 'The Origins of Mahayana', **International Congress of Orientalists**, New Delhi, 1984.

(4) 'Reflections on Aesthetics from a Buddhist point of view', **Journal of Buddhist Studies**, Delhi University, 1978).

(5) 'Buddhist Philosophy an Interpretative Survey in Buddhism', Patiala, 1969.

(6) 'Early Buddhist Notion of Beauty', **Rajasthan University Studies**, 1964.

(7a) 'Sunyata' **Kalakosa** (IGNCA).

(7b) 'Time in Buddhism' (**Kalakosa**).

(B) Social and Cultural History

(8) 'Population in Ancient India', J.B.B.R.A.S., 1959.

(9) 'The Influence of Religion in Indian Social History', Proceedings of the Summer School in Social History, Kodaikanala, 1983.

(10) 'The Nature of the Indian Social Tradition', Seminar at Gokhale Institute, Pune, 1964.

(11) 'Society and Economy in the Later Vedic Age', **History of the Panjab**, Vol.I.

(12) 'Upper Class Life in Early Jain Canon', **Mahavira Jayanti Smaraka**, Jaipur, 1963.

(13) 'A Note on Uddyotanasuri's Kuvalayamala', **Jijnasa, Journal of the History of Ideas & Culture**, Mahavira Jayanti Number.

(14) 'Religion and Philosophy in the Later Vedic Age', **History of the Punjab**, Vol.I.

(15) 'Archaeology and Social Sciences', Presidential Address, Indian Archaeological Society, 1978.

(16) 'Research Trends in the History and Culture of Rajasthan', Presidential Address, Rajasthan History Congress Pali Session.

(17) 'Philosophical Trends in the History of Sciences in India-Heterodox Trends', **Indian Journal of History of Science**, 1969.

(18) 'Identifying Indian Culture' Presidential Address, **Indian History and Culture Society,** 1978.

(19) 'Hindu World', **Quest**, 1969.

(20) 'Samskriti Aur Bharatiyata', **SNM Tripathi Felicitation Volume,** 1965.

(21) 'Classical Indian Dance in Literature and the Arts' -a review **Quest**, 1969.

(22) 'The Idea of the Comic in Sanskrit Drama' (under publication, **JBRS**).

(23) 'The Meaning of Erotic Sculptures at Khajuraho' (under publication, **Department of the History of Art, B.H.U.).**

(24) 'The Age of the **Mahabharata**' (International Seminar, Sahitya Akademi, 1987).

(C) **Philosophy, Art & Education**

(25) 'A Note on Jain Logic', **Mahavir Jayanti Smarika**, 1964.

(26) 'Ethical point of view of the **Bhagavad Gita', Jijnasa, Journal of the History of Ideas and Culture**, Vol.I.

(27) 'Patanjali's Interpretation of Yoga', **Mountain Path**, 1967.

(28) 'On Ethical Notions, Indian & Western', **Conspectus**, Vol. I,I Issue.

(29) 'The Concept of Pramana in Philosophy', **Visvabharti Journal of Philosophy**, 1966.

(30) 'The Nature of Mathematics', U.G.C. Seminar on Modern Logic, Jaipur, 1965.

(31) 'Religion and Historicity : International Symposium at Zurich, 1972.

(32) 'Darsanika Pragati ka Prasna', Presidential Address, Darsana Parishad, 1967.

(33) 'Manava Paryesana aur Darsanika Vimarsha', **Darsanika Quarterly**, 1966.

(34) 'Sat ke do Paksha', **Samkalina Darsanika Samasyayen**, 1966.

(35) 'Anirvacaniyata', **Darsanika Quarterly**, 1967.

(36) 'Life and Death of Languages', **Diogenes**, 1965.

(37) 'Education and Social Change', International Seminar on the University of the Future, sponsored by U.N.E.S.C.O. at Mexico City, 1980.

(38) 'Secularism and Educational Policy' Seminar, Indian Law Institute, New Delhi.

(39) 'Science and Spiritual Values', Education Commission Seminar, Pune, 1965.

(40) 'The Nature of Social Categories' in **Philosophical Theory and Social Reality**, Edited by Ravinder Kumar, New Delhi, 1984.

(41) 'The nature of Imagination in the context of Aesthetic Creativity and Social Transformation', in **Social Transformation and Creative Imagination**, Edited by Sudhir Chandra, New Delhi, 1984.

(42) 'Sankaracarya and Post-Classical Hinduism' (under publication, Nehru Memorial Museum).

(43) 'Some Reflections on our Educational System', in **Indian Education Today**, Essays in honour of Mohan Sinhya Mehta, Jaipur, 1970.

(44) 'The State and Higher Education', in **Climbing a Wall of Glass**, Edited by Airan, Barnabas & Shah, Bombay, 1965.

(45) 'Changing Conceptions of History' (Hindi), in **Drsti,** Issue I.

(46) 'The Idea of God in History', International Seminar at Hawaii.

(47) 'The Concept of the Self in Indian Thought', **Jijnasa, Journal of the History of Ideas & Culture**.

(48) 'Relevance of Yoga', **Yoga Heute**, Weilheim, 1971.

(49) 'The Nature of Religion : Spiritual Life', (**The Indian Theosophist,** Vol. 82).

(50) 'Sankara and Buddhism' (**International Seminar, Madras University,** March 1989).

(51) 'Sankaracharya', **G.S.P. Memorial Lecture,** Jaipur, 1989.

(52) 'Two Dimensions of Religion' (**International Conference, Hawaii,** 1989).

(53) 'Time - Concept and Context', (**International Seminar on Time, IGNCA,** 1990).

(54) 'Two Dimensions of Religion' (in **Culture & Modernity**, University of Hawaii Press, 1991).

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THE END OF THE HARAPPAN CIVILISATION : A LITERARY CONFIRMATION

BHUVANA VIKRAMA

Faizabad

DR. ARUN KUMAR

Lucknow

In 1964, while excavating at the highest part of the unexcavated HR area at Mohenjodaro, Dales (1965:145-150) could find no post-Harappan occupation. He found only the final phases of the occupation represented by the houses built with retrieved fragmentary bricks and what few finds he could definitely associate with them were basically Harappan but of a simple and degenerate type. In some such late levels, Mackay (1938) had found earlier a few sherds with chocolate slip and patterns with heavy outlines, which at Amri are typical of period III C, and also a number of Jhukar sherds which, though not illustrated then, have been published by Casal (1979 : fig. 4) from the reserve collection at Mohenjodaro. Late period ramains were found directly beneath the squatter houses with indications of abandonment : cooking pots were found on one floor and the straws and chaff had smouldered on another after the collapse of the roof. Between the walls bordering the narrow lane were found five skeletons enmeshed in the debris of the collapsed bricks, ash and broken pottery. Like some thirty others found earlier (Dales 1964 : 36-43), these skeletons do not appear to have been buried in any normal way but appear rather to have been victims of some disaster. Typical Indus seals of steatite, depicting animals and pictographs, were found along with some square seals of glass-paste bearing geometric designs including svastika (Mackay 1943 : 24).

At Chanhudaro the latest Harappan phase IC is represented only by isolated walls, apparently representing small and unimportant houses and streets but with usual drains and had evidently remained Harappan untill the end. But

above these remains were relics of another culture - Jhukar. The excavator thinks that the people (Jhukar) occupied Chanhudaro after it had been deserted by the Harappan people; indeed they took up residence in some of the deserted houses of the latest Harappan period, after raising the walls, in many cases, with Harappan bricks. The proper people, however, seem to have lived in square or rectangular huts of matting, which they paved with broken bricks; their fire-places they made outside their huts with low roughly built walls to protect them from the wind (Jarrige 1973 : /63-72). Their arrival - the cause of 'a hasty evacuation' by the Harappan - would appear to have been separated from the departure of the Harappans by no long interval of time. Their pottery, both wheel and hand made, is coarse, more porous and less well fired; it is slipped either in a much brighter tint of red or thickly laid with a cream slip having a peculiar straw-pitted surface. The decoration - painted in red and black or purplish-black - are mostly geometrical. Equally distinctive are their 'button seals' or seal amulets, usually circular, engraved with either a 'radiating sun' or 'compartmented' design. A pin of double spiral-head and a shaft-hole axe, both in copper or bronze, possibly belong to them. After desertion, the mound was reoccupied by Jhangar people, but on the evidence of the latest levels of Pirak Damb (Jarrige 1973 : 63), they could now be dated roughly to the middle of the first millennium B.C. and, therefore, need not detain us.

At the neighbouring site of Amri, the Harappan infiltration that had started by the end of Period I (Casal 1979) and continued through the Intermediate Period II to Period III, when the site was totally Harappanised - a duration in which an evolution in dish-on-stand from great stem to high pedestal and from nail-headed rims to slightly splayed and beaked ones in their dishes and also in their basins is noticed. In period III c, though the culture and its ceramic industry continues to be in full bloom, the introduction of a few sherds indicative of new trend is noteworthy: i, some with a background which is often light brown and chocolate over which are painted with thick brush giving a heavy outline in black or violet-black motifs like a series of stripped ovals looking like chains, palm trees with stripped leaves and most commonly a 'cog-wheel' (Casal 1964 : Amri no. 380) often on the in rims of the basin or on the feet of the dish-on-stand; ii, with dull unpolished background - pinkish or purple-blue or light red with artless patterns painted in black or violet, besides, iii, a few chocolate sherds with jumping kid motif, suggestive of a foreign

influence. Here, too, like Mohenjodaro, occur a few sherds of Jhukar pottery (Amri no. 408-409), towards the end of Period III C. The final Period III D, following without any perceptible break, is represented only by a number of Jhukar sherds (Amri nos. 501, 518) found in a layer of debris shovelled away while leveling the top for the Islamic fort. They include some fragments of dish-on-stand with a deeper dish, smaller stem and a circular ring-shaped bulge in the middle, which can at best be compared with those of Kulli period at Nindowari, wherefrom have come two Indus seals in association with a round seal having a design that could be ancestral to those of the Jhukar culture (Casal 1966 : 10-20). This derivation could well fit in with the reappearance in the Jhukar pottery of the bichrome decoration which had disappeared long ago with the end of the Period Amri II. It can, therefore, be taken as a decadent and nomadic phase of the Baluchi cultures whose wanderings in the plains brought leavening influences but whose appearance was a mere disaster for the impoverished survivors (Casal 1979).

All along the north-west frontier most of the Harappan sites from Shortugai to Sarai Khola, Gumla and upto Sutkagendor on the Makran coast seem to have come to an abrupt end at a stage when the Harappan Civilisation was in its prime and in a majority of cases the succeeding cultures follow after a long gap : for example, at Shortugai the bactrian cultures from Central Asia (Francfort 1979 : 191-201), at Ghaligai Burzahom type assemblage (Dales 1981 : 157-169), at Sarai Khola (Halim 1971-72) and Gumla (Dani 1970-71) Gandhar Grave assemblages. It is interesting to note that these sites were located at strategic points and safeguarded the overland routes and coastal trafic. It would, therefore, not be presumptious to conclude that the raison d'etre of their existence was removed by an abrupt end of the heart-land centres which they served. Bereft of the civilising impulses and political support, they became gradually submerged into the local population which was better suited to live off the land.

At Harappa the occupation on the platform behind the rampart (both of which were built together) was found to have six structural phases, with no sign of any break between them and 'the pottery was substantially uniform Harappan throughout. The defences, on the other hand, show that west corner was strengthened by an additional salient in brick construction 'very much rougher

than that of the earlier two periods ; and significantly, two entrances of the western gate complex were wholly or partially blocked'. The Harappans were at 'that time on the decline and, it would appear, on the defensive'. In the following period, after an interval during which the structures relating to the terraces had fallen into disuse and had been covered by debris, are found building with walls only a brick in thickness. These structures are associated with a pottery that occurs in the cemetery H and evidently postdates the citadel as a disciplined and effective unit (Wheeler 1947 : 50-69).

At Kalibangan in the Sarasvati valley the Harappan civilisation remained Harappan till the end. It is clear from the occurrence of the classical Harappan ware in the shabbily constructed and poor quality structures found in the uppermost levels of the site. And thereafter comes a long period of desertion (Thapar 1973 : 85-104). At Lothal, however, we have clear proof of a devastating flood which rendered the death-blow to the port-town. The destruction was complete, the few strugglers who dared to return after the recession of the floods hardly had any resources to rebuild. Finding their houses reduced to a heap of mud and caring not to remove the debris, they built some new shelters. Their jerry-built houses with shallow foundations were of mud and reed and their bathrooms and runnels, if found, are only of brickbats and ill ventilated and devoid of any sanitary facilities. But their ware, though lacking in earlier sophistication, is essentially the same and is comparable to that from Rangpur II, where life appears to have continued even with desparate attempt for survival for a little longer, gradually shedding its Harappan character and evolving, under the diverse pressures of the land and its inhabitants into a Lustrous Red ware (Rao 1979 : 30-33, 53-68).

This evolution or transformation is a subject matter for another discussion. Here we are concerned with the end of the Harappan Civilisation - of their cities and their industrial and commercial centres. What brought the life in these bustling centres to a grinding halt at a time when the civilisation was in its prime?

At Mohenjodaro four groups of skeletons were found in the last phase of the city at many places. In a room in HR area, skeletons of thirteen adults - male and female - and a child, some wearing bracelets, ring and beads, were found in attitudes suggesting simultaneous death. The bones are in bad condition, but on

one of the skulls is 'a straight cut - 14.6 cms in length' which 'could only have been done during life with a sharp and heavy weapon, such as a sword'. At the time of discovery it was thought to be the cause of death; recently, however, it has been shown to have been inflicted sometime prior to it (Kennedy 1982 : 289-295). In a lane in VS area lay a single skeleton, though the how and why of it are not clear. In the DK area a group of nine skeletons including five children 'in a strangely contorted attitudes and crowded together' were found, alongwith, in a shallow pit, two elephant tusks - apparently the remains of a family of ivory workers who, while escaping (?), were stopped and looted, save the tusks which were probably of no use to the rustic looters, and slaughtered (Mackay 1938 : 117; cf. Marshall 1931 : 612, 616 and 624). Again, in the DK area, on the stairs leading from the lane down to the public wellroom were found the skeletons of two - one of them probably a woman - persons 'evidently lying where they died in a vain endeavour with their last ramaining strength to climb the stairs to the street'. It appears that the 'second victim fell over backwards just prior to death'. Remains of a third and a fourth body were found close outside. There seems no doubt that these four people were murdered - these skeletal remains date from the later end of the occupation of Mohenjodaro and are not later intrusions. The fact that some of the bones of one of these skeletons rested on the brick pavement of the well-room and that the skull of another lay on the floor of a (brick-lined) sediment pit (adjoining the entrance) prove beyond doubt that both well-room and pit were in actual use when the tragedy took place' (Mackay 1938 : 94). Besides, five more skeletons similarly dumped below the debris in a lane were found in 1964 (Dales 1965).

At Harappa, too, a tightly packed mass of human skulls (twenty complete and fragments of a few more), intermixed with a smaller number of human and some animal bones and a lot of pottery - including both Harappan and Cemetery H types - was found in Area G. Some of the bones had been buried with ligaments still upon them (Vats 1940 : 197 ff). The collection had obviously been brought together after the previous exposure - deliberate or otherwise - of the bodies after a plague or battle to the vultures and jackals. It is interesting to note that a recent study had found evidence of endemic malaria and the haemolytic diseases of thalassaemia and sicklaemia in the broader scope of ancient Harappan series (Kennedy 1984 : 433). Its late date, however, seems certain, not only because of the abundance of the pointed goblets in the deposit

but also by the presence of 'Cemetery H' types. On the basis of these skeletons and vedic references to Indra and his exploits as *Puraṃdara,* Wheeler had stated in 1947 : 'On circumstantial evidence Indra stands accused'. But if Indra and his barbaric Aryans had massacred and pillaged at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, what about Kalibangan and other sites in the *Brahmāvarta*? Here there is no evidence for either a massacre or of any allien culture. Therefore, reviewing the total evidence afresh Dales (1964 : 36-43) could find no indubitable justification to connect these thirty or thirtyfive skeletons with the supposed advent of the Aryans and the massacre perpetrated by them and deciding in favour of Indra, exonerated him of the charge (see also Srivastava : 1984 : 437-443).

It had been assumed by Stein (1931) and Piggott (1950) that in the pre-Harappan and Harappan times the climate was wetter and rainfall much more copious. Their suggestion was based on the occurrence of elephant, rhinoceros and tiger on the seals and the employment of a huge ammount of baked bricks at the two sites of Mohenjodaro and Harappa. The first-fauna-required, in their opinion, a rainfed forest as their natural habitat and the latter a copious supply of wood for their firing. But against the first premise it can be said that in the days of Alexander and even upto the times of Babar rhinoceros was found in Sind, and tiger continued to be sighted in Khairpur State of Upper Sind as late as 1884 (Raikes and Dyson 1961 : 263-81). And since the historical times beginning with Alexander till today no appreciable change in the climate has ever been noticed. Again, Fairservis (1967 : 1-44) and Raikes have shown that the gallery forest of Tamarix, Babul and Kandi, such as exists today, is quite adequate in supplying all that was needed by the residents of Mohenjodaro and Harappa to build their monumental and residential buildings. And against the arguments of their use of the baked bricks in response to the higher precipitation it can safely be pointed out that the almost contemporary site of Kalibangan was totally built up of mud bricks, the use of baked bricks being restricted to only bath pavements and drains where the flow of water was more and constant. Even the drains in any of the sites so far studied do not seem to have been constructed with a view to flush out the rain water after a heavy precipitation. They usually empty in the soakage jars and pits which were inadequate to absorb the rainwater (Thapar 1973 : 100) unless it be of the duststorm type flash rains.

Likewise, the construction and use of gabarbands, so often thought to reflect a heavy rainfall has been argued to represent only a situation where the

supply of 'rainfall was sufficient enough to necessitate storage' (Lambrick 1967 : 483-495). It is not improbable that granaries, too, suggestive as they are of storage of grains, reflect in some measure the undependability both of rainfall and the rejuvenating floods.

Again, a pollen analytical investigation of the lake deposits in Rajasthan were interpreted to show alternating periods of dry and wet regime. Thus : a pre 8000 B.C. Phase I when the central core of the north-west India was affected by severe aridity and the territory was unsuitable for habitation for a long time; Phase II - c. 8000 B.C. to 7500 B.C. during which period sand dunes stabilised under an increased rainfall; Phase III - c. 7500 B.C. to 3000 B.C. during which there was a slight lowering of the rainfall and man is said to have started interfering with the natural vegetation; Phase IV - c. 3000 B.C. to 1000 B.C. when the climate seems to have undergone a sudden change to wetter conditions. The period of maximum wetness, however, appears to have lasted only upto c. 1800 B.C. Thereafter, the climate shows a small scale oscillation to drier conditions between c. 1800 B.C. and 1500 B.C. followed by a slight reversal to a relatively week wetter interval, lasting upto c. 1000 B.C. (Singh 1970-71). But a recent ecological analysis of the above pollen data, in the light of the desert vegetation has shown that there was a hypsithermal period, characterised by high velocity winds, increased intensity of dust storms and maximum warmth during c. 3000 B.C. to 1000 B.C. (Vishnu-Mittre : 1974-74 : 180, 1978-79 : 108-9).

Thus the concensus of opinion that matters does not seem to be in favour of accepting a drastic change in precipitation pattern during the period in the north-west India and therefore the climatic change alone can not be held responsible. Some amount of human interference by their misuse or abuse of the land and its natural cover was certainly there, but its proportion never could have been as alarming as it is today owing to the technological progress. Man can not be blamed for creating a desert which appears to be linked with metereological phenomenon (Meherji-Homji 1980 : 1-7).

Now if Indra as warlord and man as his minion - both stand exonerated, what else could have been the cause of such an abrupt end of the Harappan Civilisation in its heartland? Now, taking their clue from the observations made by Sahni regarding the floods at Budh-jo-Takkar consequent upon the upthrow of the mud-many kilometres in length-at Allahbund in the earthquake of 1819

(1956 : 1-7), Dales and Raikes hypothesised after leveling and recording some 150 flood deposits at Mohenjodaro, that Mohenjodaro and much of the lower Indus Valley suffered from a series of severe and extensive floods that eventually forced the population to abandon the area. This flooding resulted from earth-movements that threw up a substantive barrier on the Indus somewhere near Sehwan. These tectonic uplifts created a dam which retarded the flow of the Indus and formed a sort of reservoir which may have extended as far north as Sukkar. The flood waters may have been risen slowly enough to enable the residents of the Mohenjodaro to construct the massive embankments. The tectonic uplifts also raised the sea beach some ten of which were pointed out by Raikes in the neighbourhood of Gwadar and Ormara proving that the sea was higher in relation to the land and that since that time the level of land has risen relative to that of the sea. The downcutting of the river at Nindowari, too, was attributed to this uplift (Raikes 1964 : 284-297).

But Lambrick does not seem to agree with this facile explanation and reconstruction of Dales and Raikes. He thinks that the capture of the Indus by the Sukkar gorge is relatively recent occurrence, and doubts the existence of a considerably higher sea level in Harappan times for then we would be unable to explain the existence of not only the pre-Harappan Amri people at the site of Tharro Gujo but also of a host of Harappan sites along the coast like Dhola Vira and Hajnali on the Rann and Kanjetar in coastal Gujarat (Lambrick 1967 : 493; cf. Pandya 1977 : 100-03). Again, such a ponding would make Mohenjodaro an Island. On a single occassion it may be acceptable, but its recurrence - five times according to Dales (1965 : 45-50) - seems to be beyond belief : 'such a concept implies that the people of Mohenjodaro - pioneers of civilisation, were totally lacking in commonsense' (Lambrick 1967).

In his opinion the shifts in the course of the life sustaining rivers was the main cause of the decline and demise of the Harappan Civilisation. He thinks that during the course of the existence of the Harappan Civilisation, the river - as the rivers normally do - changed its course several times and the granaries were built for these lean periods. There were no serviceable Indus inundations, locally, for about a decade. Further, the flood deposits are explained as being due to the heavy overspills and on those occassions the recourse for the thousands of the inhabitants of Mohenjodaro would have been to evacuate temporally and set

up camps in the nearest quarters where favourable conditions still obtained for civilisation but understanding, as they may be presumed to have understood, the idiosyncracies of river, they would be slow to give up hopes of a recurrence of favourable conditions near the city and the prospects remained that the river would once more show itself benign and then they would return to reoccupy the city. A large measure of rebuilding would be necessary and the flood deposits so meticulously recorded by Dales would be only these, interruptions of this kind - shorter or longer in duration - may have occurred many times during the span of Mohenjodaro's existence. But so long as the river maintained its stable course, if only a few miles away, the original advantageous condition of the site could be expected to be reproduced and to last much longer than the interruptions.

But once an avulsion and major change of course by the river Indus took place somewhere considerably upstream of the city, the surrounding country starved of water and immediately began to decline and deteriorate. And, this has long been due owing to the river maintaining the same general course for the past millennium and the consequent buildup of its bed. A similar instance was noted and reported by Aristobolus in 326 B.C., when he saw a tract which had been recently reduced to ruins (Strabo XV. 1.19 in Majumdar 1960 : 252).

This type of change in the stable course of the rivers is also noted in the Sarasvati drainage system. During an environmental Survey at Kalibangan, Raikes did some sample borings and came to the conclusion that a certain diversion of what was once a river of the Ghaggar system to the Gaṅgā system appears to be true. This hypothesis envisages a picture of alternating captures of Yamunā by the Sindhu-Sarasvatī and Gaṅgā systems respectively. Among the series of alternating captures, there was an eastward diversion to Gaṅgā system a about 1750 B.C. which incidently coincides with the abandonment of the site. Between 2500 - 1750 B.C. the Yamunā was part of the Ghaggar-Indus systems (Raikes 1968 : 289). This is amply borne out by the occurrence of many pre-Harappan, Harappan or variant Harappan settlements along the various courses of Yamunā beyond Indri in Karnal (Suraj Bhan 1973 : 125-128). Though the dates proposed by Raikes are much affected by the archaeological thinking of the times, the course of the events proposed are convincing in themselves.

There is some evidence for such drastic and devastating changes in the course of the river Sarasvatī in the traditions preserved in the Vedas and the

Epics. Thus, the prayer 'Guide us, Sarasvatī, to glorious treasures; refuse us not the milk, nor spurn us from thee; gladly accept our friendship and obedience; let us not go from thee to distant countries' (*Ṛgveda* VI. 61.14 = Griffith 1971 : I.632), if read in the context of references wherein it is called the river par excellence - *nadītame* (*Ṛgveda* II. 41.16) and described as going from the mountains to the sea (yāti giribhya ā samudrāt - *Ṛgveda* VII. 96.2), it can only allude to a stage when the river had started to 'spurn' the settlements on its banks in a much more dangerous way than the rivers normally do and the seer seems to voice his fear of permanent estrangement. In the later Vedic period Sarasvatī is singled out for its numerous meanders (*Brāhmaṇa* XXV. 10.11). Again, a floating passage, tagged early to the Epic, seems also to preserve a memory of these events. It is said that during the course of his pilgrimage to the source of the river Sarasvatī, Balarāma reached a place in Kurukṣetra where the westward flowing river had earlier changed its direction and assumed an easterly flow - *yatra bhūyo nivavṛte prāṅmukhā Sarasvatī* (*Mahābhārata* IX. 36.35); however, after sometime the normal westerly course seems to have been resumed (*bhūyaḥ pratīcyabhimukhī susrāva saritāṁ varā* - *ibid.*, IX. 36.52). This is said to have happened in an earlier epoch (*pūrvaṃ kṛtayuge* - *ibid.*, IX. 36.39) That it could not have been only an ordinary bend in one of its numerous meanders seems certain because this assumption and resumption of respectively the easterly and westerly flows was an unusual event (*adbhutaṃ mahat* - *ibid.*, IX. 36.53). This 'great wonderment', in all probability, refers only to that geographical incident that enabled the Gaṅgā system to capture the waters of the river Sarasvatī near Indri in Karnal.

The likely cause of these hydraulic and hydrographic changes has recently been suggested by the geomorphological and archaeological studies in the Markanda Valley, a tributary of the Ghaggar-Sarasvatī in the Himachal Pradesh. The valley has preserved five rock-cut terraces of post-middle Pleistocene age. These and the Markanda crust suggest tectonic movements. A part of the Markanda drainage was flowing in the Yamunā drainage system during the late Pleistocene. The catchment area of the rivers Sarasvatī and Yamunā lies in the seismic zone (Rajaguru's comments on Thapar 1977 : 69-70). It is, therefore, not unlikely that tectonic movements of some magnitude played an important and major role in changing the hydraulic budget of the river Sarasvatī.the Purāṇakāras, too, seem to have preserved a memory of this incident

in their own inimitable style. Emerging from *Plakṣa* on the Himalayas, Sarasvatī is said to have been obstructed by a mountain; wanting to marry her forcibly. Under the pretext of taking bath before the ceremony, Sarasvatī entrusted the fire, which she was carrying for the destruction of the gods in punishment for having utilised the bones of Ṛṣi Pippalāda's father Dadhīcī, to the mountain which was immediately burnt down by it (*Skanda Purāṇa, Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa* 33.89). Again, the story of its carrying bloody waters for a complete year as a result of the curse of Ṛṣi Viśvāmitra who felt annoyed at her failure to deliver Ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha to him (*Vāmana Purāṇa, Saromāhātmya* 19.22), of its having followed Ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya (*ibid.,* 11.23) who had witnessed the great deluge in the age of Manu Vaivasvata (*Mahābhārata* III. 186.87 etc.), i.e., Mārkaṇḍā/Aruṇā/Āgneyī gaining from the diversion, seem very well to corroborate the geological evidence (Bharadwaj 1986 : 20-43).

This drastic cut in the hydraulogical budget of the rivers is well substantiated by the shrinking up of the Harappan settlement in the last few levels (Thapar 1975 : 19-32), because the land, starved of water, was wearing out and the river was fast becoming more and more erratic in its water supply.

And a severe draught in such conditions must necessarily have played havoc with the settled civilised life and set in motion an exodus which left the land between the rivers Sindhu-Sarasvatī bereft of any civilisation for more than a millennium. That this picture of water-starved towns is not only a modern conceptualisation is amply borne out by yet other traditions of long draughts, witnessed by Ṛṣi Viśvāmitra and Muni Sārasvata, preserved in the *Mahābhārata.*

In the tradition connected with Ṛṣi Viśvāmitra (*Mahābhārata* XII. 139.12 ff.), it is said that at the juncture of the *Tretā* and the *Dvāpara* epochs (*tretādvāparayoḥ saṁdhau*) there occurred a severe draught of twelve years' duration (*anāvṛṣṭirabhūd ghorā rājan dvādaśavārṣikī* - V. 13) and it seemed that dooms 'day has come (*yugānte paryupasthite* - v. 14). Water became scarce in the rivers and sometimes they became quite dry (*nadyaḥ saṁkṣiptatoyaughāḥ kvacidantargatābhavan* - v. 16).

All the standing waters - ponds, lakes and tanks in the public places (*upaśuṣkajalasthāyā vinivṛtta sabhā prapā* - v. 18) became dry and all the auspicious activities like sacrifices and studies were interrupted; agriculture and pastoral activities became non-existent (*utsannakṛṣigorakṣyā* - v. 18), trade and

commerce ceased (*nivṛttavipaṇāpaṇā*) and so also all the great festivities (*sampraṇaṣṭa mahotsavā* - v. 19). Most of the cities were depopulated and the villages burnt (*śūnyabhūyiṣṭhanagarādagdhagrāma niveśanā* - v. 20). The learned and the security guards were annihilated (*hataviprā hatārakṣā*) and the granaries were destroyed (*pranaṣṭauṣadhisaṁcayā* - v. 23). Seers, unable to follow the injuctions and to tend the sacrificial fires, left their hermitages and roamed here and there. (*ṛṣayo niyamāṁstyaktvā parityaktāgnidaivatān, āśramān samparityajya paryadhāvannitastataḥ*-v. 25). Here the reference to the 'collection of grains' at once brings to mind the granary at Harappa, especially in view of Ṛṣi Viśvāmitra's connection with king Sudāsa and *Hariyūpīnāyaṁ..... yavyāvatyām* (*Ṛgveda* VI. 27.6) and Vasiṣṭha's association with Vipāśa, which seems to place the two antagonists in Punjab (Roy 1989 : 10.112).

If the above tradition can be associated by implification with Paruṣṇī, the other reference (*Mahābhārata* IX. 50.34 ff) is explicitly connected with the river Sarasvatī. Here, too, it is stated to have occurred there a very severe draught of twelve years duration heralding very bad times (*Kāle.... atibhayaṁkare, anāvṛṣṭiranuprāptā rājan dvādaśavārṣikī* - v. 34) when learned (*maharṣayaḥ*), suffering hunger, started fleeing in search of livelihood, in all directions (*vṛttyarthaṁ prādravan rājan kṣudhārtāḥ sarvatodiśam* - v. 35). When Muni Sārasvata, too, seeing them all evacuating, decided to move out, Sarasvatī said : 'Son, do not go away from here. I shall always provide best of the fishes for your sustenance; so live here' (*na gantavyamitaḥ putra tavāhāramaham sadā, dāsyāmi matsyapravarān uṣyatāmiha bhārata* - v. 37). Thus assured of the livelihood, the Muni did not leave the place and continued to support the learned and the elders while sustaining his life and knowledge (v. 38). During these days of all pervading hunger all the knowledge and its practitioners had been destroyed and none was left who knew anything (*teṣām kṣudhāparītānāṁ naṣṭā vedā vidhāvatām, sarveṣāmeva rājendra na kaścit pratibhānavān* - v. 40).

Thus, while the change in the course of the rivers sustaining the agrarian economy had already made the life in the numerous Harappan settlement in and outside the Sindhu-Sarasvatī valleys precarious, the ensuing prolonged dry spells seem to be the immediate cause - the proverbial last straw - of the almost sudden abandonment of these centres of civilisation - the cities. It may have been due to the rivers having built up their beds by flowing in the stable courses for more

than a millennia (Lambrick 1967 : 493). However, the suggestion that the rivers of the region got dried up due to the aeolian activity only does not seem convincing (Ghose *et al* 1980 : 8-12); rather the aeolian activity was the consequence, and not the cause, of this drying up. The role of tectonic movements - especially in the catchment areas - should not be minimised (Agrawal and Sood 1982 : 223-231; Sood and Sahai 1983 : 166-169; Pal *et al.* 1984 : 491-497). It is common knowledge that tectonic movements - at least all the major ones - are followed by fires and high tidal waves, raising the level of the sea. The destruction of some of the north-west frontier outpost settlements of the Harappans, where the hand of any outside enemy is not in evidence, may have been caused by such a 'tectonic' movement in a seismic zone and so also the floods in the far off Lothal, which spelled the doom of a once flourishing port town. Here another ancient tradition, pertaining significantly enough to Gujarat itself - that of the sea engulfing Dvārakā - is relevant.

Be whatever it may, it is certain that the cities, bereft of their water supply, were abandoned in mass, leaving only a few stragglers who were either too destitute or too astute to move out. But eventually they were engulfed by the creaping time and sands and were annihilated by the roaming foragers (cf. *kvaciccoraiḥ kvacicchastraiḥ kvacid rājabhirāturaiḥ, parasparabhayāccaiva śūnyabhūyiṣṭhanirjanā* (*Mahābhārata* XII. 139. 21). The latter, having never known the richness of a civilised life, were better prepared to withstand the lack of it. The stragglers, on the other hand, having once cultivated the taste for the civilisation, must have suffered its lack much more keenly but were impoverished enough to rebuild and so must necessarily have died out, again, if not at the hands of the foragers, at least of ennui.

Those who fled to other regions carried with them only such elements of their worldly possessions that were necessary in their impoverished state and suited to their refugee status. But the removal of the benevolent hand of the guiding geniuses (*maharṣayaḥ* and *vidyāvatām*) and the consequent lack of discipline and the suffering endured during the prolonged draught must have broken their spirit. Anyhow, they, shedding a lot of outward appurtenances, survived with their memories of golden days and past sufferings (Allchin 1982 : 325-333; Dikshit 1989).

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LAPIDARY'S ART IN ANCIENT INDIA

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INTRODUCTION

Among the most conspicuous and variegated objects found in archaeological excavations are beads of various types of stone, bone, metal and tarracotta. When pieced together, they become bead necklaces. Bead necklaces are one of the many objects for decorating human body right from the upper palaeolithic period and these are one of the principal forms of ornament among the simpler societies even today. Beads indicate the different tastes and fashion prevalent during different times. They also show the technological standards achieved by a given society. The micro beads of steatite found in the Harappa culture in large numbers give an idea of the perfection achieved in the art of micro drilling. Besides, beads demonstrate cultural contact with different regions within the country and at times with outside world. It is now a common knowledge that beads of Indian origin dating back to the Indus culture have been found from contemporary city-sites of Mesopotamia. Carnelian beads with distinctive etched designs occur at Ur. Kish, Tell, Ashmar and as far a field as Damascus (Syria). Beads with typical shapes have dating value as they appear in a particular horizon and ed due attention of scholars and these antiquities are generally treated as objects of minor importance and are grouped under 'other objects' in the excavation reports.

Archaeological record shows that whenever a culture was in full bloom, the number, shape and variety of beads increased substantially but their frequency is greatly reduced once the culture becomes relict. Similarly, the city-dwellers used these objects in large numbers as compared to humbler village folk. We know that the sites of the urban Indus culture have yielded a large number of beads as compared to the sites which represent only village

settlements. Thus at the city-site of Taxila belonging to the early historical times as many as 8500 beads were recorded. Similarly, the early historic excavation and the city-site of Kausambi has given several thousan such antiquities. In comparison to this the village site of Narhan has given only 109 stone beads along with the 222 beads of terracotta.

Stones

As stated above, semi-precious stones were commonest material for bead manufacture. Among these the commonly used stones comprise agate, amethyst, carnelian, chalcedony, jasper, garnet, quartz and lapis-lazuli while all these are commonly available in the hilly tracts of central India, Gujarat etc. as veins in rocks and in the form of nodules in the river beds. The last-named stone i.s., lapis-lazuli is not commonly available in India and it is found mainly in Badakhshan region of Afghanistan (Allchin and Hammond, 1978) and it is most likely that this stone was imported from north eastern Afghanistan for use at the Indian sites. The less commonly used stones comprise amazonite, beryl, bloodstone, limestone, malachit, opal, soapstone, blue and red serpentine. Very few beads are reported in stones such as acquamarine, felspar, granite, jade, marble, onyx, ruby, shale, schist etc.

History of Research

The excavation of Indus sites in the twenties and thirties attracted the attention of scholars on stone beads and the excavation of a bead-makers workshop at Chanhu-daro aroused our interest in reconstructing the technique of their manufacture. The large-scale excavation of Taxila between 1913 and 1 934 also augmented the mass of data and a representative collection of 950 beads from this site was studied by Horace C. Beck whose knowledge of oriental beads was unrivalled (Beck, 1941). Besides, various facets of this problem were studied by A. Summers (1849), A.J. Arkell (1936), E. Mackay (1937), N.R. Banerjee (1959), S.B. Deo (1955, 1980), B.K. Chatterjee and A. Basu (1959), Niharika (1985), C. Margabandhu (1985), A.K. Narain and P. Singh (1977) and M. Piperno (1973).

Literary Evidence

A perusal of ancient Indian literature provides a glimpse about the prevalence of gems in different parts of country and gem cutting industry in

ancient India. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (variously dated between 300 B.C. and 100 A.D.) refers to the veins of a number of precious stones and metals which were produced in South India. The '*Mahābhārata*' (*Vanaparva,* 64) speaks of the Vindhyan ranges as rich in minerals. The '*Garuḍa purāṇa*' (LXXIX), 1.3) locates the source of bloodstone and the gem *Indragopamaṇi* in the lower valley of the Narmadā and *Śailasphaṭika*, a form of quartz, in the Vindhyas. The *Mānasollāsa* (2, 5, 519) informs that crystalline quartz was available in the Vindhyas alongwith the coast of river Tapi.

Foreign Account

Ptolamy refers to the sources of Sardonyx in the mountain of that name and the same is mentioned as sardous by Ktesias. The range is identified with the part of the Vindhya between rivers Narmadā and Tapi (Shukla, 1972; 49).

Provenance of Semi-precious Stones

Agate and chalcedony occur in Ahmedabad and Kaira district of Gujarat, in Kathiawar and the Rajpipla state. Occasionally, jaspar is also found in company with them. Good quality agate is also found from north of Pangong lake in Rudok district of Kashmir, from the Rajmahal hills and Singhbhum region of Bihar and from beds of the Narmadā near Bherāghāṭ marble rocks and Godavarī rivers. Coggin-Brown informs that untill the beginning of the seventeenth century Limodra in Rajpipla was the principal centre of agate cutting in Western India, but subsequently it was superceded by Cambay in Gujarat until about 1918 when the industry became moribund. The bulk of the material reached the craftsmen of Cambay from Ratanpur and other places in Rajpipla, some 70 miles to the south-west.

Agate and carnelian, locally known as *akik*, occur in the gravels and coglomerates which are probably of Miocane age, and they were obtained by sinking temporary pits 25 to 60 ft. in depth and that these were located mainly in the Ratanpur-Dalmai-Dholakuva area, approximately 2 to 5 miles east and south-east of Limodra (Coggin-Brown and Dey, 1965: 622). In the old days the stones were taken down the Narmadā to Broach whence they were shipped to Cambay. We are told that the Cambay trade was in its heyday about the middle of the nineteenth century and about 600 families of skilled workers and from 500 to 600 labourers found employment in it (Coggin-Brown and Dey, 1955: 623).

The use of amethyst for making beads was restricted as seen in the archaeological record. Marshall informs that amethyst was found in the Santhal Paraganas of Bihar and Orissa and at several spots in the bashahr state in the Upper Sutlej (Punjab). Amethyst occurs occasionally in the Deccan trap filling up the Lava cavaties near Jabalpur but the finest specimens come from the gem-gravels of Ceylon. At Narhan, only three beds of this material were recorded, the principal shapes being elliptical hexagonal and long barrel flattened hexagonal.

Amazonita

It is a green variety of microline felspar and was obtained from the pigmatites near Jhajha (District-Monghyr, Bihar), Nellore (Andhra Pradesh) and near the village of Derol, just north of Ahmedabad. Beads of this stone occur from the chalcolithic sites of central India and the Deccan like Navdatoli and Nevasa.

Crystal

It is a common form of semi-precious silica or quartz and is widespread in occurrence. Large prizms of crystal are available in the bed of the Godavari near Rajahmahendri and in the stream bed of Tanjore (Madras) and from Delhi. Red pyramidal crystals are found in the Mianwali district of Punjab (Pakistan), but some of the best crystals come from Tankara in the Kathiawar peninsula or from the bed of the Godavari. It is also found at Aurangpur near Delhi, Sambalpur and other places.

Jasper

Jasper is available in the old rocks of Dharwad and Bijawar in Rajputana. Jasper pebbles are found in the rivers draining the Satpure range in Madhya Pradesh. Pebbles of Jasper of various colours - red, green and yellow are common in the river beds of Rajputana, central India and the central provinces particularly those which drain the Satpura range as well as the Son Valley (Marshall, 1951: 478).

Jade

Jade of various colours and variety is not common to India. The only Indian source is in the Rewah state of central India where 'nephrita' jade is found

but other varieties of jade come from the well-known mines in the Karakash valley of eastern Turkistan. Jadeite is also found in the Tunga valley of the Pamirs and the Myitk in a district of northern Burma.

Steatite

Steatite or soap-stone is a massive form of talc. It is a very soft material so it helped in carving. This stone is easily found in the crystalline rocks of India. Most of this mineral was exported from Deccan to Sindh.

Lapis-Lazuli

This stone is not native to India and it comes from Badakhshan province of north-eastern Afghanistan. It was the principal source of this blue stone throughout the pre-historic middle East and an important item of trade with Mesopotomia, that flourished from about 3500 B.C. The other sources of this material are in the Pamirs, Lake Baikal and a possible source in Azerbaijan and possibly in Kirman but the stones of all these sources are either inferior in quality as compared to those of Bandakshan, or the mines are located in extremely difficult region (Bowlby 1978 : 34-35). Even the Badakshan mines are hardly easy of access. The ones presently known lie above the Kerano-Bungan valley at Sar-i-Sung, Stromby, Chilmak and Robat-i-Paskaran. The valley is narrow and step with scanty vegetation and few permanent settlements. The mines can only be reached by precipitous path along which all materials for mining must be carried. Sophia R. Bowlby has recorded the actual method of mining of lapis-lazuli. She records that in the past the mining was done by fire setting. "Fuel and water were carried upto the mines, a fire was lit ben eath the face to be quarried and then cold water was thrown onto the heated rock to make it crack. The lapis was then extracted by using picks, hammers and chissels. The provision of fuel and water for the mines must have involved great labour in amassing the fuel and transporting it and this is suggestive of the value of the stone in the past. Once quarried, the lapis could be taken south to Kabul and beyond via the Anjuman pass and Panjshir valley, to the north and west via Faizabad or to the east along the Wakhan corridor" (Bowlby 1978 : 35).

Quarrying of Stone

Coggin-Brown has recorded the actual method of quarrying the agate and carnelian in the Limodra area of Gujarat. He observes that when the stones come out from the pit, they are dull object, milky, white, grey or brown to buff in colour. The outward skins are removed by preliminary chipping. This is done to illuminate worthless specimens and to separate the more valuable onyx, cat's eyes and the yellowish, pelluoid citrins, the remainder, now normally one to three inches in diameter, are taken to Limodra. Here, after exposure to the sun for two or three months, they are fired. The effect of this heating is to turn cloudy brown and yellow shades into clear bands of white and red also to intensify orange tints into reds; the hue of the red carnelian so obtained might range anywhere between the palest flash colour and the depest blood red, the latter variety, when free from cracks and flaws being the most highly prized. From Limodra in the old days the stones were taken down the Narmada to Broach whence they were shipped to Cambay.

Working on the Stone

Writing about the beads obtained from Taxila excavations, Marshall had commented that the majority of the beads whose stones came from a distance, were fashioned into beads in the country of their origin, since it would obviously have been more economical to trade in the finished article which were little likely to be damaged in transit, rather than in the rough stones. He suggested that carnelians and agates were more likely to have been cut and polished in the bazaars of Vidisha, Ujjayini, Brigukaccha (barygaza) or Nasik where the industry in these stones would naturally centre. However, subsequent excavations at a number of sites like Chanhudaro, Ujjain, Rajghat and Sahr-i-Sokhta in Iran had yielded unfinished beads of agate which indicate that there were several centres of lapidarys away from the natural habitat of these stones. Interestingly three unfinished beads of agate have been found from Narhan as well.

Technique of Manufacture

In the excavations at Chanhu-daro in 1935-36 Mackay had recovered a building measuring 33 ft. X 12 1/2 ft. and on the basis of contents of this room he had identified it as a bead manufacturing shop. Many unfinished beads,

metallic and stone drills, broken drills, ingots, nodules and cups were found scattered in this building. A flue of five and half inches width and eight inches in height was seen there, through which the hot air was passed. This factor helps us in understanding the bead manufacturing process in the Indus culture (Mackay 1943: 41).

Similarly, an interesting evidence of similar nature comes from Lothal. Here, a mud-brick structure of 500 Sq. metres area with a courtyard and eleven rooms has been identified as a bead factory. Two earthen jars, filled with 600 unfinished beads in different stages of manufacture were recovered from the platform and two jars with new materials were collected from the store-rooms. A kiln for heating agate pebbles and finished carnelian beads were scattered nearby (Rao, 1973: 68; 1979: 118).

A complementary evidence of almost the same age comes from across the border. Shahr-i-Sokhta, located in Iranian Seistan, a, proto-urban complex was excavated by Maurizio Tosi in 1968 (Tosi 1969 : 283). Here a squat biconical Buff were jar, containing semi-worked stones and gem-cutting tools was found buried in the most ancient floor of period IIA (Tosi 1969 : 371). The vessel had been sealed completely with a block of clay that has preserved the perishable contents from deterioration. Three pieces of cane, about 12 cm long with a diameter of 2 cm, served as containers for fragments of semi-precious stones that had been roughly shaped or were ready for drilling. The first piece of cane contained 7 cylindrical beads of lapis-lazuli, with a diameter of about 0.4 cm that had not yet been perforated but were already completely smoothed over. The second container, on the contrary, held 35 chips of carenlian, cut into rectangular facets with contours that were still irregular; while the third was filled with 10 splinters of green chalcedony with touched up edges.

Apart from the pieces of cane described above, the vessel contained chips and fragments of other stones, a complete list of which is as follows:

1-5) Fragments of alabaster pebbles, cut on one or two sides. Squared off.

5-9) Chips of orange-coloured alabaster; with cortex.

10) Small oblong alabaster pebbles.

11-16) Chips of chalcedony.

17) Split Basalt pebbles

18) Fragment of rock crystal, prism cut, polygonal.

19) Rock-crystal fragment, pyramidal-shaped.

20-24) Small pebbles of porphyritic rock.

25-26) Tiny Chips of white crystalline mineral.

27) Very slender pebble of grey-brown sandstone, with light parallel furrows on each side. Polisher (7).

28) Fragment of a tamp seal in potstone, of the superimposed cross type, with two symmetrical holes passing through (2X1 cm).

29) Fragment of a small perforated basalt plaque.

30) Ovoidal alabaster necklace bead, imperfectly polished and with the beginning of a perforation on both apexes (2.4 X 1.5 cm).

31) Fragment of a truncated conical alabaster necklace bead, split along the central bore (1.3 X 0.8 cm).

32) Tiny fragment of steatite seal with trace of incised line (0.7 X 0.2 cm).

33) Fragment of truncatedcone-shaped necklace bead made of chalcedony, split long ways at the beginning of the perforation.

The rest of objects contained in the jar were perhaps more directly linked with the tools belonging to a gem-cutter.

A pear-shaped basalt pebble, slightly splintered at one end, may have been used as a hammer while two other cigar-shaped pebbles, with a characteristic rough surface, probably served as polishers.

The most interesting find as regards the reconstruction of the technique used for drilling the beads, however, is that of 6 rectangular wooden tablets, bored in the centre by a series of holes with different diameters. These were obviously supports for the beads during drilling. The necklace bead was placed in the hole corresponding to its diameter so that it remained immobile and the craftsman could proceed to drilling.

From the above findings it had been possible to reconstruct almost entirely the process of working stone beads. Tosi observes that the bow-drill was

composed of an wooden shaft held perpendicular to a stone handle while the bow-string wound round it made it rotate at every movement of the hand. Attached to the lower end of the shaft was a stone tip-flint, quartzite, porphyry that bored into the necklace bead held firm by the wooden tablet. The stone handles were made of serpentine, alabaster or grey sandstone and a considerable number of them have been found at the site. Besides, the presence of lapis-lazuli, carnelian, turquoise and green chalcedony-greater in the wasters than in the finished pieces - suggests that shahr-i-sokhta was a centre for the working of beads of semi-precious stones.

Sawing and Cutting

Some of the stones are heated either for softening them or for changing their original colour or for making them more prominent. S.R. Rao (1973 : 103) informs that chert, agate and jaspar were first heated in an earthen bowl, using saw dust as fuel to smoothen the stone. Then the stones were reduced to the desired size by giving them a blow and cut into shape by flaking. Mackay states that some varieties of agate, when treated with sugar and sulphuric acid, became black.

The process of sawing has been studied by Horace C. Beck (quoted by Chatterji and Basu, 1961 : 148) who describes this process as follows:

"The stone is firmly fixed in a strong frame composed of two uprights, joined at the base by a bar, the cement holding the stone, was made of cloth-fibers and beeswax. The edge of the plate is fixed in a light wooden frame and according to the size of the stone, is rubbed backwards and forwards by one or two men."

After sawing, the stone is chipped to a shape with a copper or bronze saw.

Drilling

Before the final polishing of bead, drilling is done with the help of metal or stone stills. Wheeler (1968 : 80) and Mackay (1937) suggest that drills made of black brown chert and used by fixing them in bow were used for drilling the Indus beads while S.R. Rao (1973) believes that drills made of bronze were used for this purpose. Marshall had suggested (1951 : 511) that a copper rod and

emery powder were used for this purpose. It may be noted that drills were round from Chanhudaro excavations and Mackay observes that the drill of the same hardness, as of the stone, was used. The job of drilling became easy with the help of emery powder and water. However, the disc-shaped minute beads and micro-beads could not be drilled by keeping them in hand and it is logical to believe that a lathe or jig was used for this purpose. The wooden tables having holes of varying diameters found at Shahr-i-sokhta believed to be supports in drilling process. The bead which was to be perforated, was fixed in this wooden tablet, making it immobile and then it was drilled with a bow drill. In the case of Indus beads it is believed that the beads were drilled from both ends. This technique was applied so carefully that the holes could meet accurately at one point. It is seldom that the holes did not meet exactly at he same point. The transparency of same stones like carnelian and crystal helped the lapidaries in drilling, because they would see that the drill is going in the straight way.

After drilling the bead was polished by rubbing it with another stone piece, a technique which was subsequently applied in early historical cultures at Ujjain and other sites. According to Mackay polishing was done with lathe-bones of varying grades and this practice is still common in Cambay. Mackay says that a finely divided iron oxide used in conjunction with a leather covered board would have been admissible for this purpose. In modern times a leather bag is used for this purpose. The bag is filled with fine emery, carnelian powder and the beads to be polished. (Mackay 1937 : 9), then it is rotated till and beads are polished.

Etching of Carnelian Beads

The practice of decorating carnelian beads by a particular process known as etching was prevalent in the Indus valley culture. It is believed that this technique was a closely guarded secret with Indus craftsman as it was a source of income to these people. Etched carnelian beads made on the Indus sites were exported to the city-sites of Mesopotamia presumably on an enhanced premium. The Mesopotamian sites have given us several beads of this type.

The process of etching of beads has been studied in detail by M.G. Dikshit (1949) who divides them into three types.

(i) Type I - White pattern on red surface.

(ii) Type II - Black pattern on whitened surface of stone

(iii) Type III - Black pattern etched directly on the stone.

The art of etching was popular as late as the nineteenth century in the Sehwan region of the upper Sindhu. This process was studied by A.F. Bellasis (1857) who observes that a thick liquid paint made of potash, white lead and juice of Kirar bush (*Capparis aphylla*) was applied by a smooth pen on the surface of the bead. The beads were then heated to a very high temperature. In this process the stone beads absorbed the paint, making the pattern permanent and leaving a glossy surface. A microscopic examination shows that the effect of etching was to produce a number of minute spots under different coefficients of expansion. This white layer does not affect the extreme surface and the soda enters into the body of the bead in very minute particles (Dikshit, 1949 : 11).

A similar process of etching has been described by N.G. Majumdar. He observes that a thick liquid of washing soda, water and juice of *Kirar* bush was prepared. Then cotton wool was mixed with potters clay and pounded in an iron or pottery vessel so as the make it soft like wax. Then a mould of this clay was prepared and the carnelian to be decorated, exposed. Then it was dried in sun. After this the design/pattern was drawn on the carnelian with a reed or steel pen, using the aforesaid liquid. After drying in the sun, it was heated and the design became permanent (quoted by Beck, 1941, footnote No. 2, p. 2).

Unfinished beads found in excavations give an idea of the technique of their manufacture. The important evidence of this class comes from Chanhu-daro and Lothal in the text of Indus culture. A similar evidence comes from the proto-urban complex of Shahr-i-Sokhta in the neighbouring Iran which also may be dated to about the same age.

Among the early historical sites an important piece of evidence comes from the excavation at Ujjain conducted during 1955-56 (*I.A.R.*, 1956-57 : 27; also Banerjee 1959 : 191). Here, a damaged tile-roofed mud house has been identified as bead-making shop by the excavator. It consists of (a) lumps of raw material mainly agate and also chalcedony, (b) heaps of unfinished beads in the form of rough outs (c) sand stone grinding slabs (d) channel as longitudinal

emery powder were used for this purpose. It may be noted that drills were round from Chanhudaro excavations and Mackay observes that the drill of the same hardness, as of the stone, was used. The job of drilling became easy with the help of emery powder and water. However, the disc-shaped minute beads and micro-beads could not be drilled by keeping them in hand and it is logical to believe that a lathe or jig was used for this purpose. The wooden tables having holes of varying diameters found at Shahr-i-sokhta believed to be supports in drilling process. The bead which was to be perforated, was fixed in this wooden tablet, making it immobile and then it was drilled with a bow drill. In the case of Indus beads it is believed that the beads were drilled from both ends. This technique was applied so carefully that the holes could meet accurately at one point. It is seldom that the holes did not meet exactly at he same point. The transparency of same stones like carnelian and crystal helped the lapidaries in drilling, because they would see that the drill is going in the straight way.

After drilling the bead was polished by rubbing it with another stone piece, a technique which was subsequently applied in early historical cultures at Ujjain and other sites. According to Mackay polishing was done with lathe-bones of varying grades and this practice is still common in Cambay. Mackay says that a finely divided iron oxide used in conjunction with a leather covered board would have been admissible for this purpose. In modern times a leather bag is used for this purpose. The bag is filled with fine emery, carnelian powder and the beads to be polished. (Mackay 1937 : 9), then it is rotated till and beads are polished.

Etching of Carnelian Beads

The practice of decorating carnelian beads by a particular process known as etching was prevalent in the Indus valley culture. It is believed that this technique was a closely guarded secret with Indus craftsman as it was a source of income to these people. Etched carnelian beads made on the Indus sites were exported to the city-sites of Mesopotamia presumably on an enhanced premium. The Mesopotamian sites have given us several beads of this type.

The process of etching of beads has been studied in detail by M.G. Dikshit (1949) who divides them into three types.

(i) Type I - White pattern on red surface.

(ii) Type II - Black pattern on whitened surface of stone

(iii) Type III - Black pattern etched directly on the stone.

The art of etching was popular as late as the nineteenth century in the Sehwan region of the upper Sindhu. This process was studied by A.F. Bellasis (1857) who observes that a thick liquid paint made of potash, white lead and juice of Kirar bush (*Capparis aphylla*) was applied by a smooth pen on the surface of the bead. The beads were then heated to a very high temperature. In this process the stone beads absorbed the paint, making the pattern permanent and leaving a glossy surface. A microscopic examination shows that the effect of etching was to produce a number of minute spots under different coefficients of expansion. This white layer does not affect the extreme surface and the soda enters into the body of the bead in very minute particles (Dikshit, 1949 : 11).

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trench or channel ovens, containing a rather meagre seater or ash and charcoal and (a) earthen vessels containing the unfinished beads, in one case provided with a neatly-made chalcedony stopper (*I.A.R.*, 1957-58 : 34). It may be noted that Ujjain has yielded over five thousands beads made of agate, carnelian, soaps, garnet, jaspar, quartz, crystal, steatite, aquamarine, jade, chalcedony and onyx.

The evidence furnished by Lothal excavation is quite interesting. A bead factory with a working platform in the open courtyard surrounded by eleven rooms was exposed in Block 'E', near the acropolis (Rao, 1979 : 118; also *Ibid.*, p. 580). Two earthen jars, one containing 582 carnelian beads and another containing 212 beads of carnelian, shell and steatite were found embedded in the platform. Several cores, flakes ground and unbored beads were scattered all over the courtyard and in the rooms around. A flanged drill bit of bronze used in boring atone beads was found near the factory. A kiln, ovoid on plan, with longer axis being 5 feet and a height of 1 ft. 4 inches was exposed. It is believed that this kiln was used by the lapidaries for heating beads. As in the case of Chanhu-daro, the evidence from Lothal indicates the different stages of manufacture involved in bead making comprised heating, chipping, grinding, sawing, polishing and finally boring.

A Historical Survey of Bead Making Industry in India

Archaeological excavations conducted at a number of Neolithic sites indicates that lapidary's art was in its rudimentary stage during the neolithic period. Only a few neolithic sites have yielded stones beads, important among them being Brahmagiri, Hallur, Palavoy, Piklihal and Tekkalakote, Carnelian and steatite were the most popular stones during this period and the latter material accounted for 15 specimens at Hallur (Nagaraja Rao, 1971). Agate accounts for a solitary specimen from Brahmagiri. Other materials infrequently used are green stone, magnesite paste and quartz.

In the Harappa culture the art of gem-cutting shows a sudden improvement both in terms of the quality and variety of stones used as also the intricate shapes made by the lapidarys. Steatite was by far the most popular material for bead making in Indus culture. Among the total beads of Mohenjodaro three quarters are made of steatite only. These beads are made either by

natural steatite or of powdered steatite which were moulded. Hegde and his colleagues have made chemical tests which shows that the beads were not made from pure talc which is a hydrated silicate of magnesium. This study shows that the Harappan bead make deliberately mixed talc and Keolinite in the ratio of five to one. Such materials also occur in nature, with metamorphosed ultra-basic rocks and the material is known as talcoss steatite (Hegde *et at.* 1982 ; 239 ff.). These steatite microbeads are generally very small measuring 1-3 millimetres in length and one millimetre in external diameter. The diameter of the circular performation of the centre is 1-1/2 millimetre showing the craftsmanship of highest quality. Such beads have been reported from Harappa, Chanhudaro, Kalibangan, Lothal, Rojdi and Zekda (Banskanta district of northern Gujarat).

Besides, painted steatite beads have also been reported from Indus sites. Segmented beads of faience (prepared of quartz grains after mixing some glazes) are another feature of the Indus culture. Among the stone beads agate was the most popular in this culture and long-barrel shapes are most popular in this material. Beads of chacedonic agate, breccia came from Harappa and Mohen-jodaro only. Carnelian, the red variety of agate with etching done it is another popular material for Indus lapidaries. Unusually long beads of this material (generally 3-5 inches long) came from Harappa and a few from Mohen-jodaro are longer than five inches. Etched beads of carnelian were popular with craftsmen at Lothal. Beads of chert and chalcedony have been recorded from Harappa only while crystal beads in limited number occur at Mohen-jodaro.Jade is uncommon on Indus sites while lapis beads occurring in limited number were probably an import from Western Asiatic sites. Gold capped beads of jaspar and turquoise comes from Lothal and Mohen-jodaro. It may be noted that beads of transparent variety of quartz i.e., rock crystal, amethyst, yellow quartz etc. are totally absent from the Indus culture while they are frequently met with in the early historical levels at several sites.

Among the Chalcolithic sites of central India and the Deccan the lapidary's art shows a perceptible decline in comparison to the Indus sites. The probable reason for this decline was that during this time India reverted back to the culture of villages as compared to the urban settlements of the Indus valley, with the result that there were no patrons and connoisseurs of the works of art. Among the sites of these cultures beads are surprisingly absent at Jorwe, Nasik

and Maheswar but Kayatha and Navdatoli have yielded a substantial number of beads. At Kayatha about forty thousand disc shaped beads made of steatite were recorded while sixteen thousand beads of this material came from Navdatoli. Beads of carnelian were most popular at other chalcolithic sites and biconical and spherical are the important shapes in this material. Etched carnelian beads are very few, numbering five and one at Ahar and Navdatoli, respectively. Plain carne7lian beads come from Kayatha, Navdatoli, Nevasa, Prakash and Maski. Besides, carnelian, the most popular material at other chalcolithic sites were agate, jaspar and crystal in the same diminishing order. Beads of carnelian, agate, steatite, jasper and jade are reported from chalcothic levels (Period I, 1500-800 B.C.) at Nagda (Banerjee, 1986 : 211). In the succeeding period at the same site (Period II, 750-500 B.C.) beads of new materials like chalcedony, coral, bone, shell and ivory were added while in the last period (Period III 500-200 B.C.) still new materials like amethyst, garnet, crystal, quartz, glass and gold were added for bead making.

The process of urbanization witnessed in the Gangetic plains during the first part of the first millennium B.C. witnesses a new vigorous development in the art of gem-cutting partly in order to cater to the needs of the members of the royalty and ruling class and partly to adorn the members of the household of the mercantile community. Apart from the use of the new stones, new types were experimented upon. Beads of crystal and other similar stones are now so common at sites like Ahichchhatra, Kausambi, Taxila, Rajghat, Sisupalgarh and other sites datable to the early historical times. Pendants made of carnelian, green jasper and other stones partly indicating the religious beliefs of the contemporary population are commonly met with in the N.B.P. ware culture and the Sunga-Kushana levels. Pandents of crystal, carved in the shapes of human, pear and sword occur at Sonpur, Charsadda and Tilaurakot, respectively. Pendant of carnelian were carved in no less than eight shapes e.g., axe, bull, bent club, degger, drop tooth and *triratna*. The last-named shape presumably represented the three sacred jewels of the Buddhists - the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha. *Triratna* shaped pendant have been collected from Taxila dated between third century B.C. and first century A.D. as also from Rajghat from the Gupta levels. Besides cemented eye bead of agate are a characteristic features of NBP culture. Use of stones like a aquamarine and beryl is seen for the first time in this culture.

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EPIGRAPHICAL DATA ON ALAMPUR TEMPLES AND THE SHRINE OF JOGULĀṀBĀ

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The temple town of Alampur is a taluk headquarter in district Mahbubnagar of Andhra Pradesh. The place is approachable from Hyderabad through National highway and is at a distance of 240 km. The nearest Railway station is Alampur Road which is 9 km. westwards of the town on Hyderabad-Bangalore Railway line. While the large number of temples are within the township along the west bank of the river Tungabhadrā, the Pāpanāśi group of temples are located about 3 Km. south and isolated from the town. Another important temple which is integral with Alampur group is the Kūḍali Sangameśvara temple, located 20 Km. north-east of Alampur town at the confluence point of Tungabhadrā and Krishṇā rivers. We shall examine the data from these three temple sites together as they present some substantial evidence for the origins and emergence of the early Chālukyan temple styles.

1. Nava Brahmā temples, Alampur :

The Navabrahmā group of temples are regarded as examples of early Chālukyan style, developed regionally with contacts from the early art centres of North such as Gupta/Vākāṭaka/Vishṇukuṇḍin.[1] The standing ones are dated to mid seventh century A.D., the earliest inscription was of the times of Vikramāditya-I (654-681), *Raṇarasikā,* referring to the installation of a *liṅga* in the *Mahādevāyatana* of the Arka Brahmā temple. Alampur town has the largest number of early Chālukyan temples in one place. It was a fortified temple city with a gate-way at the west (*niravadya prākāra*), a sacred

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1. P.R. Ramachandra Rao, *A Study in Early Chālukyan Art,* (Hyderabad 1977)
B. Rajendra Prasad, "Temples of Latina form at Alampur", *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art,* V, Pt. 2, (1974) PP. 68-69.

kshetra presided by goddess called Jogulāṁbā (*yoginī*) and a *tīrtha* with ghats leading to the river Tungabhadrā, an *Uttaravāhinī* here.

The major nine temples are Kumāra-Brahmā (the earliest), Arka-Brahmā, Vīra-Brahmā, Bāla-Brahmā, Svarga-Brahmā, Garuḍa-Brahmā, Viśva-Brahmā, Padma-Brahmā and Tāraka-Brahmā. Besides, a plethora of minor shrines and *maṇḍapas* of later date, votive monolithic rock-cut shrine models with *liṅga* or deities inset in relief are noteworthy. Bāla-Brahmā complex alone is continuously under worship and mostly elaborated in later periods.

2. Pāpanāśi group of temples :

The group of temples named Pāpanāśi are situated at a distance of three Km. south of Alampur and considered of 23-temples, datable to circa 10th-11th century A.D. These temples are a class by themselves and contain a cluster of shrines with plain walls and (*Phāṁsanā*) tiered pyramidal roof types crowned by either square *śikharas* (*Brahmacchanda*) or *śāla śikharas*, exceptionally in one case a *gajapṛṣṭha śikhara*. The complex is within a *prākāra* whose extant at the east is available with a *Pratolī* (gate-house) marking the river facing entrance. The main Pāpavināśesvara shrine is the largest and square on plan with plain walls, *phāṁsanā* superstructure and (*Brahmacchanda*) *grīva-śikhara*. It has a *raṅgamaṇḍapa* in front on carved pillars with an *aṣṭa-dikpāla* ceiling, Naṭeśa occupying the central panel. The *garbhagṛha* door-frame has four *śākhās*, the over-door frame has a *hāra* of *śāla* flanked by *kūṭas*. A well shaped *ardha-candra* with end-conches marked the entrance step.

3. Sangameśvara Temple, Kūḍali :

The village Kudavelli is a colloquial for *kūḍali* which meant the confluence. Precisely it is this locale, not only a *tīrtha* confluence but northerly flow of rivers (*Uttaravāhinī*), that stimulated the early Chālukyan patrons to locate a grand temple of magnificent size and ornateness at this picturesque *saṅgama* zone. This is the lone example of a stone temple at the northern end of the ground (PL.I). We find no other complex raised at this place subsequently. The annual inundation virtually isolated this ancient site from the village nearby. This factor perhaps resulted in the total shift of the temple activity to a safer place like Alampur during the early Chālukyan times.



PL. I : Kudavelli, Sangamēśvara temple, locale



PL. II (A) : Alampur, Padma Brahmā Temple,
General view of the excavation (1986-87)

I. Chālukyan Temples, their origins :

The earliest reference to the *kṣetra* and the God is found in an epigraph from Gurzala in Palnad taluk of Guntur district. This Brāhmī inscription dated in the 4th regnal years of the last known Ikṣvāku king Rudrapurushadatta (A.D. 344) registers the gift of a field by a certain Noḍukasiri to Bhagavan Halaṁpurasvāmī[2]. Late K.A. Nilakantha Sastri identified *Halaṁpuram* as the present Alampuram. Late Venkataramanayya[3] regarded *Halampura svāmī* as the Bāla-Brahmeśvara *liṅga*. He would assign the beginning of this temple to 3rd-4th century AD.

G.R. Sarma, however, wrongly takes the reference[4] to one "Halampurasvāmī, who donated the town to the "Buddha". There is no trace of Buddhism anywhere in *Alampūrusīma,* though the area appears to have come under the political control of the Ikṣvākus of Vijayapurī as seen from the lead coins of Ikṣvākus found in Vīrapuram excavations[5], besides the land grant to *Halampurasvāmin* noted above.

In an inscription dated to Śaka 973 (1051 AD) Brahmeśvaradeva is stated to have manifested himself at *Haṭaṁpuraṁ*[6]. In the inscriptions of the Iruguna Chola Maharaja, a feudatory of Kalyani Chālukya king Trailokyamalla Someśvara I (śaka 978), 1057, the place is clearly read as *Alampuram.* But the older name *Haṭaṁpuraṁ* continues to occur.

The origin and foundation of the early Chālukya (*Karṇāta* or *Āndhra*) style and chronology of the stone temples are not clearly defined. The brick-and-timber structures preceding the stone temples of the Chālukyans that have come to light due to recent probes at Aihole, Badami (1970), Alampur and Kudavelli

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2. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, "Gurzala Brāhmī Inscription", *Epigraphia Indiaca,* XXVI, PP. 123-125.

3. N. Venkataramanayya, "The Vishṇukuṇḍins", *Journal of the Madras University,* XLVII, no. 2, (July, 1975) PP. 76-77.

4. G. Ramakrishna Sarma, *The Monuments of Alampur* (1964), PP. 6-7.

5. T.V.G. Sastry (Ed) Veerapuram, A type site for cultural study in the Krishṇa valley, (Hyderabad, 1984), PP. 73 & 86.

6. A. Waheed Khan, *Stone Sculptures in the Alampur Museum,* (Hyderabad, 1973), P. 24.

and some other[7] places too, open fresh grounds for study. The emergence of the Chālukyan style and its distinct contribution to growth of architecture in stone are of supreme importance for our study. The stress will, however, be made to examine the epigraphical evidences that have come forth while tracing the origins of the stone temples here.

(a) Alampur digs

There is hardly any doubt that Alampur was an early *Śaiva* centre, a *īrtha sthala* and *kṣetra*. A small scale probe[8] carried out around Padma-Brahma temple of the time of Vikramāditya brought to light the mouldings of the lower *jagati* and *upāna*. Brick walls underlying the foundations of the stone temple were met with (PL. II, A & B). In period I assigned to circa 3rd-5th century AD a massive brick wall of 1.25 m. wide with bricks of 47 X 23.5 X 8 and 44 X 22 X 8 cm. was traced underlying the foundation courses (*upāna*) of the temple. The associated pottery wares like red slipped ware, Red Polished ware and Black Polished wares confirm its early date. Period II (6th to 9th century AD) revealed a repaired brick phase and elaborations in stone structure were found. Period III (circa 10th-13th century AD) shows the continuance of the stone buildings. While period IV (15th-17th century AD) marked the decline and emergence of late medieval structures out of *Taki* stone slabs. These brick remains clearly point out, as at Kudavelli (described below), an early brick phase before the advent of Chālukyan stone patterns at Alampur. This is the case also at Siddheśwaram, Vīrapuram and elsewhere in the submergible areas of Śrīsailam where sacred rivers like Krishṇā, Bhāvanasi, Tungabhadrā confluences exist[9].

b) Kudavelli digs (Figs. 1 & 2)

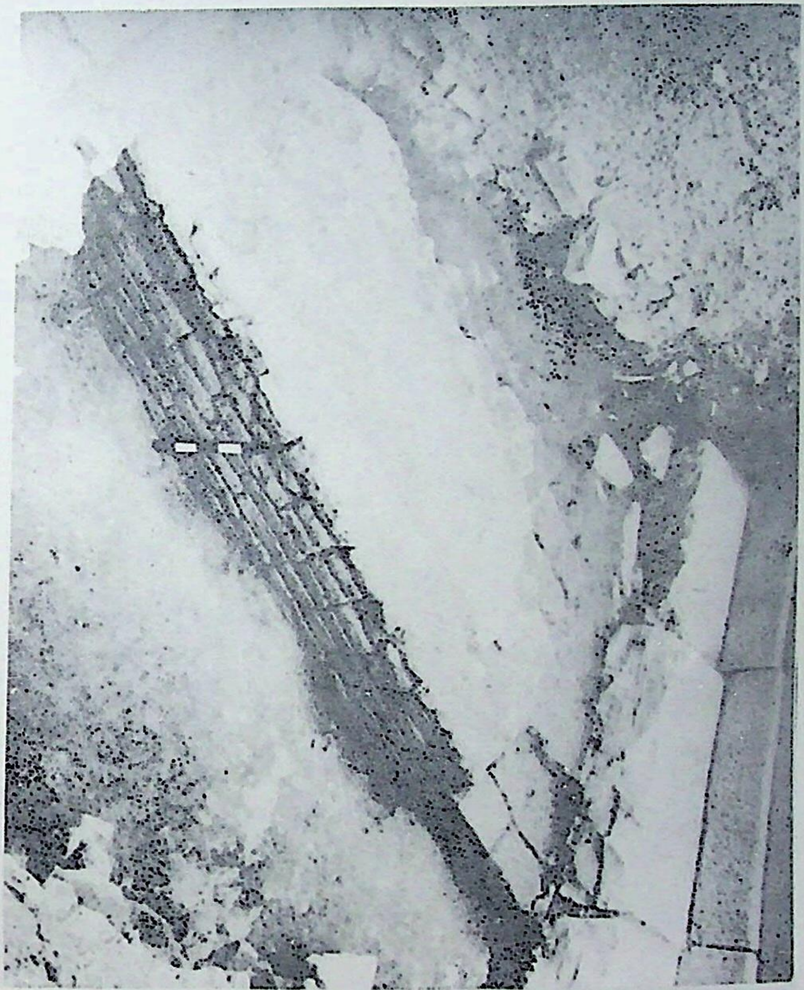
The excavations close to the temple surroundings revealed several smaller brick shrines (PL. III) with lime stone *liṅgas* at the centre. N.C. Ghosh reported from them interesting antiquities. Two potin coins of Sātakarṇi bearing elephant and crescented UJN symbol; a Brāhmī inscription '*Kolanu*'

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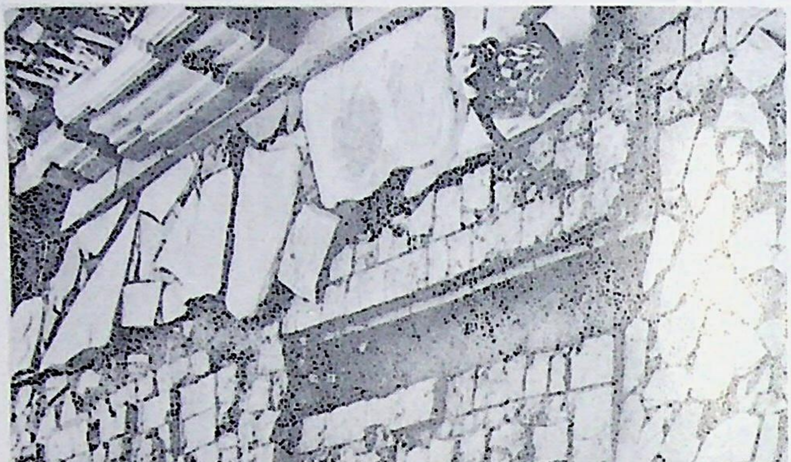
7. This is the case with Sangameśvara temple, Pattadakal too. The bigger stone temple was built over brick foundations. Cf. George Michell, "The Sangameśvara temple of Pattadakal", *Art and Archaeology Research Papers,* (London 1972) I, P. 47.

8. *Indian Archaeology,* 1986-87 - A Review (*IAR* in Press).

9. I.K. Sarma, *The Development of Early Śaiva Art and Architecture,* (New Delhi 1982), PP. 81-91 Pls. 57-61.



PL. II (B) : Alampur, Padma Brahmā Temple,
Early Brick Temple below,
Period I, 3-5th Century A.D.



PL. III : Kudavelli, Sangamēśvara Temple,
Brick foundations below *Prākāra*

in characters datable to 4th century A.D.[10], a circular seal of soap stone reading *Kalabhasa*[11], (of Kalabha), two gold coins, one of the Roman emperor Constantine the great (306-337) and the other of a Byzantine emperor Anastasius(491-518) from the upper levels[12]. These coins are perforated indicating their use as pendants. N.C. Ghosh points out they were objects of exchange and during this period Romans and Byzantines had trade relationship with this part of India. There appears to be no doubt that the *sangama* zone was a prominent religious and commercial centre, a *tīrthakṣetra* as early as fourth century AD. The above evidence (Fig. 2) also confirm the general cultural and religious set up in the Tungabhadrā-Krishṇā-Bhāvanasi-*saṅgama* which was characterised by early brick temples of *Śaiva* affiliation as revealed at the now submerged sites like Rangapur, Vīrapuram and Siddeśwaram[13] going back to the times of Mahāraṭhis followed by the later Sātavāhanas in the wake of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's southern *digvijaya*. Kudavelli situated at the confluence of two larger rivers, provided a very good meeting place for all the merchants, both foreign and native, leading to its prosperous state as a religious centre.

Further in the year 1982-83[14] , a cutting across the temple proper was undertaken to obtain not only the foundational details below *garbhagṛha,* but also the original layout of the *Vāstumaṇḍala.* During this probe in the upper levels of the foundational make up (Phase - 3), an inscribed slab containing six letters (*agaḍi kola Śrī*) in early Chālukyan characters datable to 6th century AD was found.

Another label inscription recently found on a stone member reveals an architect[15], named "*Śrī Viśiddaka Jugachārī*" in 6th century AD characters[16].

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10. *Annual Report, Indian Epigraphy,* 1978-79, B. 26, P. 28.

11. *IAR,* 1978-79, P. 39, PL. VIII-B.

12. *Ibid.,* PL. VII-A, P. 39. Also see *Journal of the Numisnatic Society of India,* XLII, (1980) PP. 12-17.

13. I.K. Sarma, *Op. cit.,* (1982), PP. 90-92, *IAR,* 1978-79, PP. 116-117, PL. LIX-A.

14. *IAR,* 1982-83, PP. 90. My forthcoming paper "Alampur Temples", Rare evidences on constructional Modes and consecrational rites", in *Personality in Indian Archaeology, Essays in Honour of B.K. Thapar,* (1990).

15. Information along with the photographs made available through the courtesy of Sri A.P. Sagar, Superintending Archaeologist. The credit goes to Sri S . Konda Reddy, Senior Cons. Asstt. Kurnool Range.

An important epigraph in early Telugu-Kannaḍa characters engraved on the stone slab marked as E-44 between niche figures of *Padmanidhī* and *Ardhanārī* on the east wall face of the central shrine[17] reads "*Śrī Utpattipiḍugu Ekāntanivāsi*". This label record along with the (mace-head) is noted not only in some early Chālukyan structural temples like Satyavolu, Kadamarakalava and Pratakota but also among the rock-cut *maṇḍapa* temples like Undavalli and Akkanna-Madanna caves etc. This label appears to be that of a *sthapati*[18] guild of a pre-Pulakeśin (II) date. The absence of such early label record as well as any other reference or evidence of stone temples assignable to the period prior to Vikramāditya-I at Alampur undoubtedly makes the lone Kūḍali Sangameśvara temple anterior to all the Chālukyan establishment of Alampur[19].

II. Historical background and inscriptional evidences :

The rise of the Chālukyan of Vātāpī, more particularly with the accession of Kīrtivarman-I gained mometum over the Mahbubnagar and Kurnool areas replacing the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and Bāṇas. The doab area known as *Chālukyaviṣaya,* appears to have been particularly attractive for the religious centres and men of great learning. The Tummayaneru[20] grant clearly refers to the temple of Sangameśvara at the confluence (Kūḍali) of the river Krishṇa and Tungabhadra. The village donation was caused by the ruling king Pulakeśin (II) himself to the *brāhmaṇas* in the presence of the God *Kūḍali Sangameśvara on* the sacred lunar eclipse day of *Kārttika Pūrṇimā.* The hermitage of

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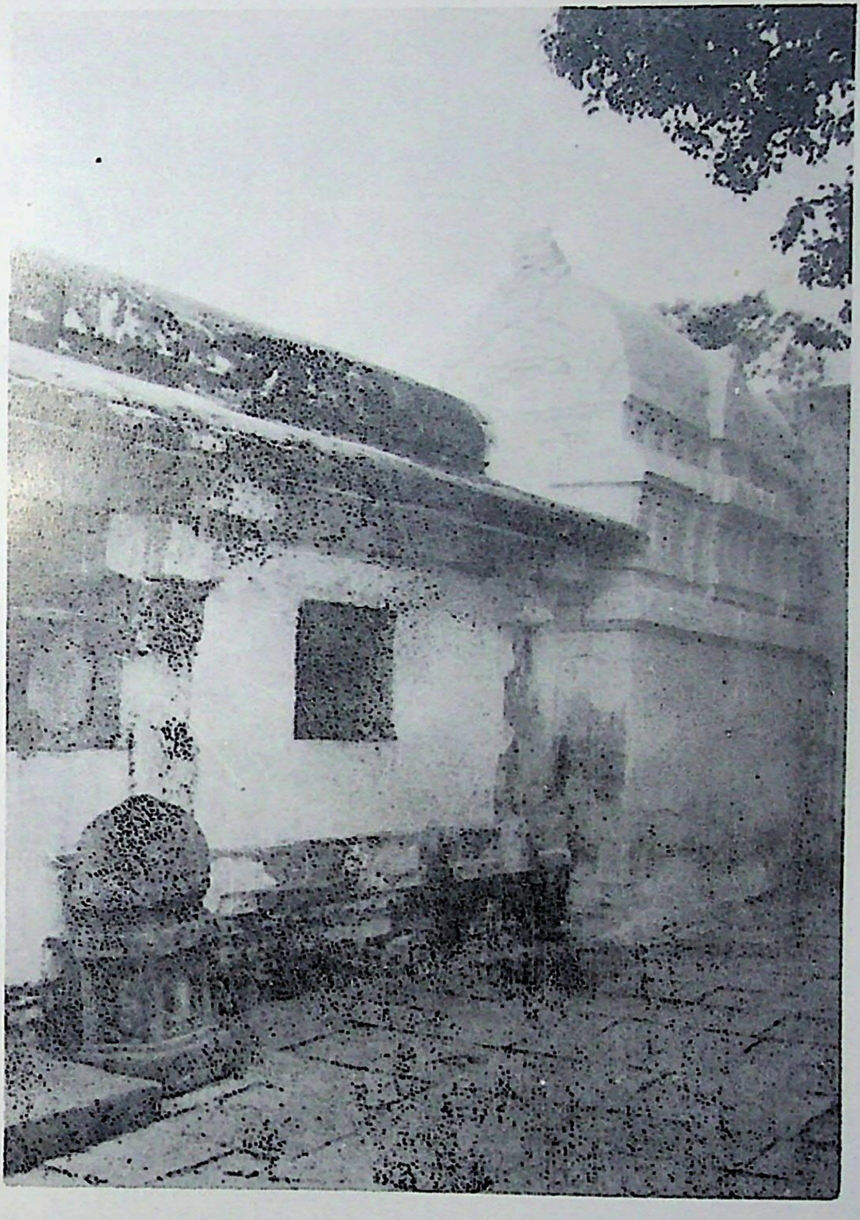
16. A scribe named Yagajukāchārya occurs in Bhāvanāśi Sangameśvara temple (Rūpālaguḍi) in 7th-8th century A.D. characters, *A.P. Govt. Annual Report,* 1966, PP. 49-50, B - 204.

17. *IAR, 1978-79, A Review,* P. 76, no. 5.

18. K.V. Soundara Rajan assigns a late date to these caves. See *Cave Temples of the Deccan,* (New Delhi, 1981), PP. 40-41. But the date and assignment by Ananda Coomaraswamy as early Pallave seems more appropriate. In any case there are precursors to the Chālukyan style, Cf. Ananda Coormaraswamy, "Early Indian Architecture; IV Huts and related temple types", edited with preface by Michael W. Meister. Afterward by Micheal W. Meister and Joseph Rykwert, *Res.* 15, (London, 1988), PP. 20-21.

19. B. Rajendra Prasad, *Art of South India, Andhra Pradesh,* (New Delhi, 1980), PP. 93 and 97. This author assigns the temple to the period of Vikramāditya (654-681 A.D.), and says that the temple belongs to the formative phase of Alampur idiom.

20. N. Ramesan, *Copper plate inscriptions* I, (Hyderabad, 1972), PP. 42-43. Tummananeru village is in *Chālukya Vishaya.* This is the southern part of Mahbubnagar district wherefrom the copper plates were found.



PL. IV : Alampur, Shrine of Joguḷāṁbā



PL. V : Alampur, Chāmuṇḍī (Early Chālukyan)

Sudarśanācārya, the great *Śaiva* preceptor, who was instrumental to bestow *Śivamaṇḍaladīkṣā Iparumkal* or Amudalapadu grant to Vikramāditya-I (660 AD) is not far removed from Alampur being at Chinnamarur.[21] In fact Vikramāditya built a memorial shrine at this very place.

Another inscription from Śivanandīśvara temple[22] dated the 8th regnal year of Vikramâditya-I (662 AD) reveals gifts made by the king himself on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of *Kārttika*. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry[23] holds the view that Viṣṇukuṇḍins established the early temples, at least their nuclei at Satyavolu and Alampur. They were later enlarged by the succeeding Chālukyan kings. N. Venkataramanayya[24] asserted that "the Chālukyas acquired the taste for and inherited the traditions of art and architecture from the Viṣṇukuṇḍins of whom in the early days of their history they were subordinates". The earliest known record from Alampur comes from Arka-Brahmā temple.[25] It is on a pillar and records the installation of a *liṅga* in the main temple (*mahādevāyatana*) by the Mahādevī of Anivārita Vikramāditya (654-681) and a grant of fifty *nivartanas* of land in this village Vardhamani to a*mahābrāhmaṇa* Pishti Śarmā of *Bhāradvājasa gotra*. Another inscription engraved over the image of *dvārapāla in Svarga-Brahmā* temple reveals the construction of a temple *devakula* jointly by *Ela-arasa* (*yuvarāja*) Lokâditya and the chief queen of Prithvi Vallabha Vinayāditya[26] (681-696). An inscription dated in the 18th regnal year of Vijayāditya corresponding to Śaka 635 (A.D. 713), states that the king built at in instance of *Īśānācharyasvāmi*[27], the *prākārabandha* (enclosure) to the temple complex which was already in

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21. *IAR*, 1972-73, P. 39; 1976-77. P. 57.

22. *Epigraph Indica*, XXXVII, PP. 141-142. B. Rajendra Prasad, "Sivānandīs are temple of Kadamarakalava", *JISOA*, VII, (1975-76), PP. 27-32.

23. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, "Epigraphical Notes", Chronology of Early Chālukyan temples in Andhra Pradesh", *Epigraphia Andhrica*, (Hyderabad, 1975), IV, PP. 141-142.

24. N. Venkataramanayya, in *Journal of Madras University*, Vol. XLVII, no. 2, (July, 1975), P. 75.

25. *IAR*, 1972-73, P. 37; Also P.V. Parabrahma Sastry in Srinivas H. Ritti, (Ed) *A Decade of Epigraphical Studies in South India*, (Dharwad, 1988), P. 13.

26. *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, 1967 (A.P. Govt. Series, Hyderabad), PP. 130-131.

27. G.S. Gai, "Alampuram Inscription of Chālukya Vijayaditya Saka 635", *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXV, A. 3, PP. 121-124.

existence. This *Īśānācharya* was the chief priest. It should be noted that Alampur temples, though caused through the Chālukyan patronage, the guild of architects belong to distinct local tradition. Migration of architects from *Veṅgīdeśa* to *Karṇāta*[28] is well attested.

The first reference to the kṣetra comes from the record of Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhārāvarsha Dhruva, regnal year-1 corresponding[29] to 780 A.D. The group of temples are referred to by the name as Brahmeśvara kṣetram and a feudatory of king Dhārāvarsha Dhruva, by name Maharaja Bālavarmarasa gave donation for the conduct of religious functions at Alampur. Thus, the association of Bālavarmarasa appears to have led to the prefix Bāla to the Brahmeśvara temple i.e. the first one in the series. The subsequent records of the Kalyāṇi Chālukyan kings generally refer to the temples as Brahmeśvaradeva. Individual names to the temples are found mentioned in the Chennipad Copper plates (a village near Alampur sīma dated to Śaka 1448 i.e. 1526 AD). In this, for the first time, we come across the names clearly mentioned in this order[30] - Garuḍa-Brahmeśvara,Veera-Brahmeśvara,Padma-Brahmeśvara,Visva-ahmeśvara, Kumāra-Brahmeśvara, Svarga-Brahmeśvara, Tāraka-Brahmeśvara, Sūrya (Arka)-Brahmeśvara and Bāla-Brahmeśvara. Thus, it is clear that the nine names with a common Brahmā appellation were known only from the Vijayanagara times. The Vijayanagara king Śrī Krishṇadevarāya made one Chinnapaddi Naidu, as a Palegar of the Alampūr-sīma.

III. The shrine of Jogulāṁbā (PL. IV)

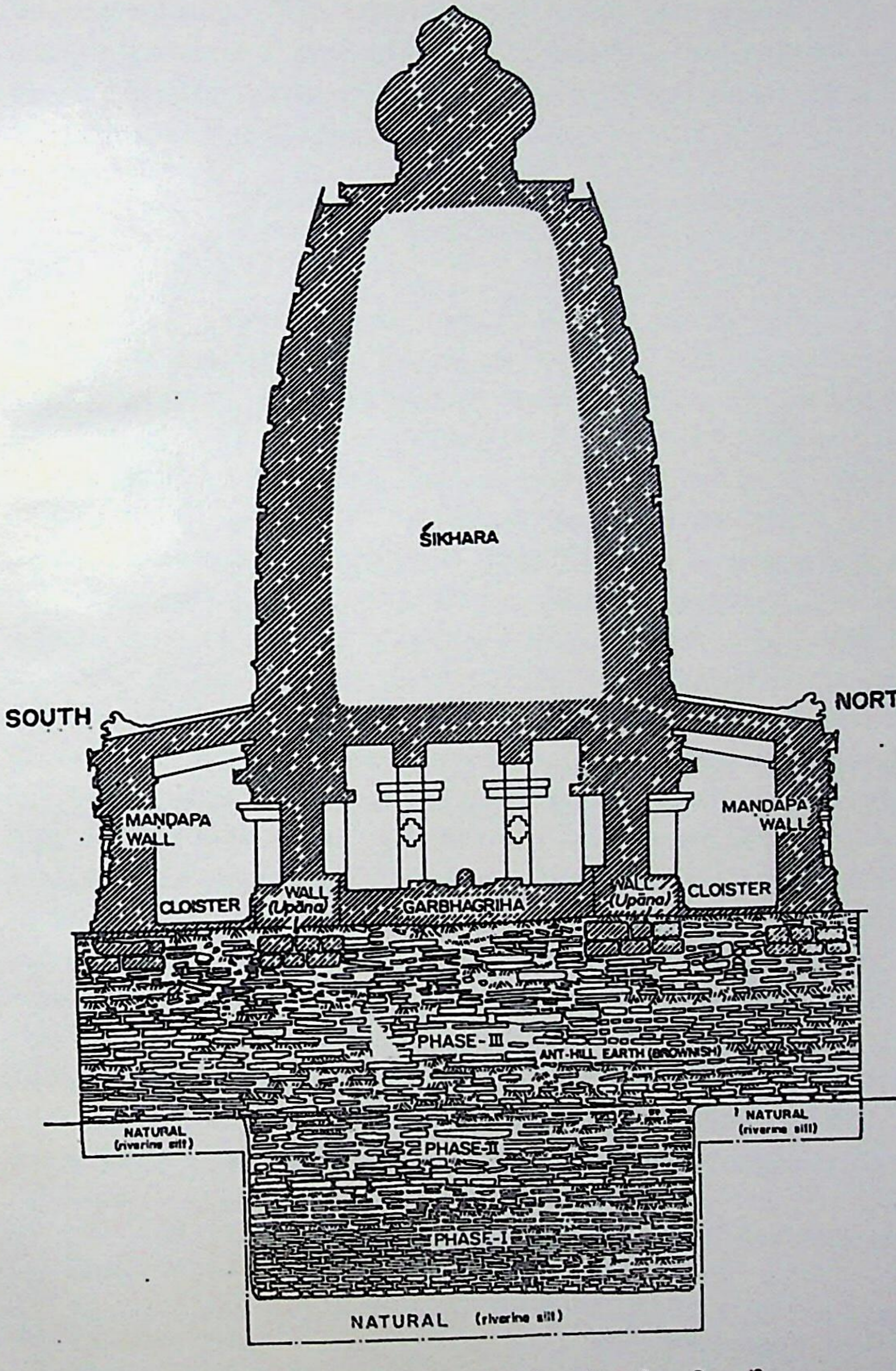
The first mention of Goddess comes from 1060 AD.[31] named therein as *jogeśvarī*. We are not very clear whether this reference holds good for the *Jogulāṁbā* shrine at the south-east corner of the Bāla-Brahma temple. In all likelihood, the goddess name *Yogeśvarī* seemed to have been colloquialised as *Jogulāṁbā,* (mother of *Jogulu* i.e. *Yogis*). In consonance with the general layout of the temple unit, the Bāla-Brahma temple has a linear chamber specially made at the south-east corner of the *guḍha-maṇḍapa*

28. C. Sivarama Murti, *Early Eastern Chālukyan sculptures,* (Madras, 1957), PP. 26.27.

29. P. Srinivasachar (Ed) *Telangāṇa Śāśanamulu,* II, (Hyderabad 1960), PP. 175 and 195.

30. *Ibid.,* PP. 146, 147 and 210, *Alampur no. 4.*

31. *Ibid.,* PP. 25 and 197.



Figs. 1 : Kudavelli, 1978-79, Digs.

for a goddess. The door-way was sidewards with a *gavākṣa* (pierced window for viewing siderally). This goddess being a ferocious type of *Chāmuṇḍī*, seated cross-legged over a dead body (*preta*), has four hands with emaciated body, hanging breasts, mouth open with canine teeth and out-stretched tongue (PL. V). In the *Sthalapurāṇa* she is described as :

> *"Lambastanīṁ vikṛtākshīṁ, ghorarūpāṁ mahābalāṁ |*
> *Pretāsanasamāyuktāṁ, Jogulāṁbāṁ namāmayahaṁ"||*

Aṣṭadaśapīṭha, work ascribed to Śankarāchārya, (probably Śankara Āgamāchārya, the Bengal author, 1661 A.D., according to late D.C. Sircar), mentions 18-*pīṭhas* together with *Pīṭhadevīs*. In this list we find the mention of Ālāpura[32], its *Pīṭhadevī* (*Yugaladevī*), besides Śrīsaila and Bhramarāṁbikā. The work is, however, of 1806 A.D. Such forms of Chāmuṇḍi are also seen in the Kūḍali Sangameśvara temple as well as the Sangameśvara temple at Bhāvanasi *tīrtha*. The significance of such an installed figure of Jogulāṁbā in a corner shrine and robust *saptamātris* in another open cella at the corner with a Vīrabhadra shrine in front were rather uncommon installations. Such forms of Chāmuṇḍi (PL. VI) are also seen in the Kudavelli Sangameśvara temple, as well as the Sangameśvara temple at *Bhavanāśi-tīrtha*. This *sthala-devatā* being called Yogeśvarī appears to be only mythical and based on a literary work *Saubhāgyabhāskara bhāṣya* by one Bhāskarānanda. The term *Jogulā* is said to be found mentioned in a *tāntric* work written by Nityānandha Siddha.[33] The same author refers to a Sanskrit *Sthalapurāṇa* (unpublished) with 12-*adhyāyas* and one chapter in it is stated to contain the Rasasiddha charitam. The nine Brahmā temples are stated to have been raised by the prowess of a Rasasiddha, who obtained the *rasas* variously from the head of Brahmeśvara, from the mouth of Jogulāṁbā; from the navel of the Vināyaka, from the toe of Pārvatī, from the right arm of Bhairava and so on. This legend, according to G.R. Sarma, is also found carved over the entrance pillars. Further, the above author vaguely states that *Śaiva Rasatantravādins* flourished at Alampur and

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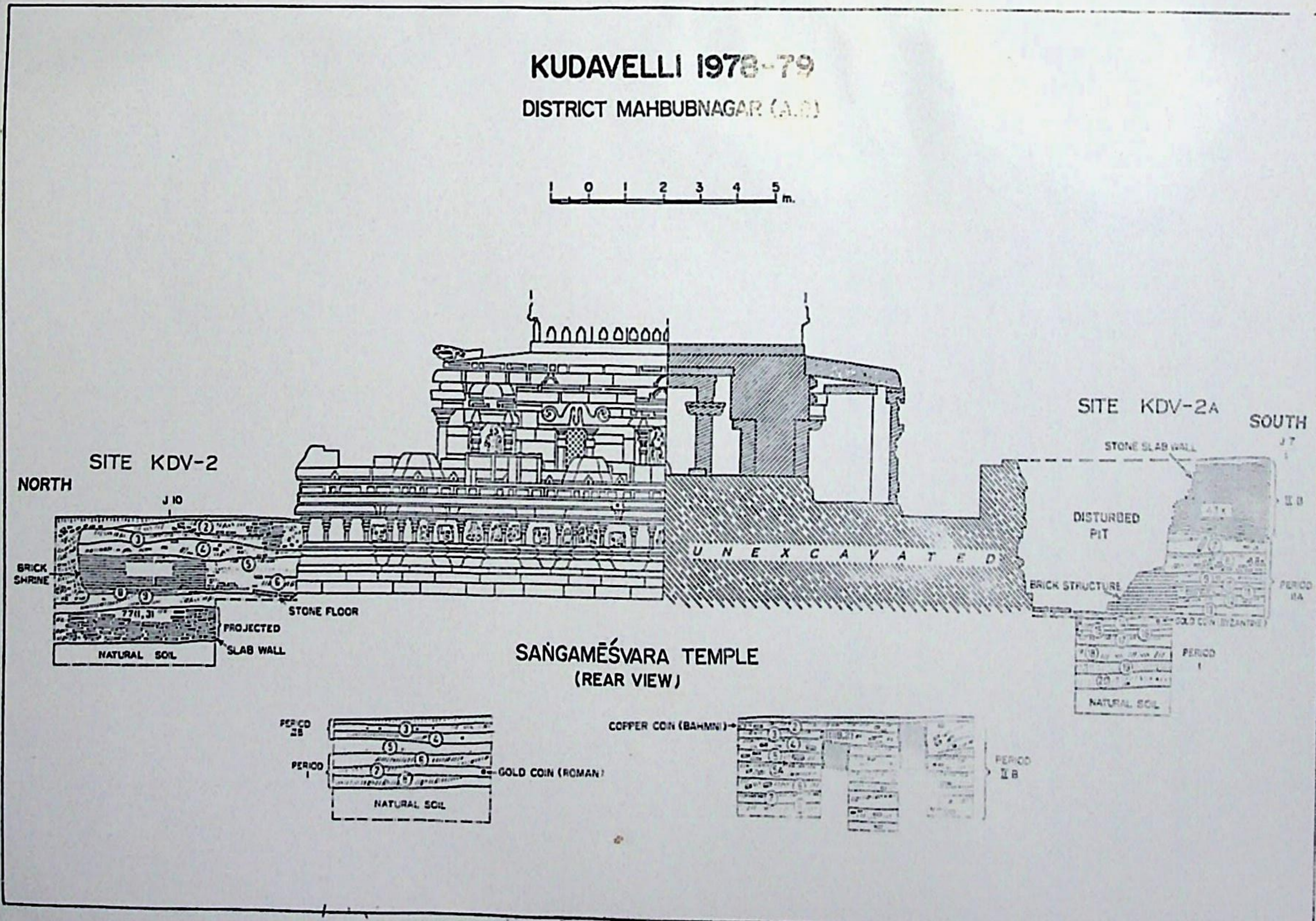
32. D.C. Sircar, *The Śākta Pīṭhas,* (Revised edition, 1973) P. 18. Prof. Sircar identifies it as *Elapura* (Ellora) but this is not appropriate.

33. *Rasaratnākaraṁ Ashṭamopadeśaṁ,* cantos 56-58. Cf. G.R. Sarma, *Alampuraṁ Kshetram,* (Telugu, 1957), PP. 5-6, 33. It is a Telugu rendering of *The Monuments of Alampur,* (1964) PP. 12-13 and 49.

some texts refer to the place as an important seat for them. He regards the sculptures of seated *rishis* more probably *sthānādhipatis* with *yogapatta,* as representing *Rasasiddhas.* Elsewhere also he says that Jogulāṁbā was the main deity originally consecrated in the sanctum of Bāla-Brahmeśvara temple and *Śaiva* have replaced her with a *liṅga* and called the shrine as Bāla-Brahmeśvara. The evidence relied on by G.R. Sarma is that the doorway has female *dvārapālas* on either side and if the *pratiṣṭhā* was for a *Śivaliṅga,* female *dvārapālas* cannot find place. But placing *pratīhāris,* besides massive *dvārapālakas* (Nandi and Mahākāla) with *āyudhas* is a common, Vākāṭaka-Gupta trait and the door *Śākhas* of Alampur temples, as also the Karṇātaka-Gaṅga examples possess the female attendants as well as a separate set of *Śaiva-dvārapālakas,* somewhat massive and in round flanking the *dvāra.* There exists no other evidence whatsoever to prove that any other separate shrine for the goddess was made outside the Bāla-Brahmeśvara temple.

In fact a separate *Devī* shrine is conspicuously absent here within the *Navabrahmā* units of the Chālukyan period. From the architectural traditions and the well known iconographic characteristic of the installed image, the goddess was placed as a *prākāra* deity. From the style of the sculpture, as also the placement of the *saptamātris* nearby, the shrine of Jogulā goes very well in time and place with the concept of the *mātris.* Jogulā is nothing but being the aspect of Chāmuṇḍi has been revered greatly by the Chālukyan kings. During this period, there is no separate shrine for a Goddess, as the *Śakti* here is only worshipped as *Paratantra devatā* usually placed along the south-eastern corner in a cella by the side of *Saptamātris.* This is testified fully by the prescriptions of the *āgama.*

The explorations in the survey no. 503 and surrounding areas right upto the club building, have not yielded any trace of the temple for Jogesvari as held by G.R. Sarma. The plinth partly exposed by (late) P. Srinivasachar, a few decades ago, actually forms part of a temple closer to the *prākāra* wall and quite likely a shrine meant for Mahāsenāpatī (Kārttikeya) at the south-west corner of the fortification. This cannot be regarded as a tank by any stretch of imagination and its connection to the *Siddhas* is merely a figment of imagination. The plinth belongs to the 8th century AD. and partakes the characteristic *adhiṣṭhānas* of the nearby temple units.



Figs. 2 : Kudavelli, Cuttings across the garbhagriha (1982-83)

ILLUSTRATIONS
Photographs

PL. I : Kudavelli, Sangameśvara temple, Locale

PL. II (A) : Alampur, Padma Brahmā, General view of the excavation (1986-87)

PL. II (B) : Alampur, Padma Brahmā Temple, Early Brick Temple below, Period I, 3-5th Century A.D.

PL. III : Kudavelli, Sangameśvara Temple, Brick foundations below *Prākāra*

PL. IV : Alampur, Shrine of Jogulāṁbā

PL. V : Alampur, Chāmuṇḍi (Early Chālukyan).

Figures

Figs. 1 : Kudavelli, 1978-79, Digs.

Figs 2 : Kudavelli, Cuttings across the *garbhagriha* (1982-83).

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A STUDY OF THE MINOR INSCRIPTIONS OF KHAJURĀHO LAKṢMAṆA TEMPLE

A.K. SINGH

The Lakṣmaṇa temple inscription of Yaśovarmā provides valuable informations regarding early history of the Candellas[1]. However, the minor inscriptions are not less important which could not receive due attention of scholars as yet. When the author visited Khajurāho in the year 1986 and 1987 he noticed a number of minor inscriptions executed on the pedestal of the images, border of the panels, door-jambs, pillars and stone slabs which mainly contain informations about the artisan, religious person, label and *gaṇa* (working group of guild). As for the inscriptions, in general, they are confined only to the name, in full or abbreviated form, such as Dada for Dadvaga, Deva for Devajadu, Jaje for Jajega and so on. In some instances, one name is styled variously like Jakhaśrī, Jakhaga, Jakhagaṇa; and Mahavira, Śrī Mahavira, Mahaviraśrī. However, one of the label is sufficiently long to include the name of artist with his designation and also his father's name. Another inscription records the name of the artisan along with his *gaṇa* name. (List B). Besides, mason-marks engraved in Lakṣmaṇa temple may be of those who were devoid of alphabet. Here, an attempt has been made to study these inscriptions which among other things also throw welcome light on the life pattern and craftsmanship of the artisans and masons who created magnificant Lakṣmaṇa temple at Khajurāho(Dist. Chatarpur, M.P.)[2].

The foundational record of Lakṣmaṇa temple states that the temple construction was patronised by king Yaśovarmā and it completed before the Vikrama year 1011, or A.D. 953-54. But on the basis of a pillar inscription of

1 F. Kielhorn, "Stone inscription of Yasovarman, of the year 1011, "*Epigraphia Indica*,I, pp. 122-135

2. A.K. Singh, "Builders of Khajurāho", a paper presented at a seminar on 'Art of Khajurāho,' in 1987.

south-eastern shrine Alexander Cunningham misleads that the corner chapel was most probably built in the Vikrama year 1161, or A.D. 1104.[3] The decorated features of the inscribed pillar differs from other pillars of the shrine, leads to the possibility of its being added at the time of conservation. Besides, the name of the mason Nunaga which is inscribed on the pedestal of the Pārvatī sculpture of the same shrine represents *kuṭila* form of the letters resembling the foundational record of the temple. This is suffice to indicate that the south-eastern shrine belonged to the period of main temple (C.A.D. 930-50)[4].

Reference to Artisans :

Several names and mason-marks engraved on different art and architectural members possibly refer to individual artist or mason. It may be contemplated that these piece of work were executed by the persons whose names they bear. The names of Asuthaga, Bhādauṇā, Chichā, Dada, Dhaduga, Jajega, Kalāga, Netāga, Nunaga, Pahasāga, Paratu, Śrī Ravi, Ritujaśrī and some others (List A) are carved on sculptures of gods, goddesses, apsarases, Kicakas etc. Plausibly, they were the sculptors who sculptured several statues of the Lakṣmaṇa temple. Of these, Śrī Ravi who sculptured a *rathikā* of Lakṣmaṇa temple may be identical with the *rūpaka* (*rūpakāra*) Raviku whose name is inscribed on the statue of Naṭarāja, now in Archaeological Museum, Khajurāho (Acc. No. 549). Likewise, an image noticed by Cunningham[5] in 1883-84 in the temple of Lakṣmīnātha, now in the Jardin Museum (Acc. No. 1232) contains a four line pedestal inscription records that the statue of Garura (Garuḍa) was set up by the *rūpakāra* Vena, the son of Vali Aṭamantai. Inscription of Yaśovarmā refers to a *rūpakāra* as the engraver of the eulogy whose name is illegible[6]. However, the engraving work entrusted to a *rūpakāra* indicates that possibly some images were also carved by him.

Chichā of the Vyāla statue inscription of the Lakṣmaṇa temple may be identical with *sūtradhāra* Chicchā who is credited with Viśvanātha

3. *Archaeological Survey of India Report,* XXI, p. 67.

4. A.K. Singh, "Fresh Reading of Four Small Khajurāho inscriptions", *Prāchya Pratibhā,* XIII, p. 104.

5. *Op. cit.,* p. 65.

6. *Op. cit.,* p. 129, line 28.

(Pramathanātha) temple construction in the stone inscription of Dhangadeva of the Vikrama year 1056, or A.D. 999.[7] In this inscription he is described as, *sūtradhāra* and *dharmādhāra* showing dexterity in work attained by him.[8] It denotes the possibility that Chicchā acquired operative experience and maturity of about a quarter-century when appointed as master architect in the time of Dhanga. The variant forms of a name possibly also indicate the gradual evolution in skill of a particular person. For instance, probably a person was known by the name of Jakhaśrī when he was working under the guidance of someone else while the name Jakhagaṇa shows that being skilled later on his position upgraded in the *gaṇa* and by his name *gaṇa* became famous. Such gradual evolution in art skill of an individual is also known from the inscriptions of Candella king Paramardideva, where one Pālhaṇa is mentioned as *pitalahāra* in A.D. 1166,[9] in A.D. 1173[10] and *vaidagdhi viśvakarmā* (a master of the art and craft) in A.D. 1176 and 1179.[11]

The name of Śrī Dapila, Deharaja, Nanāiga, Śrī Tihara, Śrī Vacharāja and others are frequently inscribed on the panels possibly suggesting their specialization in the panel making. Some artisans and masons also performed different types of work. Female names like Māgyī, Haṇātī, Valā suggest that sometimes whole of the family of the artist, including ladies and even children, was engaged in temple construction. It indicates the hereditary nature of profession.

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7. Most of the scholars, on the basis of Kielhorn's reading of Viśvanātha temple inscription, have accepted the date of Viśvanātha temple construction in Vikrama year 1059. But, Cunningham's reading should be the correct date as (V.S.) 1056.

8. F. Kielhorn, "Stone inscription of Dhangadeva of the year 1059, renewed by Jayavarmadeva in the year 1173" "*Epigraphia Indica,* I, p. 146, verse 60.

9. W. Cartellieri, "Semra Plates of Paramardideva, (Vikrama) samvat 1223, *Epigraphia Indica,* IV, p. 170, line 124.

10. R.B. Hiralal, "Mahoba Plates of Paramardideva; (Vikrama) Samvat 1230, "*Epigraphia Indica,* XVI, p. 14, line 33.

11. Arthur Venis, "Pachar Plate of Paramardideva (Vikrama) Samvat 1233 " *Epigraphia Indica,* X, p. 49, line 22; R.B. Hiralal, "Charkhari plates of Paramardideva, (Vikrama) samvat 1236", *Epigraphia Indica,* XX, p. 131, lines 31-32.

Some sort of work-division as well as corporate work were present as evident from different names on separate sculptures and joint names on single sculpture. For instance, two *gavākṣa* pillars of Lakṣmaṇa temple bear the name of Malaga and Savadevaga while their platforms mentioning the name of Jadaga and Vipiga may suggest work-division while the Pārvatī *rathikā* shows three names Śrī Koṭe, Udhāśī and Vaveruśrī denotes that a corporate work was undertaken on the same image.

The Gaṇas :

The personal names like Asuthaga, Jadoga, Nanāiga, Nāraga, Navāga, Netāga, Nunaga, Pahasāga, Puyaiga, Sāḍaga, Samaiga, Savāga, Vājaga, Vapaṇaga, Vipiga show a family or *gaṇa* relations among the artisans of the Khajurāho. It is also probable that the names suffixed with the letters *ga* and *gaṇa* indicate that the *gaṇas* were known after the name of their chiefs. Besides, the clear references of *gaṇas* are also present. Paravaṇā gaṇa which belonged to Vipina Laja met with on a pillar in the western *gavākṣa* of the Lakṣmaṇa temple. The north-western shrine of the Lakṣmaṇa temple bears many inscriptions relating to the *gaṇas,* as in the western part of the shrine there are inscriptions Ha 3 A 3 Mata gaṇa, Sidha, Sadha gaṇa gaṇa 7, Ha 3 A 15 Sidha gaṇa 7, and A 23 Mata gaṇa. In eastern side inscriptions are Ha 1 A 11 Anurā gaṇa, Ha 2 A 18 Savarara gaṇa; northern portion bears inscriptions Ha 1 Matagaṇa, Ha 3 Sara, Ha 2 A 1 Sanavaraga, A 23 Bhaita gaṇa, Ha 1 11 (?A) Ṭhavaṇa gaṇa, Sara gaṇa, Ha 3 11 (?A) 3 Sara gaṇa, Ṭemaṇaga; while Ha 2 Savara gaṇa, A 23 Ṭhavaṇa gaṇa, Ha 3 A 9 Savara gaṇa are engraved in the western part of the shrine. Of these, the name of Ṭhavaṇa gaṇa is found mention twice and of Mata gaṇa thrice. The slight variations in the spelling of some *gaṇa* names may be due to the scribe error and not because of the different *gaṇas.* These are Savaragaṇa, Savararagaṇa, Saragaṇa, Sanavaraga, similarly Sadhagaṇa and Sidhagaṇa. Thus, in the north-western shrine of Lakṣmaṇa temple seven *gaṇas* names are inscribed, those are Anurā gaṇa, Bhaita gaṇa, Mata gaṇa, Savara gaṇa, Sidha gaṇa, Ṭemaṇa gaṇa and Ṭhavaṇa gaṇa. Probably, 'Ha' and 'A' are the abbreviated form of some special group denoting their higherarchy. The numerical figures under these categories may be the number of persons under particular group who were busy in art activity, while that at the end of Sidhagaṇa and or Sadha gaṇa is related to the number of *gaṇa.* The references of *śilpa-gaṇas* are not known in respective numbers,

informations of the Lakṣmaṇa temple may add something and help the study of *śilpa-gaṇa.*

Labels etc. :

Sometimes, panel and pedestal inscriptions are used as labels to recognise the scene or sculpture. Such type of Label inscriptions are known even of earlier period from Bhārhut where labels help in identification of the Jātaka's scene. As for Lakṣmaṇa temple lebels, they are of different varieties (List D). The label on a musician panel is *bhāḍaja* and other on a singer panel is *tānaija* on a panel of elephant the label is *gajāmi* while on the panel of riders label is *savārā*. The profession like *mahāvata* (driver of elephant) is also referred to on an elephant-man panel. A lady's sculpture in the southern *gavākṣa* of Lakṣmaṇa temple is important from the viewpoint that the lady holds a letter in her hand with an inscription reading *havīhijānuhi* (i.e. reading the invitation ?).

Concluding remarks :

In general, minor inscriptions of Lakṣmaṇa temple comprise of personal names either individually or alongwith parents' name designation, epithet, guilds etc. Personal names engraved at the time of construction are mostly of artisans while those carved later are of piligrims. Besides, labels help at identifying the depiction, iconographic features and so forth. We can say that this study although incomplete in many respects give many important clues. Something remains untold which are now shrouded with obscurity and needs further comprehensive research in this field.

A List of Inscriptions :

(A) Personal name - Asuthaga (Vāmana, northern inner wall), Avāyevaja (Southern inner wall), Bhabhalaga (western outer wall), Bhādauṇā (goddess, southern pradakṣiṇā wall), Bhānaṁṇa (southern gavākṣa), Bhānuja (elephant, northern jagati), Bhulāja (a lady between musicians, southern jagati), Chichā (Vyāla, south wall, and twice on western wall of north-western shrine), Chivarupa (southern antarāla pradakṣiṇā wall), Dada (Apsaras, southern pradakṣiṇā wall), Dadvaga and Jajega (god, western pradakṣiṇā wall), Śrī Dapila (elephant, maṇḍapa outer wall), Dararaja (horse, eastern Jagati), Deharaja (elephant, northern jagati), Deva (southern wall, north-western shrine), Devajadu (hand of a man, southern jagati), Dikasada (northern jagati), Dhaduga (Kicaka;

southern inner wall), Dhājaga (Kicaka, northern gavākṣa), Dhigavā (southern jagati), Gahetāśrī (western outer wall), Gaṇe (southern outer wall), Gavaja (infantry, southern jagati), Ghaghaga (twice on the pillar, southern gavākṣa and on the wall of northern pradakṣiṇā), Haṇātī (musician, western outer wall), Hari (horse rider, northern jagati, and on the western outer wall), Hikamaga (southern jagati), Jada (eastern wall of north-western shrine), Jadoga (western gavākṣa), Jahariharga (elephant, northern jagati), Śrī Jaja (southern Jagati), Jaje (southern pradakṣiṇā wall), Jajega (goddess, northern garbhagṛha wall), Jakhaga (Apsaras, west-northern outer wall), Jakhagaṇa (god sculpture, and Apsaras, south wall), Jakhaṁga (Varuṇa, west-northern wall and on musician panel, western garbhagṛha outer wall), Jakhana (Brahmā, south-western grabhagṛha wall), Jakhaśrī (northern outer garbhagṛha wall), Kakaga (pillar, southern pradakṣiṇā), Kalāga (Apsaras, western gavākṣa), Kalāsakṣa (Apsaras, south wall of southern shrine), Kanaja (horse rider, southern jagati), Kānaśrī (eastern pillar, northern gavākṣa), Kasapa (Apsaras, northern garbhagṛha wall), Kaṭaga (Gajalakṣmī, northern inner wall), Śrī Koṭe, Udhāśī, Vaveruśrī (Pārvatī's rathikā, southern inner wall), Koṭega (surface, northern pradakṣiṇā), Kuke (twice, mithuna southern jagati), Kukega (southern jagati), Kulāga (elephant, northern jagati), Kuṇḍiya (on several stones), Kusada (northern wall, garbhagṛha), Latunaga (western garbhagṛha wall), Latuṇaga (western garbhagṛha wall), Śrī Lega (southern inner wall), Lohadavaśrī (Apsaras, eastern gavākṣa), Lohaṭa (Varāha, southern garbhagṛha wall and musician, western garbhagṛha wall), Śrī Māgyī (surface, maṇḍapa), Mahavira (musician), Śrī Mahavira (on several stones), Mahaviraśrī (on several stones), Malaga (pillar, western gavākṣa), Nagaśa (southern inner wall), Nagaśrī (southern inner wall), Naṇaga (southern pradakṣiṇāpatha), Nanāiga (musician, northern wall), Nānaśrī (northern inner wall), Nāraga (southern inner wall), Navāga (southern inner wall), Netāga (Vyāla, southern grabhagṛha wall), Neṭhe (Kalyāṇasundara, northern antarāla wall), Nihaṭaśrī (northern garbhagṛha wall), Śrī Nthuṇa (southern pradakṣiṇā wall), Nunaga (Pārvatī, western wall of southern shrine), Pahasāga (Apsaras, northern garbhagṛha wall), Paratu (Lakṣmī, southern outer garbhagṛha wall), Pheda (west-northern outer garbhagṛha wall), Phedā (southern outer garbhagṛha wall), Puyaiga (pillar, northern gavākṣa), Raṇaśrī (southern pradakṣiṇā wall), Śrī Ravi (rathikā, northern outer garbhagṛha wall), Ritujaśrī (Lady, southern gavākṣa), Sāḍaga (twice, northern garbhagṛha wall), Śrī Śādhi (southern outer garbhagṛha wall), Sāhileḥ (north-western pillar of

mahāmaṇḍapa), Samaiga (near the entrance), Sāmega (elephant rider), Savadeva (southern outer garbhagṛha wall), Savadevaga (western pillar, southern gavākṣa, and on southern outer garbhagṛha wall), Savāga (Agni, and musician, southern garbhagṛha outer wall), Savagadhā (elephant, northern outer wall), Savāja (infantry, southern jagati), Savidaga (Varāha lady mithuna sketch, southern Jagati), Seruda (on several stones of the outer wall, north-western shrine), Sirigataja (fighting elephant, northern jagati), Śrī Śuja (elephant rider, southern jagati), Sulājaya (southern jagati), Śrī Tihara (musician, southern outer garbhagṛha wall), Umavagaṁ (Mātṛikā, southern pradakṣiṇā wall), Vacharāja (twice, infantry & pounding, southern jagati), Vādaitā (southern inner wall), Śrī Vādaiti (northern outer garbhagṛha wall), Śrī Vadyagabha (western garbhagṛha wall), Vājaga (northern inner wall), Vakarāja (southern jagati), Vākaśrī (southern pradakṣiṇā wall), Valā (southern pradakṣiṇā wall), Vamvadeva (eastern pillar, northern gavākṣa), Vanhaja (Riders, western jagati), Vapaṇaga (Mahiṣamardanī, northern wall), Varāka (eastern inner wall), Varapaṇa (Kicaka, northern gavākṣa), Varapaśrī (Śiva, southern inner wall), Vasudevaja (northern and southern jagati), Veruja (Riders, northern jagati), Vipiga (southern gavākṣa), Yavaja (southern jagati).

(B) Ṇame with some detail : Paravaṇā gaṇa Vipina Laja (pillar, western gavākṣa), Sva Śrī Bhaṭṭārka Ghuṇadeva Śrī Prabhākaradevena karāvitaṁ saṁvat 1161 Māghavadi duija 2 (pillar, south-eastern shrine), Śrī Vaikuṇṭhegaruraḥ Valiaṭamaṁtaisuta rūpakāra Vena pratiṣṭhitaḥ (Garuḍa, Jardin Museum, Acc. No. 1232).

(C) Gaṇa : Ha 3 A 3 Mata gaṇe, Sidha, Sadha gaṇa gaṇa 7, Ha 3 A 15 Sidha gaṇa 7, A 23 Mata gaṇa (all on southern wall, north-western shrine); Ha 1 A 11 Anurā gaṇa, Ha 2 A 18 Savarara gaṇa (eastern wall, north-western shrine), Ha 1 Mata gaṇa, Ha 3 Sara, Ha 2 A 1 Sanararaga, A 23 Bhaita gaṇa, Ha 1 11 (?A) Ṭhavaṇa gaṇa, Sara gaṇa, Ha 3 11 (?A) 3 Sara gaṇa, Ṭemaṇaga (northern wall, north-western shrine); Ha 2 Savara gaṇa, A 23 Ṭhavaṇa gaṇa, Ha 3 A 9 Savara gaṇa (western wall, north-western shrine).

(D) Label etc. : Bhāḍja (musician, southern jagati), Chinutpaga (scule bearing goddess, antarāla), Dhigaja (elephant, northern jagati), Gajāmi

(elephant, southern outer wall), Havīhijānuhi (letter in the hand of Apsaras, southern gavākṣa), Lakhalaga (mirror looking Apsaras, southern garbhagṛha wall), Magaṭa Saṭaja (mithuna, southern garbhagṛha wall), Mahāvata (elephant-man, northern outer wall), Sāsaja (horse and infantry, southern jagati), Savārā (Riders, eastern jagati), Sidhāirāja (bearded man with umbrella, northern jagati), Tānaija (musician, southern jagati), Vānrā (monkey, southern jagati), Vibhalaga (goddess, northern outer garbhagṛha wall), Visarupaja (Lady standing in front of a muni, southern jagati).

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KUṢĀṆA CURRENCY IN EARLY MADHYA PRADESH

PROF. BHASKAR CHATTOPADHYAY

Burdwan

The epigraphic evidence leaves little scope of doubt that some parts of modern Madhya Pradesh were included in the Kushāṇa empire sometime in the beginning of the second century A.D. The Sāñchi inscription of the year 22 (i.e. A.D. 100)[1] refers to Vāskushāṇa, a ruler of the Kushāṇa line. As the year 22 falls within the reign-period of the Kushāṇa king Kanishka I, it may be reasonably held that Vāskushāṇa or Vāsishka-Kushāṇa was a viceregal ruler in the Sāñchi region that is located generally in the eastern part of ancient Malwa. Again, the Sāñchi Buddhist Image inscription of the year 28 (i.e. D. 106) refers to *mahārāja-rājātirāja devaputra shāhi* Vāsishka[2]. Vāsishka-Kushāṇa, who began his career as a vice-regal ruler under the suzerainty of Kanishka, appears to have seized independent political authority in eastern Malwa following the end of the latter's reign. Significantly enough, at the time when Vāsishka seized power, Huvishka is also known from the Mathurā Stone inscription of the year 28[3] to have succeeded to the power of Kanishka I in the North with the assumption of such imperial titles as *devaputra shāhi*. No coin attributable to Vāsishka has yet been discovered. Presumably the coins of Kanishka I were put in circulation in eastern Malwa, when Vāsishka-Kushāṇa was a vice-regal ruler. Later, even after having assumed an independent authority, Vāsishka seems to have failed, during his brief reign-period, to exercise the authority of minting coinage independently, when Huvishka laid his claim to continue the minting - authority in the North. An expansion of one's political authority in a territory, of course, necessitates the circulation of one's own currency. But that does not seem to provide always the only explanation.

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1. J. Marshall,Monuments of *Sanchi,* I. pp. 278, 386.
2. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions,* I. Calcutta, 1942, pp. 144-45.
3. *Ibid.,* pp. 146-147.

A large number of Kushana copper coins had been discovered from the excavation - site at Sāñehī[4] But the report on the discovery made by the Archaeological Superintendent of Bhopal did not include the description of the coin-types and their attribution. Maisey reported earlier the discovery of two coins of Kadphises at Sāñchī[5]

"No. 6. obverse : King with diademed head driving in a biga drawn by two horses. Reverse : A deity (Śiva) standing to r. with a trident in his r. hand and probably leopard's skin on left arm."

"No. 7. Obverse : King standing, wearing long coat, trousers and head-dress, offering sacrifice with r. hand at the waist. Reverse : A deity (Śiva), standing, facing, holding a trident in his r. hand, left hand resting on the back of a bull looking up to him".

A "biga" type coin attributed to Wema Kadphises has been found at Vidiśā[6] in recent times. The metal of the coin is tin with admixture of lead and nickel.

Another findspot of Kushāṇa coins in Madhya Pradesh[7] is Indo-Khera mound near Indore, ancient Indrapura. Of the twenty corroded and defaced coins, discovered at the site, one is attributed to Wema Kadphises, one is with the "running figure" (i.e. probably the deity of the name *Vāta*) on the reverse, one is Kanishka with the obverse legend obliterated and *Athsho* on the reverse, five attributed to Huvishka - one with 'Śiva and Bull' on the reverse, one with 'Elephant Rider' on the obverse, one with 'King seated on clouds' on the obverse, two with 'King seated sideways', two coins with 'seated female divinities' (attribution uncertain), one is attributed to Vāsudeva with the obverse legend obliterated and another coin bearing defaced Greek letters *ONO* which are suggested to be the remains of the reverse legend *Athsho.*

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4. *ASIAR,* 1935-36, p. 86.

5. F. C. Maisey, *Sāñchi and its Remains,* London, 1892, p. 80, Pl. XXXIX, figs. 6, 7.

6. K.D. Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies,* New Delhi, 1976, pp. 106-107.

7. B. Chattopadhyay, *The Age of the Kushāṇas - A Numismatic Study,* Calcutta, 1967, pp. 64-66.

From the above it appears that of the varied reverse devices of the Kushāṇa coinage, *Oesho* (Śiva with bull), *Vāta* (wind-god) and *Athsho* (fire-god) appear to have been more common than others in Malwa. It is, however, difficult to distinguish them as characteristic types of the Malwa- mint. Because, those types of coins found in some parts of Madhya Pradesh were also found in different parts of the Kushāṇa empire in the North. In fact, the Kushāṇas could hardly maintain their political authority in Malwa for a long period, and, therefore, the question of setting up a separate mint in Malwa by them did not arise. As shown above, the epigraphic evidence indicates the beginning of the Kushāṇa rule in Malwa sometime during the reign of Kanishka I and its continuity till the end of th reign of Vāsishka overlapping with that of Huvishka. It is difficult to explain politically the discovery of the coins attributed to Wema Kadphises, on the one hand, and those attributed to Huvishka and Vāsudeva, on the other.

In a Chinese text *yu-yang-tsa-tsu* written by Cheng-Che in A.D. 860 is recorded the legend of Kanishka's fight with the Sātavāhanas[8]. Kanishka could not be a contemporary of the Sātavāhana ruler Śātakarṇi I whose copper coins have been recently found in Vidiśā and Ujjayinī[9]. Śātakarṇi of those coins is also known from the Sañchi and Nānāghāt inscriptions. Kanishka's advent in Malwa-politics might take place at the time when the power of the Sātavāhanas was temporarily eclipsed due to the rise of the Kshaharātas headed by Bhūmaka and Nahapāna. it would not be unreasonable to assume that Bhūmaka started his military operations in Western Deccan as an agent of the Kushāṇa king Kanishka I. Again, it may be suggested that while the Kshaharātas were rising to power in Western Malwa, the Kushāṇas held their political dominance in Eastern Malwa. The eclipse of the Sātavāhana power before Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi was probably the result of simultaneous operations engineered by the Kshaharātas and the Kushāṇas. The restoration of the Sātavāhana power and prestige in both the Western and eastern Malwa by the military exploits of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (C. A.D. 106-130), the *Śaka-Yavana-pahlava-nishūdana,* might explain why Vāsishka-Kushāṇa, in spite of having assumed independent and imperial status, could not enjoy a long reign in Sañchi.

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8. *Journal Asiatique,* Vol. CCXXVIII, pp. 100-101.

9. K.d. Bajpai, *op. cit.,* pp. 114-119.

The dearth of Kushāṇa gold coins in Malwa is a phenomenon that deserves our attention. It may be argued that the Kushāṇa gold coins, which were primarily meant for foreign trade, could not lie idle in private collections at the busy centres of trade like Vidiśā and Ujjayinī[10]. Further, the Kshaharāta chief Nahapāna (C. A.D. 119-124) put in circulation his own silver and copper coins[11]. The Kshatrapa silver coinage might have served the purpose of foreign trade. That explains more satisfactorily the dearth Kushāṇa gold coins which were pushed back from Western India by the Śaka silver. The Nāsik Cave Inscriptions[12] of Nahapāna refer to the equivalence of 70,000 *Kārshāpaṇas* to 2000 *Suvarṇas,* indicating the ratio between silver and gold coin as 1 : 35 - *Suvarṇa* in this context stood for Kushāṇa gold coin, the general weight-standard of which was 124 grains. It may be held, therefore, one gold piece was equal to 10.16 silver pieces (124 grains = 35X36 grains or 1260 grains)[13].

Again, mention is made in Nahapāna's Nāsik Cave Inscriptions of an investment as providing some resident monks with *Kuśanamūla* that is explained by some as the "value of a Kushāṇa" or the value of a Kushāṇa gold coin[14]. Bhandarkar suggested that the term *Kuśana* found in the expression *Kuśanamūla* should actually stand for the silver coins issued by Nahapāna in the name of his Kushāṇa overlord[15]. Again, the expression *Kuśanamūla* has been explained by Senart as "expense of outside life", presumably of the monks. *Kuśana* has been interpreted as *Kriśanna,* i.e. 'minor necessities', or *Kriśānna,* i.e. 'minor food'[16]. The epigraphic evidence is hardly conclusive in showing the Kushāṇa overlordship to which Nahapāna owed allegiance. However, as the Kushāṇa gold coin was recognised as of international monetary standard, at par with that of the Roman *aurei,* the mint

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10. M. Chakraborty, *Malwa in Post-Maurya Period,* Calcutta, 1981, p. 168.
11. E.J. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras, W. Kshatrapas* etc. Oxford, 1967, pp. 65-67.
12. D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.,* p. 157 ff.
13. Rapson, *op. cit.,* p. CLXXV.
14. S.K. Chakravary, *Ancient Indian Numismatics,* pp. 98-100.
15. D.R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures,* 2nd series, 1921, p. 205.
16. D.C. Sircar, *Op. cit.,* p. 159, f.n. 3.

masters in Madhya Pradesh or Mahārāshṭra could hardly ignore the ratio of silver standard to the contemporary gold standard.

The political suzerainty of the Kushāṇas in Eastern Malwa was ephemeral. The stray finds of Kushāṇa coins, made of copper or other base metals, found at Sāñchi, Vidiśā and Indore, sometimes in defaced or corroded condition, do not speak much of the territorial expansion of the Kushāṇas in Madhya Pradesh. The discovery of some coins attributed to Wema Kadphises, Huvishka and Vāsudeva is not found relevant to the political history, whereas the finds of coins attributed to Kanishka I may be justified in view of the trends of the history of Madhya Pradesh in the early centuries of the Christian era. The Kushāṇa copper coins belonging to the rulers preceding or succeeding Kanishka I were probably imported in Malwa in the wake of migrations of some missionaries or merchants. The Kushāṇa currency in Madhya Pradesh more testifies to its cultural and economic ties with the Sindhu-Gaṅgā valley.

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अयोध्या - सिक्कों में प्रतिबिम्बित धर्म

डॉ० केशव प्रसाद सिंह

बरेली

प्राचीन भारत के प्रमुख जनपद कोशल[१] के तीन प्रमुख नगरों-अयोध्या, साकेत एवं श्रावस्ती, में सर्वाधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण अयोध्या सरयू नदी के पावन तट पर उत्तर प्रदेश के आधुनिक फैजाबाद जनपद मुख्यालय से ६ किमी० दूर स्थित है। कोशल जनपद के सिक्के अयोध्या से प्राप्त होने के कारण इसी नाम से विश्रुत हैं। द्वितीय श० ई० पू० एवं चतुर्थ शताब्दी ई० के अन्तर्वर्ती काल की प्रभूत ताम्र मुद्राएं २०० ई० पू० से २०० ई० पू० तक प्रचलित रहीं[२]। प्राचीन अयोध्या के इतिहास की संरचना के लिए इन सिक्कों का विशेष महत्त्व है। यद्यपि कार्नेस, कनिंघम, स्मिथ, एलन, एस० के० चक्रवर्ती, के० डी० बाजपेयी एवं बी० लाहिरी प्रभृति विद्वानों ने इनके ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व को उदघाटित करने का प्रयास किया है,[३] किन्तु इन विद्वानों ने इनके सांस्कृतिक महत्त्व की ओर विशेष ध्यान नहीं दिया है। यहाँ हम अयोध्या की मुद्राओं के आलोक में उसकी धार्मिक परम्परा पर विचार करेंगे।

अयोध्या की मुद्राओं को तीन प्रमुख वर्गों में विभाजित किया जा सकता है :

१. ढली हुयी मुद्राएं : इस वर्ग की केवल थोड़ी सी मुद्राएं प्राप्त हैं, जो सबसे प्राचीन हैं। इन्हें द्वितीय श० ई० पू० उत्तरार्द्ध में रखा जाता है । एलन की मान्यता है कि ये सिक्के ढाल कर बनाये गये थे। धातुओं पर ठप्पा लगाने के साक्ष्य पौराणिक समाज में भी मिलते हैं। महाभारत में ऐसे संकेत सुरक्षित हैं।[४] डॉ० उपेन्द्र ठाकुर ने इस तकनीक को एक क्रान्तिकारी परिवर्तन की संज्ञा दी है।[५] एरण, रोहतक, तक्षशिला, मथुरा, अतिरंजीखेड़ा, सांची, काशी,

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१. रामायण, १/५/५

२. स्मिथ, **क्वायन्स ऑफ एन्शिएंट इण्डिया** पृ० १४४–१४५ तथा वासुदेव उपाध्याय, **भारतीय सिक्के**, पृ० ८८–८६

३. अयोध्या के राजनीतिक इतिहास के लिए द्रष्टव्य–बी० लाहिरी, **इण्डीजेनस स्टेट्स ऑफ नार्दर्न इण्डिया**,१६७४

४. महाभारत, १४/१८/८

५. यू० ठाकुर, **मिण्ट्स एण्ड मिंटिंग इन इण्डिया**, पृ० १०२–१०४

नालन्दा, कोण्डापुर, शिशुपालगढ़ तथा खोखराकोट प्रभृति स्थानों से प्राप्त सांचों से सिक्कों की ढलाई तकनीक की सूचना मिलती है। परन्तु दुर्भाग्यतः अयोध्या उत्खननों में आज तक एक भी सांचा प्रकाश में नहीं आया है। इन मुद्राओं को तीन प्रमुख उपवर्गों में विभाजित किया जा सकता है—

(अ) प्रथम उपवर्ग- इन सिक्कों को पुरोभाग पर पुरुष की आकृति है तथा पृष्ठतल खाली है।

(ब) द्वितीय उपवर्ग- इन मुद्राओं के पुरोभाग पर स्वस्तिक तथा पृष्ठतल पर एक विशिष्ट चिह).(है।

(स) तृतीय उपवर्ग- ये सिक्के संख्या में सर्वाधिक हैं। इनके पुरोभाग पर मछली के ऊपर स्वस्तिक प्रतीक है तथा पृष्ठतल का चिन्ह अस्पष्ट है।

(२) वर्गाकार ढली मुद्राएं- एलन महोदय ने इन सिक्कों को द्वितीय वर्ग में रखा है। इनके पुरोभाग पर वृषभ तथा कभी कभी मन्दिर पर जय ध्वज और गज की आकृति मिलती है। पृष्ठतल पर विभिन्न प्रतीकों के समूह, जैसे वेदिका में वृक्ष, उज्जैन प्रतीक, नदी, स्वस्तिक एवं नन्दिपद चित्रित हैं। इन सिक्कों के ऊपरी भाग में राजाओं के नामांकन ब्राह्मी लिपि में मिलते हैं। इनका आकार चौकोर है। इस वर्ग में सिक्कों में लक्ष्मी विविध रूपों में प्रदर्शित की गयी हैं। शिवदत्त की मुद्राओं पर आसीन लक्ष्मी के दोनों ओर जल से अभिषेक कर रहे हाथियों का अंकन है। विशाखदेव के सिक्कों पर लक्ष्मी को खड़ी स्थिति में अंकित किया गया है। विशाखदेव, धनदेव, मूलदेव, वायुदेव, ज्येष्ठदत्त, नरदत्त और शिवदत्त प्रभृति शासकों ने इस वर्ग के सिक्कों को प्रचलित किया। ये सिक्के द्वितीय श० ई० पू० से प्रथम श० ई० पू० के अन्तर्वर्ती काल में रखे गये हैं।

(३) गोलाकार मुद्राएं - इस वर्ग के सिक्कों का निर्माण ठप्पा–तकनीक द्वारा हुआ था। ये वृत्ताकार हैं। कुमुदसेन, अजवर्मन, आयुमित्र, माधववर्मन, देवमित्र, संघमित्र, सत्य मित्र और विजय मित्र प्रभृति अयोध्या नरेशों ने इन सिक्कों को प्रचलित कराया। एलन महोदय ने इन्हें तृतीय वर्ग में रखा है। कुमुदसेन एवं अजवर्मन के सिक्कों के पुरोभाग पर वेदिका में वृक्ष तथा बायीं ओर वृषभ का अंकन है। कुछ शासकों , जैसे— आयुमित्र, देवमित्र, संघमित्र एवं विजयमित्र के सिक्कों के पुरोभाग पर बैल का अंकन है। इसी ओर एक खड़ी रेखा को क्रमशः छोटी होती हुयी तीन रेखाएं काटती हैं। पृष्ठतल पर हंस, मयूर, मुर्गा, त्रिशूल, नन्दिपद तथा टेढ़ी रेखा के ऊपर ताड़पत्र प्रतीक मिलते हैं। ये सिक्के द्वितीय श० ई० पू० के मध्य रखे गए हैं।[६]

अयोध्या के उपर्युक्त सिक्के तत्कालीन धार्मिक जीवन के अध्ययन के लिए विशेष महत्त्वपूर्ण हैं। सुप्रसिद्ध विद्वान् शिवराम मूर्ति का विचार है कि इन पर मिलने वाले चित्र

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६. बी० लाहिरी, **पूर्वोक्त ग्रन्थ**, पृ० १४२

सोद्देश्य बनाए गए थे।[७] बी० चट्टोपाध्याय के अनुसार ये चिह्न निःसंदेह प्रतीक पूजा की ओर संकेत करते हैं और धार्मिक दृष्टि से विशेष महत्त्व के हैं।[८] कनिंघम की धारणा है कि अयोध्या सिक्कों पर बोधिवृक्ष और त्रिरत्न तथा धर्मचक्र के संयुक्त चिह्न के अतिरिक्त बौद्ध धर्म का कोई और प्रभाव नहीं है। शिव और वायु के अतिरिक्त इन पर ब्राह्मण धर्म का भी कोई विशेष प्रभाव नहीं है।[९]

मुद्राओं के आलोक में हम तत्कालीन धर्म की एक रूपरेखा निम्नलिखित रूप से प्रस्तुत कर सकते हैं –

अयोध्या के शासकों–मूलदेव, वायुदेव, धनदेव और शिवदत्त के सिक्कों पर वेदिका के अन्दर वृक्ष प्रतीक अंकित है। इनसे वृक्ष पूजा का संकेत मिलता है। कनिंघम इसे बोधिवृक्ष मानते हैं।[१०] प्राचीन भारत में पादप पूजा प्रागैतिहासिक काल से चली आ रही है। सैन्धव मुहरों पर प्राप्त चिह्नों से भी पादप पूजा के संकेत मिलते हैं।

मोहनजोदड़ो की एक मुहर पर देवता की खड़ी नग्न मूर्ति है, जिसके दोनों ओर अश्वत्थ (पीपल) का शाखायुक्त वृक्ष है। इसी प्रकार हड़प्पा मुहरों पर भी वृक्षों की आकृतियां हैं। **ऋग्वेद** में अरण्याणी (वन की आत्मा) की पूजा का विवरण है, परन्तु वृक्ष पूजा का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है। **अथर्ववेद**, ब्राह्मण तथा उपनिषदों में भी वृक्ष पूजा का उल्लेख मिलता है।[११] बौद्ध ग्रन्थों से ज्ञात होता है कि तत्कालीन समाज में वृक्ष पूजा प्रचलित थी। लोग धन, यश एवं सन्तान के लिए वृक्षों की पूजा करते थे।[१२] सामान्यतया माना जाता था कि वृक्षों में देवता, नाग, यक्ष, अप्सरा एवं प्रेत आदि निवास करते हैं। भरहुत एवं सांची के शिल्प में भी वृक्ष देवता की आकृतियाँ उत्कीर्ण हैं। वेदिकान्तर्गत वृक्ष शिव के प्रिय स्थल वृक्ष से समीकृत किया गया है।[१३]

प्राचीन भारतीयों में नाग पूजा का भी प्रचलन था।[१४] ऋग्वेदिक आर्यों में इसका प्रचलन नहीं था। कालान्तर में, आर्य-अनार्य सम्पर्क के कारण अनार्यों के देवता आर्यों के धर्म में स्थान

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७. सी० शिवराममूर्ति, **न्यूमिस्मेटिक्स पैरलल्स ऑफ कालिदास**, पृ० १

८. बी० चट्टोपाध्याय, **क्वायन्स एण्ड आइकन्सः ए स्टडी आफ मिथ एण्ड सिम्बल्स इन इण्डियन न्यूमिस्मेटिक आर्ट**, पृ० ६

९. कनिंघम, **क्वायन्स आफ एन्शियेण्ट इण्डिया**, पृ० ९१

१०. तत्रैव, पृ० ९२

११. **अथर्ववेद ५/४३, ऐत० ब्रा०, ७/३०–३३; छान्दो० उप० ८/५३; कौषीतकि उप०, १/३**

१२. **जातक, १/२५६,३२८ आदि तथा २/२४०**

१३. ओमप्रकाश सिंह **रिलीजन एण्ड आइकनोग्राफी आन अर्ली इण्डियन क्वायन्स**, पृ० ६

१४. **ऋग्वेद १/३२**

पाने लगे। नागों के प्रति आर्यों का व्यवहार शत्रुतापूर्ण था।[१५] **महाभारत** में भी नागों एवं उनकी पूजा का उल्लेख है।[१६] भगवान बुद्ध ने भी भिक्षुओं को नागों के राजकुलों की उपासना करने का निर्देश दिया ।[१७] पौराणिक आख्यानों में शेषनाग और वासुकि का विवरण मिलता हे। अयोध्या के मूलदेव, वायुदेव, विशाखदेव, धनदेव, शिवदत्त और नरदत्त के सिक्कों पर मिलने वाली टेढ़ी-मेढ़ी रेखाएं नाग पूजा की प्रतीक मानी जा सकती हैं।[१८]

अयोध्या के सिक्कों से इन्द्र का प्रतिनिधित्व होना भी प्रमाणित है। वायुदेव, धनदेव एवं शिवदत्त की मुद्राओं में घेरे में त्रिकोण मिलता है, जिसे इन्द्रयष्टि का प्रतीक माना गया है।[१९] प्रो० के० डी० बाजपेयी ने अयोध्या सिक्कों पर प्राप्त उज्जैन प्रतीक को वज्र से समीकृत किया है।[२०] ए० एम० शास्त्री इसे स्वस्तिक का परम्परागत रूप मानते हैं।[२१] श्री शिवराममूर्ति के अनुसार प्रतीक की चारों भुजाएं महासागर के चार भागों को दर्शाती हैं। उज्जैन प्रतीक मूलदेव, विशाखदेव एवं धनदेव की मुद्राओं पर मिलता है।

प्राचीन भारत में स्कन्द कार्तिकेय की उपासना बड़ी व्यापक थी। सामान्यतः इन्हें शिव एवं पार्वती का पुत्र कहा गया है, परन्तु **रामायण** उन्हें गंगा एवं अग्नि के पुत्र के रूप में जानता है।[२२] **महाभारत** इन्हें अग्नि एवं स्वाहा का पुत्र कहता है।[२३] मोर कार्तिकेय का वाहन है। पतञ्जलि ने शिवस्कन्द एवं विशाख की मूर्तियों का उल्लेख किया है, जिनकी उस युग में पूजा होती थी।[२४] कनिष्क के सिक्कों क पृष्ठभाग पर स्कन्दों, महासेनों, कुमारों और विशाखों नामों के साथ तीन आकृतियां उत्कीर्ण हैं।[२५] प्रथम स्कन्द हैं, जो देवताओं की सेना का नायकत्व करते थे। सिक्कों पर दूसरा नाम महासेन है। तीसरा नाम कुमार है, जो स्कन्द का ही नाम है। चौथा नाम विशाख है। यदि प्रथम तीन एक ही देवता के नाम हैं तो तीन नाम एवं तीन आकृतियाँ देने

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१५. फर्ग्यूसन, **ट्री एण्ड सर्पेन्ट वर्शिप**; वोगेल, **दी इण्डियन सर्पेन्ट लोर**।

१६. **महाभारत**, ११/६ राजगृह में नाग मन्दिर था। यहां आने पर कृष्ण एवं अर्जुन ने मणिनाग की पूजा की थी।

१७. **अंगुत्तर निकाय**, २/६२

१८. ओमप्रकाश सिंह, **पूर्वोक्त**।

१९. ए० एम० शास्त्री, **लोकल क्वायन्स आफ नार्दर्न इण्डिया**, पृ० ८३

२०. के० डी० बाजजेयी, **बुलेटिन आफ एन्शियेण्ट इण्डियन हिस्ट्री एण्ड आर्क्योलाजी**, वाल्यूम (सागर वि० वि०) पृ० २१–२४

२१. तत्रैव, पृ० ८३

२२. **रामायण**, बालकाण्ड, अध्याय ३७

२३. **महाभारत**, वन पर्व, अध्याय २१६

२४. **अष्टाध्यायी**, ५/३/६६ पर भाष्य ।

२५. जे० बी० बी० आर० ए० एस०, भाग २०, पृ० ३८५

की आवश्यकता नहीं थी।[२६] आयुमित्र, सत्यमित्र और विजयमित्र के सिक्कों के पृष्ठतल पर मिलने वाले प्रतीक अयोध्या क्षेत्र में स्कन्द कार्तिकेय की लोकप्रियता की सूचना देते हैं।[२७] प्रो० जे० एन० बनर्जी ने इसे कुक्कुटध्वज कहा है। **महाभारत** एवं **वायु पुराण** में कुक्कुट कार्तिकेय से सम्बद्ध बताया गया है।[२८] यद्यपि सिक्कों पर चित्र स्पष्ट न होने के कारण विद्वान् इतिहासकार की उक्त धारणा से सहमत होना क्लिष्ट है तथापि यह एक सुविदित तथ्य है कि मोर कार्तिकेय से सम्बद्ध रहा है और उसे उसका वाहन कहा गया है ।

विशाखदेव के सिक्कों के पृष्ठतल पर उपलब्ध श्रीवत्स प्रतीक अयोध्या क्षेत्र में लक्ष्मी–पूजन का संकेत देता है। श्रीवत्स का शाब्दिक अर्थ है– लक्ष्मी का पुत्र । यह समृद्धि का प्रतीक है। विष्णु तथा जैन–तीर्थंकरों की मूर्तियों के सीने पर उक्त प्रतीक द्रष्टव्य हैं। जैन, बौद्ध, वैष्णव तथा अन्य भारतीय धर्मों में भी यह प्रतीक अत्यन्त लोकप्रिय रहा है।[२९]

अयोध्या सिक्कों पर बैल एवं हाथी के भी चित्र मिले हैं। डॉ० वी० एस० अग्रवाल ने इन्हें महा आजनेय पशु की संज्ञा प्रदान की है। सैन्धव मुहरों एवं खिलौनों पर अनेक पशु–आकृतियाँ अंकित हैं। ये सैन्धव काल में पशु–पूजा की ओर इंगित करती हैं। जातकों में भी पशु पूजा के साक्ष्य सुरक्षित हैं।[३०] शिव के वाहन के रूप में बैल का चित्रण सर्वप्रथम कुषाण मुद्राओं पर मिलता है। अयोध्या के मूलदेव, विशाखदेव, धनदेव, शिवदत्त एवं नरदत्त की मुद्राओं पर वृषभ का अंकन मिलता है। हाथी यद्यपि इन्द्र का प्रतीक है लेकिन बौद्ध धर्म में भी यह शाक्यमुनि भगवान गौतम बुद्ध के जन्म से सम्बद्ध होने के कारण पूजनीय माना गया है। जातकों में हस्ति–समारोहों का उल्लेख है, जिनमें हाथी की प्रस्तर–प्रतिमाओं का पूजन वर्णित है। वायुदेव एवं शिवदत्त के सिक्कों पर हाथी का चित्रांकन है। ये सिक्के, अयोध्या क्षेत्र में वृषभ एवं हस्ति पूजा का संकेत देते हैं।

विशाखदेव एवं शिवदत्त के सिक्कों के पृष्ठतल पर गजलक्ष्मी[३१] प्रतीक मिलता है। **विष्णुधर्मोत्तर पुराण**[३२] में एक देवी का वर्णन है, जिसका दो हाथी दोनों ओर से अभिषेक कर रहे हैं। विशाखदेव के सिक्कों पर कमल पर खड़ी लक्ष्मी और उसके दोनों ओर दो हाथियों का चित्रण है। शिवदत्त के सिक्कों पर लक्ष्मी आसीन मुद्रा में प्रदर्शित हैं।

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२६. आर० जी० भण्डारकर **वैष्णव, शैव एवं अन्य धार्मिक मत**, पृ० १७२

२७. **महाभारत**, ३/२६६/१४; **वायुपुराण**, ७२/४५

२८. **जर्नल आफ न्यूमिस्मेटिक आफ इण्डिया**, २५, पृ० १०१

२९. श्री वत्स प्रतीक की महत्ता के लिए द्रष्टव्य–पी० के० अग्रवाल, **श्री वत्स–दि वेव आफ गाडेस श्री।** एवं डॉ० ए० एल० श्रीवास्तव, **श्री वत्स- भारतीय कला का एक मांगलिक प्रतीक** इलाहाबाद १९८३

३०. जातक, ४६०

३१. ओमप्रकाश सिंह, **आइकनोग्राफी आफ गजलक्ष्मी**, १९८२

३२. **विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण**, ३/८२/७

विशाखदेव, धनदेव, कुमुदसेन एवं अजवर्मा के सिक्कों पर नन्दि, हाथी एवं स्वस्तिक आदि चिह्न मिलते हैं। इनमें ऊपर की ओर उपर्युक्त शासकों के नाम ब्राह्मी अक्षरों में खुदे हैं। पृष्ठतल पर सूर्य का चिह्न, घेरे में वृक्ष, त्रिशूल या नन्दिपद अथवा किसी स्त्री की आकृति का चित्रण है। ये सिक्के नन्दि प्रकार, हस्ति प्रकार, लक्ष्मी प्रकार तथा स्वस्तिक प्रकार नामों से ख्यात हैं।[३३] सूर्य एवं स्वस्तिक चिह्नों से सूर्य पूजा का संकेत मिलता है। सूर्य पूजा का इतिहास अत्यन्त प्राचीन है।[३४] ऋग्वैदिक युग में इसकी उपासना सविता नाम से होती थी। वह जगत् में जंगम एवं स्थावर जीवों की आत्मा था।[३५] कालान्तर के अनेक ग्रन्थों में भी सूर्य पूजा के सन्दर्भ मिलते हैं।

एलेन द्वारा वर्णित तृतीय वर्ग के सिक्कों के पृष्ठतल पर सूर्य के समक्ष वृषभ का अंकन है। ये सिक्के आयुमित्र, सत्यमित्र, कुमुदसेन और विजयमित्र प्रभृति अयोध्या शासकों द्वारा चलाए गये थे। एलेन महोदय ने भी इसे पताका या बरछे के समक्ष बैल का अंकन माना है। समुद्रगुप्त के अश्वमेध प्रकार के सिक्कों पर भी यूप के समक्ष अश्व का अंकन है। यदि हम एलेन की मान्यता में विश्वास करें तो इन सिक्कों पर शूलगव यज्ञ का अंकन है। यह यज्ञ धन, पवित्रता, पशु, पुत्र एवं दीर्घजीवन प्राप्त करने के उद्देश्य से सम्पादित किया जाता था।[३६] अनुमान किया गया है कि रुद्रदेव को प्रसन्न करने के लिए अयोध्या शासकों ने वृषभ–बलि दी थी।

उपर्युक्त विश्लेषण से स्पष्ट है कि अयोध्या के सिक्कों पर अंकित विविध प्रतीक सोद्देश्य चित्रित हैं। इनसे उनकी धार्मिक अभिरुचि और प्रतीक पूजा का संकेत मिलता है, जिसका अध्ययन कर हम उनके धर्म की रूपरेखा सुनिश्चित कर सकते हैं।

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३३. वासुदेव अपाध्याय, भारतीय सिक्के पृ० ८१

३४. सूर्य पूजा के विस्तृत अध्ययन के लिए द्रष्टव्य–एल० पी० पाण्डेय, सन-वर्शिप इन एन्शिएण्ट इंडिया।

३५. ऋग्वेद, १०/१२५/८/६१/७/६०/१/७/६२/२

३६. हर्षचरित, पृ० १४८; बृहत्संहिता, ६०/१६; विक्रमोर्वशीय, ५/४; रघुवंश, ३/२२

गुजरात के चौलुक्यों के अभिलेखों में उल्लिखित सिक्के और ब्याज की दर

डा० वर्षा जी० जानी

गुजरात के इतिहास में चौलुक्यों का काल (ई० सं० ६४२ से १२४४) अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण एवं समृद्धि का युग माना गया है। इस समय गुजरात की आबादी अधिक थी। इस काल में, राजनीतिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक, धार्मिक और सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्र में प्रगति हुई थी। इन सबकी विशेष जानकारी हमें, उस समय के अभिलेखों से प्राप्त होती है। अलबत्ता, अभिलेखों से सिक्के की जानकारी बहुत कम प्राप्त होती है फिर भी जो जानकारी उपलब्ध है, वह इस प्रकार है–

चौलुक्यकाल में गुजरात के व्यापार उद्योग अच्छी तरह से विकसित हुये थे। अनेक देशों और प्रदेशों के साथ उनके आर्थिक संबंध थे फिर भी चौलुक्यों के चलणी सिक्के प्राप्त नहीं हुये हैं। साहित्यिक उल्लेखों में प्रबंधों और "लेखपद्धति" नामक ग्रन्थ में जयसिंहप्रिय, कुमारपालप्रिय, वीसलप्रिय, भीमप्रिय, लूणताप्रिय जैसे विविध मुद्राओं के उल्लेख हुए हैं।[1]

अल्लाउद्दीन खिलजी के समय के सिक्काविज्ञ ठक्कुर फेरू के प्राकृत ग्रंथ **द्रव्यपरीक्षा** में (संभवतः १३वीं सदी का अंत और १४वीं सदी का प्रारम्भ) "गुर्जरीमुद्रा" नाम का प्रकरण दिया गया है। इसमें चौलुक्य राजाओं की विविध मुद्राओं के नाम दिये गये हैं।[2] इसमें कुमरपुरी (कुमारपालकी) (अजयपुरी) (अजयपालकी) (भीमपुरी) (भीमदेवकी) जैसे विविध सिक्के और उनके वजन का भी उल्लेख किया है। इस प्रकार की जानकारी के आधार से यह अनुमान किया जाता है कि, चौलुक्य राजाओं ने अपने चलणी सिक्के अवश्य बनवाये होंगे। इन सिक्कों के कोष्ठक इस प्रकार हैं[3] –

५/४ कुमरपुरी १०० मध्ये तोला १८ मासा ४
५/४ अजयपुरी १०० मध्ये तोला १८ मासा ४
५/४ भीमपुरी १०० मध्ये तोला १८ मासा ४
५/४ लवानपुरी १०० मध्ये तोला १८ मासा ४
५/८ अर्जुनपुरी १०० मध्ये तोला १६ मासा ६
६ वीसलपुरी १०० मध्ये तोला १६ मासा ८

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१. जिनविजयजी–प्राचीन गुजरातना सांस्कृतिक इतिहास नी साधन सामग्री, पृ०–५६

२. गुज्जरवइरायाणं–बहुबिहमुद्दाइ विविहनामाइं । द्रव्यपरीक्षा, पृ० २७,२८

३. ठक्करफेरू–"द्रव्यपरीक्षा" संपादक, भंवरलाल नाहटा पृ० ३३

सिद्धराज जयसिंह के सोने के दो सिक्के लखनऊ म्यूजियम में हैं। यदि ये सिक्के सचमुच सिद्धराज के ही हैं तो ये खालवा के विजयप्रसंग पर बनवाये गये होंगे, ऐसी कुछ विद्वानों की मान्यता है। प्रो० होडीवाला के संग्रह में कहीं छोटे सिक्कों पर "श्री मज्जयसिंह" लिखा गया है। ये सभी सिक्के सिद्धराज के होंगे ऐसी सम्भावना श्री गिरिजाशंकर आचार्य ने व्यक्त की है।[४]

झांसी के पास से पंडवाहा से थोड़े सिक्के मिले हैं। इस सिक्के पर "सिद्धराज" ऐसा लिखा दिखाई पड़ता है।[५]

चांदी के कुछ सिक्के महेसाना के पास पिलवाई में मिले हैं। इस सिक्के पर भी "श्री मज्जयसिंह" जैसा अक्षर अंकित किया गया है। इसलिए ये सिक्के सिद्धराज जयसिंह के हैं, ऐसा माना गया है।[६]

६ से ७ ग्रेज के चांदी के सिक्के ८वीं सदी के अंत भाग में मध्य भारत और गुजरात में भी प्रचलित थे। इस प्रकार के सिक्के गुजरात के चौलुक्य राजा सिद्धराज के समय में १२वीं सदी में प्रचलित हुये थे। इन सिक्कों के अग्रभाग में गज की आकृति और पृष्ठ भाग पर तीन पंक्तियों में "श्री मज्जयसिंहप्रिय" लिखा गया है। **लेखपद्धति** आदि ग्रंथों के आधार से यह जाना जा सकता है कि चौलुक्यकाल में राजा अपने सिक्के पर राजा के नाम के बाद 'प्रिय' शब्द का प्रयोग करते थे जैसे कि "भीमप्रिय", "विसलप्रिय"।[७]

ठक्कर फेरू के उपर्युक्त कोष्ठक में उल्लिखित "जयसिंहप्रिय" लिखित सिक्के का अध्ययन करना आवश्यक है।

इस कोष्ठक में कुमरपुरी से लवणपुरी तक अर्थात् कुमारपाल, अजयपाल, भीमदेव, और लवणप्रसाद के अंत में "पुरी" अंकित ऐसे १०० सिक्के का तोल १८ तोला और ४ मासा है। इसलिए प्रत्येक राजा के १०० सिक्के का तोल १८x१२ = २१६x४ = २२० मासा होता है। इसलिए प्रत्येक सिक्के २.२ मासा तोल का होता है। उस जमाने में चांदी के १ माप = २ रत्ती तोल गिना जाता है।[८] इसलिए प्रत्येक सिक्का २.२x२ = ४.४ रत्ती का होता था। रत्ती का लगभग तोल १.८३ ग्रेज अथवा .११६ ग्राम हो सकता है। उसी प्रकार प्रत्येक सिक्का ४.४ x १.८३ = ८.०५२ ग्रेज अथवा ४.४ x .११६ = .५२३६ ग्राम वजन का होता है । जयसिंहप्रिय के उपलब्ध सिक्के का तोल शायद .५ ग्राम है[९] अर्थात् ५०० मिलीग्राम। उसी प्रकार ठक्करफेरू ने जो कोष्ठक दिया है उनके साथ यह सिक्का मिलता जुलता है। अलबत्ता फेरू ने जयसिंहपुरी के सिद्धराजप्रिय नाम का उल्लेख नहीं किया है।

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४. Proceedings of Seventh all India Oriental Conference , Baroda,1993,p,695

५. उमाकांत शाह, "कुमारपालना सिक्का" **स्वाध्याय** पृ०–६, पृ० ४६६

६. अमृत व० पंडया,"महाराजा जयसिंह सिद्धराजना चांदीना सिक्का, **विजयवल्लभसूरि स्मारक ग्रंथ,"** पृ० १०१–११.

७. ह.गं. शास्त्री प्र० च० परीख **"भारतीय सिक्काशास्त्र"** पृ० १३२

८. वही पृ० १३३

९. ऐसा ही एक सिक्का अहमदाबाद के भूतपूर्व मेयर श्री चीनु भाई चिमनभाई के निजी संग्रह में है।

गुजरात के बाहर भी कुमारपाल के नामांकित सिक्के प्राप्त हुए हैं। संभवतः ये सिक्के चौलुक्य राजा कुमारपाल के हो सकते हैं । यह संभव हो सकता है कि मुसाफिरों और प्रवासियों के साथ ये सिक्के बाहर गये होंगे।[१०]

हरिभद्रसूरि कृत प्राकृत **"चंद्रप्रभचरित"** सं० १२३३ – ई० सं० ११७७ तथा अपभ्रंश **"नेमिनाथ चरित"** के आधार पर डॉ० उमाकांत शाह ने सिद्ध किया है कि, "चौलुक्यों के सभी सिक्के और राजकीय मुद्राओं पर लक्ष्मी की आकृति थी।[११] **विमलशाह** के पिता चौलुक्य राजाओं की टंकशाला के उपरी थे। यह जानकारी हमें *चंद्रप्रभचरित* की प्रशस्ति से प्राप्त होती है। इसके अतिरिक्त श्रीमाल की टंकशाला की जानकारी अनेक आधारभूत उल्लेखों से प्राप्त होती है।[१२]

चौलुक्यकालीन अभिलेखों में भी चलणी सिक्कों के उल्लेख प्राप्त होते हैं। उदाहरणार्थ **हसतकुंडी धवल** के वि० सं० १०५३ के बीजापुर के लेख में **"विंशोपक" "रूपक"**, इत्यादि सिक्कों का उल्लेख हुआ है।[१३]

वि० सं० ११४० के ताम्रपत्र में २ विंशोषक १८ रूपक और ३ रूपक इत्यादि का उल्लेख हुआ है।[१४]

वि० सं० ११४८ के लेख में सरोवर के निबाह के लिए राज्य की ओर से भाग, उपभोग कर और "सुवर्ण" लिए जाते थे, ऐसा उल्लेख मिलता है। इसमें सुवर्ण का उल्लेख स्पष्टतः सिक्का ही लगता है।

मांगरोल की सोढणी वाव के वि० सं० १२०२ के शिलालेख में मंदिर के निबाह के लिए, लोगों के पास से विविध कर राज्य की ओर से लिए जाते थे। इसमें कार्षापण द्रम्म और रूपक का उल्लेख किया है।[१५]

कुमारपाल के वि० सं० १२१३ के लेख में उल्लिखित बंदर मांडवी की उपज में से रोज के रूपक का दान तीन जैन मंदिरों को दिया गया था।[१६]

वि० सं० १२३५ के लेख में भी विंशोपक शब्द का प्रयोग किया गया है।[१७]

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१० . उमाकांत शाह, पृ० ५००–१

११ . Umakant Shah, "Coin age of Early Chaulukyas of Anahillavada Patan" *journal of the numismatic Society of India* Vol. 16 b. 2. P. 239-42.

१२ . लेखपद्धति – पृ० ३४,३५,३६,३७,४१,४२,४३,४५

१३ . गिरिजाशंकर आचार्य– "गुजरातना ऐतिहासिक लेखा भाग," – ३ लेख, नं०, २३८ अ

१४ . *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*

१५ . गिरिजाशंकर आचार्य – वही, नं० १४३

१६ . वही. नं० १४५

१७ . वही. नं० १४८ क

भीमदेव द्वितीय के वि० सं० १२६४ के लेख में बताया गया है कि भीमदेव राजा का मंत्री श्रीकरण समस्त मुद्रा–व्यापार चलाता था। तदुपरान्त इस लेख में "द्रम्म" का भी उल्लेख किया है।[१८]

वि० सं० १२८८ के लेख में भी द्रम्म और विंशोपक का निर्देश किया गया है।[१९] वि० सं० १२८८ के अन्य एक लेख में भी द्रम्म और विंशोपक का उल्लेख मिलता है।[२०] वि० सं० १२९१ के लेख में वस्तुपाल का पुत्र जयतसिंह खंभात में मुद्रा–व्यापार करता था, ऐसा निर्देश है।[२१]

भीमदेव–राजा के वि० सं० १२६२ के लेख में "द्रम्म" का भी उल्लेख मिलता है।[२२] इस प्रकार उपर्युक्त चर्चा के अनुसार विविध अभिलेखों में चौलुक्य कालीन सिक्कों के उल्लेख दिखाई पड़ते हैं। इन सिक्कों का अर्थ इस प्रकार किया जाता है। जैसे कि सुवर्ण – अर्थात् सोने का सिक्का। रूपक– अर्थात् चाँदी का सिक्का। द्रम्म– अर्थात् चाँदी का सिक्का। विंशोपक सिक्के के लिए विविध मान्यताएं हैं। एक मान्यता के अनुसार विंशोपक का अर्थ कौड़ी और दोकड़ा होता है।[२३]

दूसरी मान्यता के अनुसार यह सिक्का किसी सिक्के का १/२० वाँ भाग हो सकता है। प्रा. डी. आर. भांडारकर के मतानुसार विंशोपक यह मूल द्रम्म कार्षापण का १/२० वाँ भाग के ताँबे का सिक्का होगा लेकिन वि० सं० १२३५ के लेख के कथनानुसार सोमेश्वर की पूजा के लिए दो विंशोपक प्रतिदिन दान में दिया जाता था। इसलिए यह सिक्का रूपक हो सकता है।[२४]

सामान्यतः यहाँ कार्षापण का अर्थ चाँदी का सिक्का होता है। वि० सं० १५४० के ताम्रपत्र में विंशोपक का उल्लेख किया गया है, रूपक नाम के चांदी के सिक्के के २० वें भाग का चाँदी का ही यह सिक्का हो सकता है।

लेकिन दूसरे लोगों के मतानुसार कार्षापण का अर्थ तीन धातु सोना, चाँदी और ताँबा से बना हुआ सिक्का है। कहीं कहीं कार्षापण का यह अर्थ चाँदी के सिक्कों के लिए भी किया जाता था।[२५]

अभिलेखों से प्राप्त इन सिक्कों का अनुपात इस प्रकार दिया जाता है।[२६]

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१८ . वही. नं० १५७ ड

१९ . वही. नं०. २४३

२० . आबु के प्राचीन जैन लेख संग्रह नं०२७७, पृ० ११६

२१ . प्राचीन जैन लेख संग्रह नं० ८२– पृ० ५६५

२२ . Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute; P.50

२३ . आबु के प्राचीन जैन लेख संग्रह, पृ० ११६

२४ . देखिये वि० सं० १२३५ के लेख की प्रस्तावना गिरिजाशंकर आचार्य–वही. नं० १५७ क

२५ . ह. गं. शास्त्री प्र० च० परीख वही, पृ० ३८

२६ . वही, पृ० २४६,४७

१६ मार्ष = १ सुवर्ण

१ कर्ष = १ पण या कार्षापण

४ कर्ष = १ पल

१ कर्ष = ८० गुंजा

१ विंशोपक = २० मासा

२० कोड़ी = १ विंशोपक

५ रूपक = १ द्रम्म

श्रीधराचार्य के **गणितसार** पर सं० १४४६ ई० सं० १३६३ में लिखी हुयी पुराणी गुजराती की टीका में से नाणां और तोलमाप के कोष्ठक मिलते हैं।[२७] ये इस प्रकार हैं–

२० वाराटक कोडी = १ कोकिणी

४ कोकिणी = १ पण

१६ पण = १ पुराण

५ कोडी = १ पावीस

४ पावीस = १ वसु

५ वीसु = १ लोहडिया

४ लोहडिया = वोकाडउ

५ रूअ = १ द्रम्म

३ वांकुठा = १ द्रम्म

१०० वीसा = १ द्रम्म

४०० पावीसा = १ द्रम्म

(२) २० कोडी = १ विंशोपक

५ विंशोपक = १ लोहडिया

४ लोहडिया = १ रूपक

५ रूपक = १ द्रम्म

(३) १ रूपक = २ भागक

उपर्युक्त सिक्कों में से कुछ के नाम दूसरे शिलालेखों में मिलते हैं। नड्डुल के आदिनाथ मंदिर के ठक्कुर राजपालदेव के वि० सं० १२०० के शिलालेख में विंशोपक शब्द का प्रयोग किया गया है। प्रस्तुत कोष्ठक में "वीस" ये विंशोपक का प्राकृत रूप है। उसी प्रकार राजपालदेव के वि० सं० १२०२ के शिलालेख में "रूओ" शब्द का प्रयोग किया है।[२८]

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२७. भोगीलाल सांडेसरा – मध्यकालीन गुजरांतना तोलमाप अने नाणां विशे केटलीक माहिती १२ मुं साहित्य सम्मेलन, इतिहासं विभाग, पृ० ३६ से ८२ तक

२८. डॉ० भारती शेलत – "सोलंकी राजाओंना सिक्का, पथिक," वर्ष १९८१, सेप्टेम्बर – ओकटोबर – अं० १२–१, पृ० ३१–४१

कोष्ठक नं० २ के संदर्भ में देखने पर यह मालूम होता है कि विंशोपक २० कोडी मूल्य के ताँबे के सिक्के होते हैं। रूओं को रूपक के अर्थ में लिया जाता है, और कोष्ठक के अनुसार १ रूपक = २० विंशोपक = ४०० कोडी होता है।

चौलुक्य राज्य के सिक्के बहुत संख्या में उपलब्ध नहीं होते हैं। उसका एक कारण यह भी हो सकता है कि चौलुक्य राज्य के अंत के बाद, उस समय के पुराने सिक्कों को नये राज्य ने स्वीकार नहीं किया होगा । अथवा यह भी संभव हो सकता है कि गुजरात में से सैकड़ों की संख्या में और हजारों की संख्या में रूपा और तांबे के मिश्रित गधैया नाम से प्रचलित सिक्के मिलते हैं। हो सकता है कि ये सिक्के चौलुक्यकाल में और पूर्व में सार्वत्रिक रूप से प्रचलित थे। अतः चौलुक्यकाल में चौलुक्य राजाओं के द्वारा बनाये हुए सिक्कों को लोगों ने स्वीकार नहीं किया होगा। परिणामस्वरूप उसका उपयोग मर्यादित क्षेत्र में बहुत सीमित हो गया । अलबत्ता, समकालीन अभिलेखों में और साहित्य में निर्देशित उल्लेखों के आधार पर कहा जा सकता है कि इस काल में निश्चित प्रकार का सिक्का जरूर प्रचलित रहा होगा।

तोलमाप- चौलुक्यकालीन अभिलेखों में सिक्के, सिक्के का माप, उपरांत धन्य, सुवर्ण, घी, तेल और जमीन आदि का तोल माप भी निर्दिष्ट हुआ है।

वि० सं० १०५३ के लेख में धान्य के तोल माप का उल्लेख मिलता है। जैसे कि हरेक अरधट्टे (रेंटवाला कूवा) घेंठ और जपका

– १ (आटक चार शेर)

– पेठ़ दीठ ५ पणी

– हरेक्र भारे (२००० पल) विंशोपक

– ३, केसर, गुंद, उन वगैरे पर हरेक भार १० पल

– राण आदि पर – १ द्रोण – १ माणक

श्रीधराचार्य के **गणितसार** पर वि० सं० १४४६ (ई० सं० १३३३) में लिखी गई राजकीर्ति नामक पुरानी गुजराती टीका में नाणा के तोल माप के साथ साथ अन्य तोल माप भी मिलते हैं।[२६]

धान्य के तोल माप इस प्रकार हैं-

२ पण = प्रसूति

२ प्रसूति = १ कुडव

४ कुडव = १ प्रस्थ (६४ तोला)

४ प्रस्थ = १ आटक

१ आटक = १ द्रोण

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२६ . भोगीलाल सांडेसरा – वही, पृ० ३६ से ४२

१ द्रोण = १ बारी

४ पावला = १ पाली

४ पाली = १ माणक

४ माणक = १ सेति (मण)

६ रोति = १ हारि

४ हारि = १ माणि

१६ सेति = १ कणशी

१०कणशी = १ मूडो

घी, तेल का माप :-

१३ तिल = १ टीप	४ पावली = १ कर्ष
४ टीप = १ लगार	४ कर्ष = १ पल
४ लगार = १ पावली	४ पल = १ सोहल
२ पावली = १ अधोल	१६ सोहेल = १ घडी

जमीन के माप :-

८ सरसव = १ जव	३ दंड = १ बांस
३ जव = १ अंगुल	१४ बांस = १ नेतन
२४ अंगुल = १ हस्त	१ नेतन = १ हलवाइ
४ हस्त = १ दंड	१ हलवाह = ३३६० हस्त

२००० दंड = १ कोश (गाडु) = ८०६४० अंगुल

४ कोश = १ योजन = ४०८३८४० जव

ऊपर बताये गये तोल माप चौलुक्य काल में प्रचलित दिखाई पड़ते हैं।

ब्याज की दर

इस काल के अभिलेखों में से सिक्कों के उपरांत ब्याज के दर का भी उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है। किन्तु यह जानकारी बहुत कम मिलती है।

भीमदेव – राजा के वि०सं० १२८८ के लेख में ब्याज की आय में से १६ द्रम्म देने का उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है।[३०] इसके उपरांत १६ द्रम्म का ब्याज हर महीने ८ विंशोपक आयेगा और उसमें से आधे द्रव्य से, देरी के मूलनायक की पूजा करना, ऐसा उल्लेख है। ऊपर बताये गये हिसाब के अनुसार १६ द्रम्म का वार्षिक ब्याज हद विंशोपक उपर्युक्त कोष्ठक के अनुसार १६ द्रम्म = १६x५ = ८० रूपक = ८०x२० = १६०० विंशोपक होता है। इसलिए १६०० विंशोपक पर वार्षिक ब्याज ९६ विंशोपक मिलने पर ब्याज की दर ६ % होता है।

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३०. आबु के प्राचीन जैन लेख संग्रह – नं० २७७, पृ० ११६

द्वयाश्रय में ब्याज का दर आधा पाँच और 'छ' टके का बताया गया है।[३१] इससे आधा टका के ब्याज का अर्थ शायद मासिक आधे टके का होगा। इसलिए वार्षिक ब्याज का दर 'छ' टके का हो गया।

लेखपद्धति में दिये गये एक दस्तावेज में ब्याज का दर मासिक दो टका यानी कि वार्षिक २४ टका बताया गया है।[३२]

नाणा, ब्याज उपरांत वस्तु विनिमय की प्रथा भी, इस समय में प्रचलित रही होगी। क्योंकि आभिलेखिक प्रमाणों को देखते हुए ऐसा मालूम होता है कि राज्य की ओर से कर लिये जाते थे। इसमें वस्तु–चीज के बदले में वस्तु ही लेने का उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है। जैसे कि वि० सं० १०५३ के ई० सं० ६६७ लेख में बताये गये अनुसार[३३] रू, केसर, गुद, उन आदि का दस भार पल भर के माने जा सकते हैं। साहित्य में भी ऐसा उल्लेख कहीं कहीं दिखाई पड़ता है।

"द्वयाश्रय" में बताये गये अनुसार धान्य के दो द्रोए से ६ आखला और उनके सौ कामजा से एक घोड़ी खरीदी जा सकती है।[३४]

उपर्युक्त दी गई माहिती के आधार पर यह स्पष्ट कहा जा सकता है कि चौलुक्य काल में गुजरात का अर्थतंत्र ठीक से चलता था।

अभिलेखों में बताये गये मंदिरों को बनाना, ब्राह्मणों को भूमिदान करना, और इसके अलावा लगान – कर की समग्र व्यवस्था देखकर यह स्पष्ट प्रतीत होता है कि गुजरात की आबादी बढ़ी हुई थी। अलबत्ता अभिलेखों से चौलुक्यों की आर्थिक स्थिति पर कोई विशेष जानकारी प्राप्त नहीं होती है।

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३१. रामलाल मोदी **"संस्कृत द्वयाश्रय" काव्यमां मध्यकालीन गुजरात नी सामाजिक स्थिति, पृ० ३२**

३२. **लेखपद्धति – पृ० ३३**

३३. गिरिजाशंकर आचार्य – नं० १५७ ब

३४. रामलाल मोदी – **वही, पृ० ३२**

THE CONTRIBUTION OF NARMADĀ TO THE URBAN GROWTH OF TRIPURĪ

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The Narmadā is regarded as the life line of Madhya Pradesh. With a course of over 1312 Km, this is the largest among the West flowing rivers of Indian subcontinent. Originating from Amarkantaka, the Narmadā flows west ward, through an asymmetrical valley of about 160 Kms in length, enclosed between the Vindhyas on the north and Satpurā on the South, till it reaches down to the neighbouring region of Tripurī. The gorge - like valley is full of rapids and falls. At Bheraghat near Tripurī, it forms a beautiful 15 Metres high, Dhuandhar Water falls. Here the Narmadā has a youthful appearance.[1]

Tripurī is situated in the basin of the Narmadā a river which divides the Indian sub-continent in two distinct cultural zones. Tripurī now represented by a modern village Tewar situated on the Jabalpur Bheraghat Road, about 13 Kms to the West of Jabalpur. The site is bounded on its three sides by the Banagangā, a tributory of the Narmadā.[2] The Narmadā played a vital role in the urban growth of Tripurī. The river not only provided drinking water, fertile agricultural land and relatively easier network of Communications, but it also facilitated irrigation thus expropriated a large amout of surplus, thereby strengthening the urban growth. It may be mentioned here that the ancient main trade routes passed through the Tripurī connecting the town with the other part of India[3] also play a significant role in the urban growth of this town.

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1. V.S. Pathak and S.K. Sullerey : *Tripurī tīrthapaṭṭa: A Sculptural Mythic Representation of Tripurī* (to be published), The Narmadā carved as a beautiful damsel standing on Crocodile in tīrthapaṭṭa. p. 5.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 5 Tripurī tīrthpāṭṭa is bounded on its three side by the Narmadā.
3. *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihāsa Parishad* No. VP. 55.

In ancient India, there were two important categories of towns - political and economic. In the present context if we limit our analysis to the latter category it will become obvious that such towns were trade centres and some of them grew as a result of their location on important trade routes[4].

The excavations conducted at Tripurī[5] have thrown valuable light on the urban growth and decay.[6] The post Harappan Chalcolithic cultures developed in the valley of Narmadā from beginning of the Second millennium B.C. to C. 600 B.C.[7] The urban occupation of Tripurī continued from C. 500 B.C. to C. 400 A.D.[8]. The Sātavāhana and post Sātavāhana periods are better known for various Coins of lead, copper or potin belonging to the Sātavāhanas and Ksatrapas[9]. In addition the Sātavāhanas age possesses red polished ware sprinklers and Kaolin Wares[10]. During Sātavāḥana period Tripurī grew up into a trade centre of Central India[11]. This period also marks the introduction of Buddhism at Tripurī and two brick building were identified as Vihāras. In them were encountered several Buddhist objects, such as steatite caskets, beads and pottery marked with Buddhist symbols. They also made an extensive use of Kaolin for their pottery, procured from nearby quarries of this clay from Lametaghat[12] of Narmadā. There is a reason to believe that region around Tripurī then lay on the main high road to the south and this period is marked by a number of minor antiquities like terracotta figurines which betray an intermingling of Southern and North Indian Cultures[13].

4. *Great Rivers of India*, p. 110.
5. M.G. Dikshit - *Tripurī* - 1952, *IAR*, 1965-66 pp. 21.22 1966-67 pp. 17-19, 1967-68, pp. 23.24; 1968-69, pp. 11-12.
6. R.S. Sharma : *Urban Decay in India*, p. 62.
7. *Marg*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3 p. 28.
8. R.S. Sharma : *Urban decay in India*, p. 62.
9. *IAR*, 1966-67 p. 18.
10. *IAR*, 1965-66 p. 22.
11. *Marg*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3, p - 28.
12. M.G. Dikshit : *Tripuri* - 1952, p.2.
13. *Ibid.*

The post Sātavāhanas phase yeilded sprinklers, mica dust pottery[14], punch marked coins, iron and stone objects[15]. Baked clay sealing bearing inscriptions of the Second-third Century A.D. also appear[16]. Structures deteriorated during C 200 A D to 400 A.D. The habitational deposits in this period are 0.3048 metre to 1.52 metres thick, and this 'last occupation' show very poor structure marked by brick bats.[17] In the contrast the habitational deposits representing the period 100 to C-200 A.D. range from 0.4572 metre to 1.82/2.13 metres thick[18]. The Sātavāhanas were succeeded by the Bodhis Kings who ruled in the Tripurī during the second third Century A.D. The excavations at Tripurī have brought to light coins and sealings as many as four rulers of the Bodhi dynasty[19]. The site was abandoned after C 400 A.D. and regained its significance under the Kalachuries.

The urban decline is one of the most Controversial problem of Indian history[20]. Several Scholars have attributed various factors responsible for urban decay in India, such as political factor, foreign invasions, natural calamity and decline of long distance trade, crafts and commerce with Roman empire.[21]

Similarly scholars assign various factors responsible for urban decay at Tripurī. M.G. Dikshit[22] consider Huna invasions responsible for urban decay of Tripurī. H.D. Sankalia advocated the theory - struggle between Buddhist and Saivas the main cause of decay[23] A.M. Shastri assigned no particular reason for urban decay of Tripurī[24]. Undoubtedly the decline of long- distance trade

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14. Mica. dusted pottery also reported from Kakrahata excavations conducted jointly by Dept. of A I H C & Archaeology R.D. V. V, Jabalpur & state Archaeology MP.
15. *IAR*, 1966-67, p. 18.
16. *IAR*, 1966-67, P. 18.
17. M.G. Dikshit : *Tripurī* - 1952, Pp. 13, 18, 29.
18. R.S. Sharma : *Urban decay in India*, P. 63.
19. *Marg*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3 P. 28.
20. R.S. Sharma : *Urban decay in India*, PP. 132.142.
21. *Ibid.*
22. M.G. Dikshit : *Tripurī* - 1952- P. 2.
23. *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh, Itihasa Parishad*, No. VP. 55 ff.
24. A.M. Shastri : *Tripuri* (Hindi) P. 89.

which involved Roman, Chinese, Parthisans, Kuṣānas and Sātavāhanas was an important cause of urban decay in the late third century and in the fourth century[25], had been mainly responsible for urban decay of Tripurī. It is interesting to note that Narmadā which was so conducive for urban growth of Tripurī, also spelt disaster for town due to the erasion and recurrent flooding. Inspite of the Narmadā and the Banagangā, there has been the scarcity of water in the adjoining areas of Tripurī, throughout its long history. It was, therefore, necessary to dig lakes, ponds and wells and make sufficient provisions for water in the habitational areas. The Kalachuri dynasty ruling over Tripurī paid their special attention to the water problem and got excavated several big and small lakes in the adjoining areas of Tripurī[26]. Thus water scarcity can also be responsible for urban decay of Tripurī to some extent.

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25. R.S. Sharma : *Urban decay in India,* P. 135.

26. S.R. Nema : *Political History of the Soma-Vamsī King of South Kosal,* Foreword, P. IX-XIII.

सतकुण्डा (रायसेन) के प्रागैतिहासिक शैलचित्र : एक अध्ययन

प्रदीप कुमार शुक्ल

सागर

मध्यप्रदेश का यह "महाप्रदेश" पुरातत्त्व के विभिन्न आयामों, प्रागैतिहासिक शैलचित्रण, मंदिर वास्तु, पुरामानव शास्त्रीयस्थलों, विशिष्ट भूगर्भीय क्षेत्रों तथा मध्यकालीन स्मारकों के कारण आज भी शोधार्थियों के लिए सर्वोत्तम क्षेत्र प्रस्तुत करता है। इस प्रदेश की प्रमुख नदियों (प्राचीन रेवा तथा मेकलसुता) बेतवा, वेत्रवती, धसान(दशार्ण) ताप्ती, सोन, इन्द्रावती, महानदी आदि के सुरम्य वन संकुल प्रदेश, सुरम्य घाटियों विस्तृत पठारों व उपजाऊ मैदानों के सहारे भारत क्या विश्व की आदिम सभ्यता, प्रागैतिहासिक काल, सिन्धु–हड़प्पा काल, नवपाषाण, ताम्रपाषाण काल से लेकर ऐतिहासिक काल तक के मानव की विकास यात्रा के क्रमिक पदचिह्न हमें इस प्रदेश की महाभूमि में प्राप्त होते हैं। सतकुण्डा (रायसेन) के चित्रित शैलाश्रयों के परिचय पूर्व यह जानना महत्त्वपूर्ण है कि वर्तमान मध्य प्रदेश (महाप्रदेश) में विन्ध्य,सतपुड़ा, मेकल तथा कैमूर पर्वत श्रृंखलाओं के विस्तृत भू–भाग वाला "प्रदेश" है। इन पर्वतों की महत्त्वपूर्ण भूसंरचना एवं विशिष्ट भौगोलिक स्थिति के कारण ही इस प्रदेश में आदिम युग से लेकर ऐतिहासिक काल तक के विश्व सभ्यता के हस्ताक्षर अनवरत पुरातत्त्व को विभिन्न शाखाओं के द्वारा प्राप्त होते हैं। विश्व में शैलचित्रण कला के अब तक अध्ययन के आधार पर (कुमार एवं नरवारे १९८४, साली १९८५, सोनवाने एवं मेहता १९८५, वाकणकर १९८६, वाजपेयी एवं पाण्डे १९७४, मिश्रा १९७४, मठपाल १९७६, न्यूमेर इरविन १९८३, त्यागी १९८८) विद्वानों ने इसे आरंभिक कला तथा आदिम मानव की सामाजिक, आर्थिक, धार्मिक जादुई तथा शिकारी प्रवृत्ति आदि अनेक गतिविधियों का प्रथम प्रमाण माना है।

प्रारम्भिक उत्खनन एवं सर्वेक्षण के आधार पर भारतीय शैलचित्रण कला का प्रारम्भ उच्च पुरापाषाण काल (लगभग २०,००० पूर्व) से लेकर ऐतिहासिक काल के (लगभग १५वीं शती के) अन्त तक अनवरत क्रम में चलता रहा, वर्तमान समय में भी ग्रामीण एवं आदिवासी अंचलों में जनजातियों के चितेरे एवं गृहचित्रकार लिखना, माढ़ना आदि के माध्यम से अपनी कलात्मक, धार्मिक, मनोवैज्ञानिक अभिव्यक्ति अपनी कलम से करते रहे हैं। (वाकणकर एवं ब्रुक्स आर० आर० १९७५)।

सतकुण्डा (रायसेन) के चित्रित शैलाश्रय

रायसेन जिला भोपाल संभाग के अन्तर्गत मध्यप्रदेश के लगभग मध्य में उत्तरी अक्षांश २२ ४७' से २३ ३३' तथा ७७ २१ से ७८ ४६' पूर्वी देशांश के मध्य स्थित है तथा कर्क रेखा जिले के उत्तरी भाग से जाती है। प्रमुख रूप से मालवा क्षेत्र में तथा आंशिक रूप से नर्मदा घाटी में फैला हुआ यह जिला अनियमित भू–आकृति वाला है। इस जिले में विन्ध्य की मुख्य पर्वत शृंखला लगभग १५ कि०मी० से २५ कि.मी. चौड़ी पूर्व से पश्चिम निकलती हुई उत्तर, उत्तर–पूर्व तक फैली है। प्रमुख शृंखला का ५३० मीटर से ६१० मीटर क़े लगभग विन्यास है तथा कई जगह कई चोटियां लगभग ६६० मीटर तक ऊंची है। इसकी सीमाएँ पश्चिम से सीहोर, उत्तर में विदिशा, पूर्व तथा उत्तर–पूर्व में सागर, दक्षिण पूर्व में नरसिंहपुर, होशंगाबाद जिले को छूती हैं। नर्मदा इसकी दक्षिणी–पूर्वी सीमा बनाती है।

भोपाल–रायसेन राजमार्ग पर रायसेन से १८ किलोमीटर दूरी पर खरबई ग्राम स्थित है। सतकुण्डा के चित्रित शैलाश्रयों तक पहुँचने के लिए खरबई ग्राम समीप "चिड़िया टोल" फारेस्ट हट से कच्चे वन मार्ग से होकर जाना पड़ता है। सतकुण्डा क्षेत्र खरबई ग्राम के उत्तर–पश्चिम में स्थित है। चिड़िया टोल (खरबई) से सतकुण्डा के चित्रित शैलाश्रयों की दूरी लगभग ८ कि.मी. है। चिड़िया टोल फारेस्ट हट से कच्चे वन मार्ग से होकर जाने पर पठार पार कर "चीलपाटा" होते हुये अगले पठार पर सतकुण्डा गांव आवासित है। यह आदिवासी ग्राम है जहाँ राजस्थानी बंजारे आकर बस गये हैं।

"सतकुण्डा क्षेत्र" के चित्रित शैलाश्रय बेतवा उद्गम क्षेत्र के समीप शैलाश्रयों की शृंखला में एक महत्त्वपूर्ण चित्रित शृंखला है। बेतवा का उद्गम शृंखला के "झिरी" नामक स्थान से है जो रायसेन जिले में स्थित है और मध्य भारत के सघन शैल चित्रित शैलाश्रयों में एक है। विन्ध्य शृंखलाओं की प्रकृति सेडीमेंटरी आधार की है जिससे यहाँ पर्याप्त मात्रा में उत्तर कोटि के शैलाश्रयों का निर्माण प्रकृति क्रांति ने मुक्तहस्त से किया है।

इसी क्षेत्र में मध्य भारत की विस्तृत चित्रित शृंखलायें जैसे भीम बैठका, बरखेड़ा भोपाल क्षेत्र, रायसेन क्षेत्र आदि तथा भीमबैठका के अगले क्रम को विस्तृत करती हुई जावरा, फिरंगी, चीलदांत, जामुनखोह, राजा बांधा, बाधवानी नीलझिरी, कठोतिया, आदि शृंखलायें हैं।

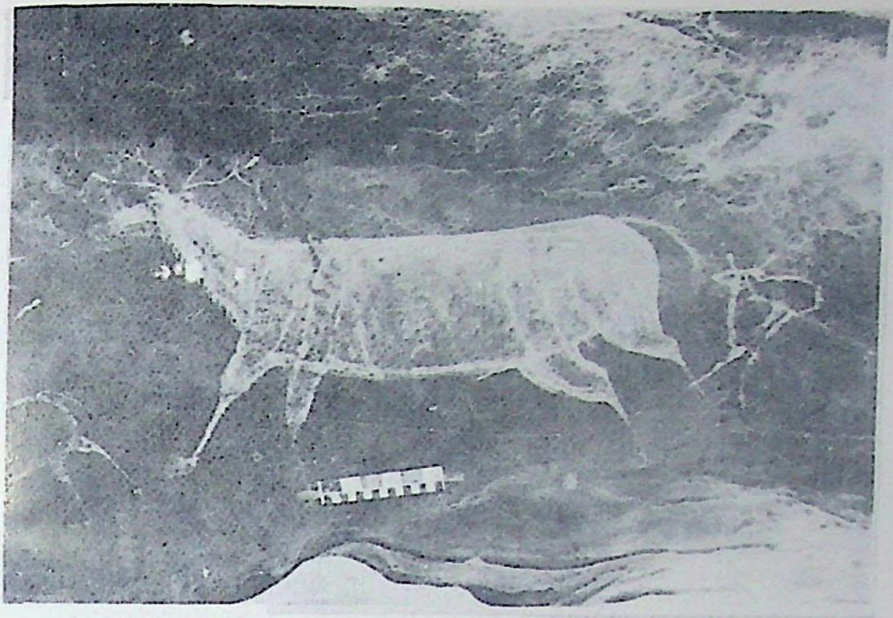
सतकुण्डा क्षेत्र के चित्रित शैलाश्रयों को सर्वप्रथम १९६० में अपने शोध कार्य के अन्तर्गत डा० श्याम कुमार पाण्डेय प्रकाश में लाये थे।

सतकुण्डा क्षेत्र में अभी तक ज्ञात २८ शैलाश्रयों को अध्ययन की दृष्टि से तीन खण्डों में विभाजित किया गया है:–

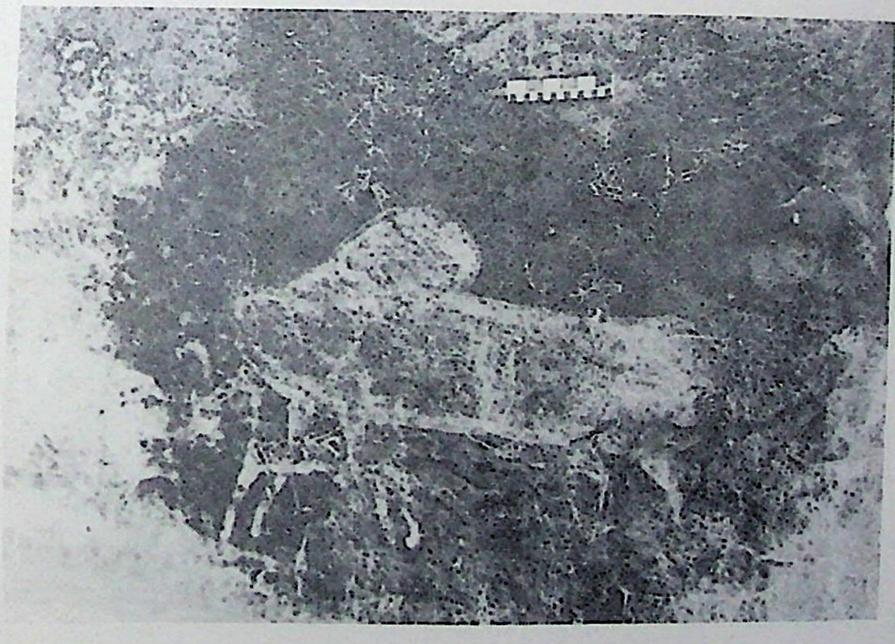
(१) सतकुण्डा मुख्य शृंखला १६ शैलाश्रय

(२) सतकुण्डा पश्चिम शृंखला १० शैलाश्रय

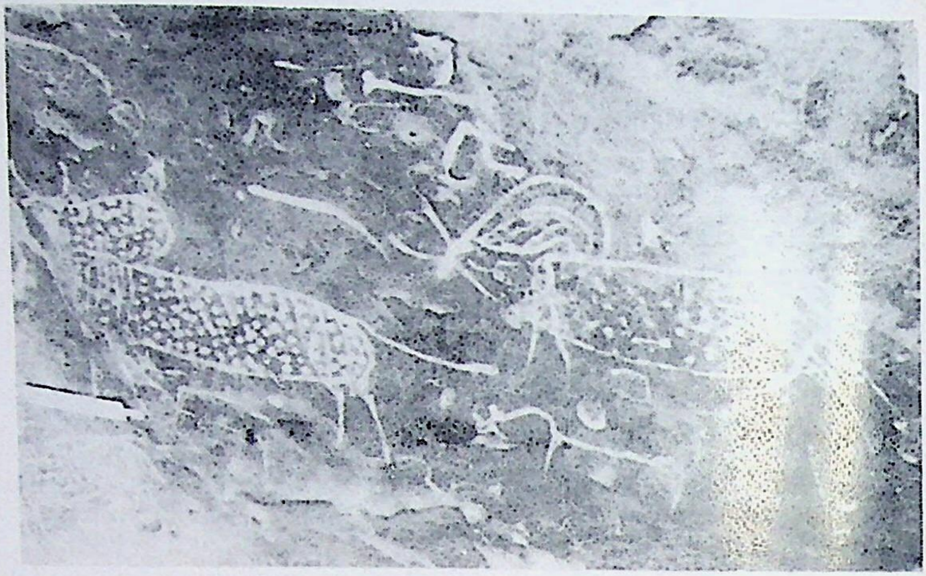
(३)सतकुण्डा (लोअर) निचली शृंखला २ शैलाश्रय



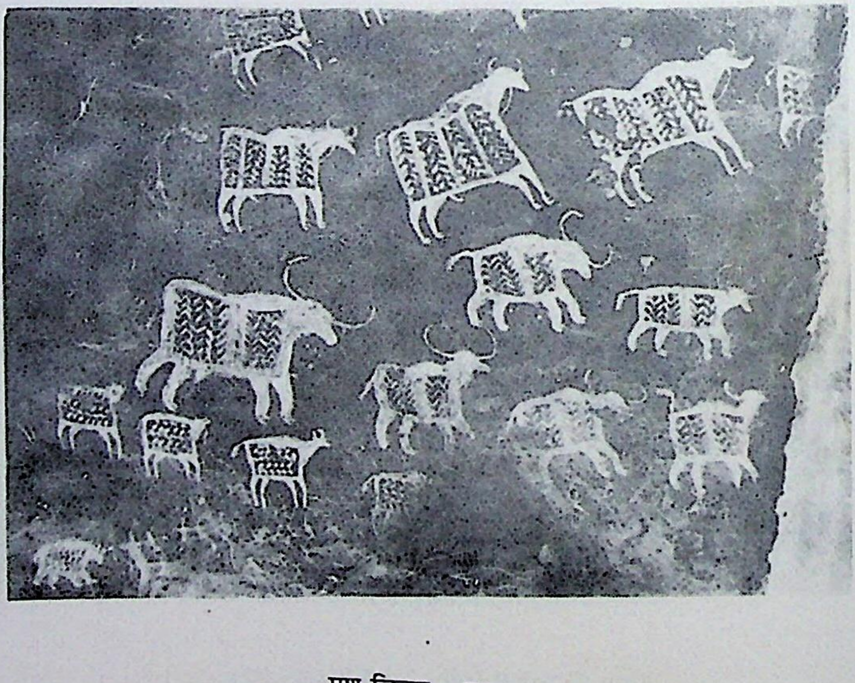
सफेद रंग से चित्रित बारहसिंगा
सतकुण्डा शैलाश्रय क्रमांक 10



हरिण का शिकार चित्रण एवं ककुदमान वृषभ
सतकुण्डा मुख्य शृंखला



सफेद रंग से चित्रित कुकुदमान वृषभ
सतकुण्डा (रायसेन)



पशु चित्रण - समूह दृश्य
सतकुण्डा (रायसेन) मध्य [illegible]

सतकुण्डा के शैलचित्रों को मुख्य रूप से तीन वर्गों में विभाजित किया गया है। प्रथम वर्ग के अन्तर्गत वे चित्र हैं जिन पर चूने की हल्की पर्त (पेटीना) जम गई है और वे तब तक स्पष्ट दिखाई नहीं देते जब तक कि उन पर पानी का छिड़काव न किया जाये। तृतीय वर्ग के अन्तर्गत वे चित्र समाहित होते हैं जिनका संबंध ऐतिहासिक काल से है। ऐसे चित्रों के साथ घुड़सवारों का, ढाल तलवार का, मांगलिक चिह्नों का तथा विभिन्न काल की लिपियों का सामंजस्य प्राप्त होता है और इसी आधार पर इनका वर्गीकरण ऐतिहासिक चित्रों के बीच किया गया है। द्वितीय वर्ग के चित्र पेटीना और ऐतिहासिक चित्रों के बीच की स्थिति के हैं। इस प्रकार यह स्पष्ट होता है कि तीन विभिन्न काल की चित्रण–परम्परा यहाँ उपलब्ध है। शैलीगत विभाजन के आधार पर भी यही रूपरेखा स्पष्ट होती है। तीन विभिन्न युगों के चित्र मानव विकास की तीन विशिष्ट परिस्थितियों का स्पष्ट रूप से दिग्दर्शन कराते हैं। पेटीना के अन्दर बने चित्र जहाँ केवल आखेट दृश्यों का ही प्रदर्शन करते हैं वहीं द्वितीय वर्ग के चित्र मानव जीवन के विभिन्न कार्यकलापों को प्रदर्शित करना प्रारम्भ कर देते हैं। तृतीय वर्ग के चित्र मूलतः युद्ध–पिपासु जीवन का ही प्रदर्शन करते हैं। (सतकुण्डा मुख्य शिलाश्रय क्र.३)

सतकुण्डा से प्राप्त शैलचित्रों के मुख्य रूप से पाँच आक्षेपण प्राप्त हुये हैं। इनमें सबसे पहले स्तर में कतिपय लाल कत्थई रंग के चित्रों का क्रम आता है। इसके पश्चात् सफेद रंग के चित्रों का निर्माण हुआ तथा इन चित्रों पर एक बार पुनः मोटे ब्रश (कलम) से सफेद रंग के चित्रों का आक्षेपण हुआ। अंतिम क्रम में गेरूए रंग के चित्रण आते हैं जो विषय–वस्तु की दृष्टि से अपने पूर्वकालीन चित्रों के कतिपय रूप से भिन्न हैं।

प्रथम काल :

प्रथम काल के चित्र पेटीना के भीतर प्राप्त होते हैं। कालक्रम की दृष्टि से इन शैलचित्रों को मध्य पाषाणकाल (मेसोलिथिक) में रखा गया है। इन चित्रों में मनुष्य का चित्रण एक शलाका (स्टिक) के रूप में किया गया है और इसी आधार पर इनका नामकरण 'यष्टि मानव' (स्टिक शेप ह्यूमन फिगर) के रूप में किया गया है। मनुष्य के इस भाँति के चित्रों का निर्माण एक बचकाना प्रयास दिखाई देता है लेकिन यष्टि–मानव के चित्रण के पास प्राप्त होने वाली पशु आकृतियां बहुत ही यथार्थपरक हैं। इनके भीतर किया गया रेखिक अलंकरण भी अद्वितीय है जो इन चितेरों की उच्चकोटि की सृजनशीलता की ओर इंगित करता है। सतकुण्डा से प्राप्त यष्टि–मानव विशेष रूप से आखेट में संलग्न दिखाये गये हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त नृत्य और संग्रह करने के दृश्य भी यहाँ उपलब्ध हैं।

(सतकुण्डा मुख्य शैलाश्रय क्र० १–ए ७–ए तथा ११–ए)।

आखेटक मानव हाथ में धनुष–बाण या हार्पून लिये हुए है। इनके फलक लघु पाषाण उपकरणों (माइक्रोलिथ) के द्वारा निर्मित हैं (सतकुण्डा शिलाश्रय क्र० १४)। इन चित्रों से यह निश्चित रूप से आभासित होता है कि इस काल का मनुष्य पाषाण युग में रह रहा था तथा उसे

धातु का ज्ञान नहीं था। शिकार करना ही उसके जीवन का मुख्य अंग था और उसी में उसकी गतिविधियाँ केन्द्रित थीं (छायाचित्र १)। शिकार प्राप्ति के पश्चात् उसे जो प्रसन्नता की अनुभूति होती थी उसका प्रदर्शन वह नृत्य और गान के माध्यम से करता था जिसके चित्र सतकुण्डा में उपलब्ध हैं। वनोपज के संग्रह का दृश्य भी यहाँ उपलब्ध है। सतकुण्डा मुख्य शैलाश्रय क्र. १ ए तथा १४ प्रारंम्भिक चित्रों में स्त्री तथा पुरुष का भेद दृष्टिगोचर नहीं होता, लेकिन धीरे–धीरे यहां का चितेरा आयताकार स्वरूप में स्त्री चित्रण करने लगा। इस भाँति के चित्र न केवल सतकुण्डा अपितु रायसेन, पचमढ़ी तथा जिले के अन्य चित्रित शैलाश्रय स्थल जैसे भीमबैठका, लाड़ी की करार, कठोतिया, जावरा, लाखाज्वार आदि से प्राप्त हुये हैं।

इस काल के पशु चित्रण में पूरक या बाह्य रेखांकित शैली के अतिरिक्त चित्रण की जो अन्य विधाएँ प्राप्त हुई हैं वे अद्वितीय हैं। भारतीय शैलचित्रों में मध्य पाषाणकाल (मेसोलिथिक काल) में पशु तथा उनमें किया अलंकरण विश्व में बेजोड़ है। पशुओं के शरीर को भी भरने के लिए विभिन्न प्रकार के एकीकृत तथा ज्यामितिय तरीके (पैटर्न) प्रयोग में लाये गये हैं, जो तत्कालीन चितेरों की कल्पना शक्ति का अनूठा उदाहरण है। इस भाँति के कल्पनाशील पशु–अलंकरण हमें परवर्तीकाल में देखने को नहीं मिलते।

लघु–पाषाण उपकरण तथा विषय–वस्तु के आधार पर ये चित्र निश्चित रूप से धातु युग के पूर्व के प्रमाणित होते हैं। इन चित्रों पर पेटीन का जमाव भी यही निर्देशित करता है कि द्वितीयकाल के चित्रों के निर्माण के बहुत पूर्व ये चित्र बनाये जा चुके थे। इस भाँति इन चित्रों का मेसोलिथिक काल में होना अत्यधिक उपयुक्त है तथा इनमें कुछ चित्र उच्च पुरापाषाणकाल के भी हो सकते हैं, जिन पर और अधिक शोध होना बाकी है।

द्वितीय काल :

द्वितीय काल के चित्रणों में न केवल मानव आकृतियों में विकास हुआ, वरन् पशुओं के अलंकरण में व्यापक परिवर्तन परिलक्षित होने लगता है। रंगों में परिवर्तन के अतिरिक्त विषय वस्तु अपने पूर्वकालीन चित्रों की अपेक्षा भिन्न हो जाती है। इस काल के चित्रों से ऐसा आभासित होता है कि तत्कालीन मनुष्य स्थायी जीवन की ओर अग्रसर हो रहा था और भारतीय पुरातत्त्व की दृष्टि से इस काल को आद्यैतिहासिक काल के अन्तर्गत माना जाता है।

इस काल के अधिकांश चित्र सफेद रंग से बने हुये प्राप्त हैं और इस भाँति के चित्र प्रारंभिक ऐतिहासिक काल तक सतत बनते चले गये। सतकुण्डा के अतिरिक्त रायसेन क्षेत्र के अन्य चित्रित केन्द्रों में यद्यपि लाल तथा हरे रंग का प्रयोग भी इस काल के चित्रों के निर्माण में हुआ लेकिन सतकुण्डा क्षेत्र में यह चित्रण सफेद रंग तक ही सीमित रहा आया । (छायाचित्र क्रमांक – २)

आद्यैतिहासिक कालीन चित्रों की श्रृंखला में जिन मानव आकृतियों का चित्रण किया गया है वे समस्त चित्र अपने पूर्वगामी काल के चित्रों की अपेक्षा शारीरिक संरचना में अधिक

विकसित हैं। इन चित्रों के अधोभाग में कतिपय रूप से वस्त्र का अलंकरण प्रदर्शित किया गया है तथा शिरोभूषा भी चित्रों में प्राप्त होती है। इस काल की मनुष्य आकृतियों को धनुष–बाण लिये हुये दर्शाया गया है तथा बाणों पर एक बाण फलक भी दिखायी देता है जो इस बात को प्रमाणित करता है कि इस काल का मनुष्य धातु के उपकरण भी प्रयोग में लाने लगा था। इस काल के मनुष्य का जीवन भी मुख्य रूप से शिकार पर ही अवलंबित था क्योंकि इस काल के चित्रों में भी शिकार दृश्यों का प्रतिशत अधिक है। इसके अतिरिक्त झोपड़ियों में निवास का दृश्य, नृत्य गान करते हुये स्त्री–पुरूष के दृश्य, मधुसंचय के दृश्य तथा बर्तनों का प्रयोग इस काल के मानव के जीवन विकास को प्रमाणित करता है। (सतकुण्डा पश्चिम शिलाश्रय क्र. ६)।

रायसेन जिले के अन्य क्षेत्रों से रथों आदि के जो चित्र प्राप्त हुये हैं वे भी इनकी जीवन पद्धति में आये परिवर्तन को दिग्दर्शिंत करते हैं। इस काल का पशु चित्रण भी अपने पूर्वगामी काल की अपेक्षा भिन्नता ग्रहण कर लेता है। मध्य पाषाण काल में जहाँ पशुओं का साधारण रेखिक अलंकरण द्वारा चित्रण किया गया है वहीं इस काल के पशुओं के शरीर को अत्यधिक विस्तार देकर चित्रित किया गया है। इस काल के पशु चित्रणों में अलंकरण की परम्परा पूर्णतया बदल जाती है। अब चित्र या तो जातक शैली में भरे गये हैं या पत्तियों की नसों के सदृश आड़े या खड़े अलंकरण का प्रयोग किया गया है। कभी–कभी चित्रों में वक्र रेखाओं (ज़िग–जैग) पैटर्न भी प्राप्त होते हैं।

पशुओं के बड़े–बड़े समूहों का प्रदर्शन इस काल के चित्रणों की विशेषता है जिसमें अरने भैंसे, हिरणों के समूह के अतिरिक्त पालतू जानवर तथा भैंस, बैल और बकरियों का दिग्दर्शन भी होता है। (सतकुण्डा मुख्य शिलाश्रय क्र. १० तथा १२), (छायाचित्र क्रमंक – ३) । इस काल का मनुष्य केवल आखेट से ही संतुष्ट नहीं था । उसने स्थायी जीवन के साथ पशुओं को पालतू बनाकर उनसे बड़े–बड़े झुंडों को चराने का कार्य भी प्रारम्भ कर दिया था । सतकुण्डा से इस काल के मनुष्य के कृषि–कर्म से संबंधित होने के संकेत प्राप्त नहीं होते लेकिन रायसेन में खेती करते हुये मनुष्यों का इस काल का चित्रण, उनके कृषि–कर्म से संबन्धित होने की सूचना देता है। इसी भाँति अन्य क्षेत्रों से पक्षियों के शिकार के दृश्य भी उपलब्ध हुये हैं। यहां मछलियों के अनेक चित्र प्राप्त हुये हैं वे भी इनके शिकार की ओर ही संकेत करते हैं। इस भाँति हम यह कह सकते हैं कि सतकुण्डा क्षेत्र में निवास करने वाला मानव आद्यैतिहासिक काल के आने तक शिकार के साथ–साथ, कृषि–कर्म भी करने लगा था तथा झोपड़ियाँ बनाकर स्थायी निवास करने लगा था।

ऐतिहासिक काल :

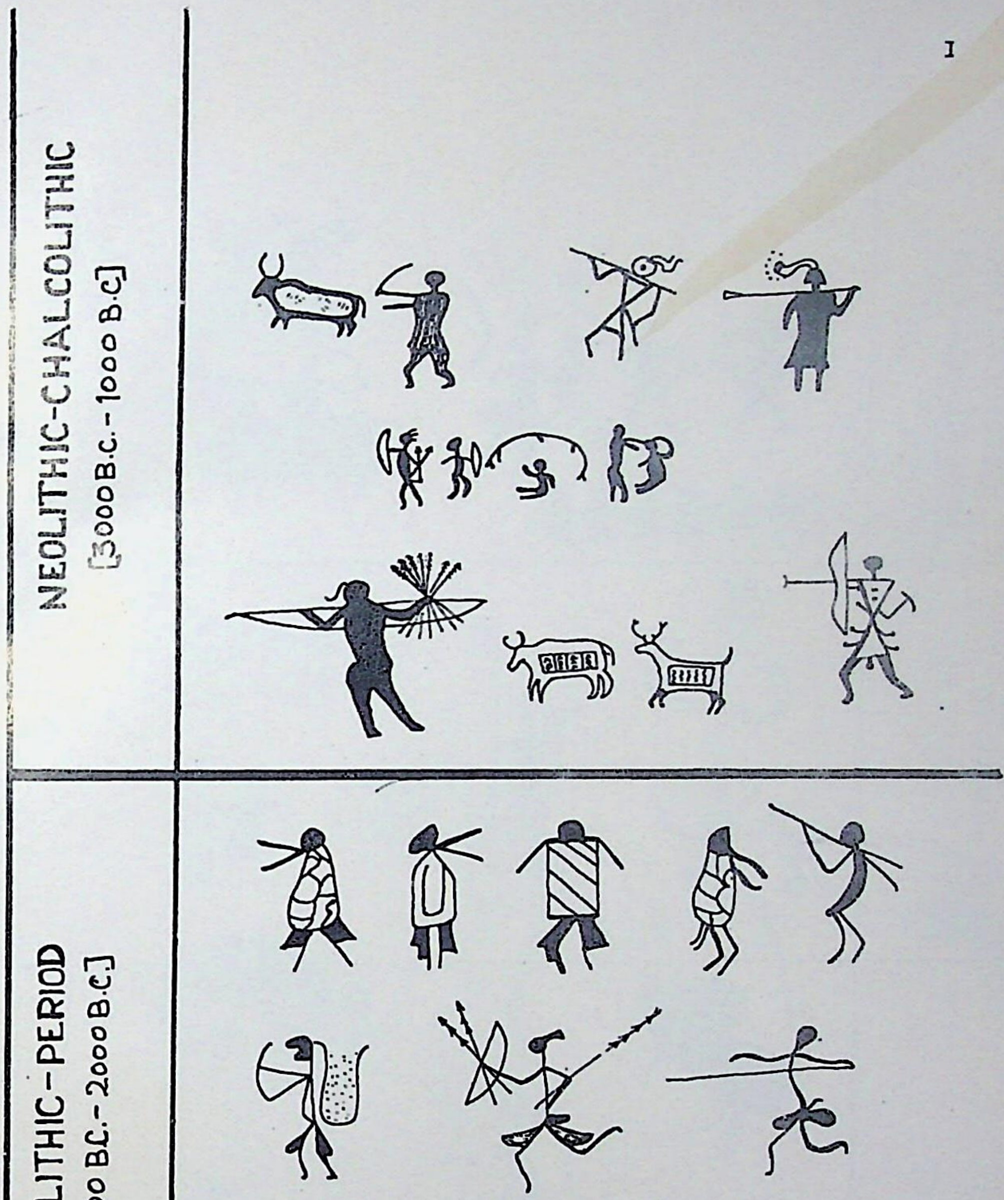
सतकुण्डा से प्राप्त ऐतिहासिक कालीन चित्र विविधता लिये हुये हैं। एक ओर जहां ये अपनी पूर्वगामी चित्रण परम्परा को यथावत् आगे बढ़ाते हुये दिखाई देते हैं वहीं इनकी विषय–वस्तु में भारी परिवर्तन होता हुआ दिखाई देता है। इस काल का मानव अपने चित्रों के

माध्यम से सुव्यवस्थित दिखाई देता है तथा उसका योद्धा स्वरूप बड़े पैमाने पर उभर कर सामने आता है। इस काल में जिन चित्रों का निर्माण हुआ है वे आक्षेपण व शैली की दृष्टि से जहां अपने पूर्वगामी चित्रों से साम्य रखते हैं वहीं उनमें शैली के आधार पर काफी विकास परिलक्षित होता है। इस काल में सफेद रंग के चित्रों पर लाल गरुए रंग, उन पर मोटे सफेद ब्रश (कलम) के चित्र, लाल तथा द्विरंगी चित्र और उंगलियों की पोर (फिंगर टिप) से बनाये गये चित्रों का समावेश होता है। जहां पूर्वगामी दो कालों के चित्र अपेक्षाकृत सीमित हैं वहीं ऐतिहासिक कालीन चित्र संख्या में अधिक और सर्वव्यापी हैं। शायद ही ऐसा कोई शैलाश्रय बाकी हो जहाँ चित्रों की प्राप्ति न हुई हो। इस काल में तीन प्रकार के विशेष चित्रण यहाँ पर उपलब्ध हैं। प्रथम प्रकार के वे चित्र आते हैं जिनमें बड़े–बड़े अंगरखा तथा तुर्की टोपी पहने तथा शरीर से दुगुने आकार के धनुष लिये योद्धाओं का चित्रण हैं। इन्हीं चित्रों के साथ तम्बुओं के चित्र भी प्राप्त हुये हैं, जिनके भीतर कुर्सियों पर बैठे शाही पुरुष प्रदर्शित हैं। तम्बुओं में अस्त्रों के भण्डार, वृक्षों पर लटकते डिब्बे, मृग चर्म आदि का दिग्दर्शन प्राप्त होता है। वेशभूषा की दृष्टि से ये चित्र कुषाणकालीन शिल्प से बहुत अधिक समानता रखते हैं। (सतकुण्डा पश्चिम शिलाश्रय क्रमांक ६)।

दूसरे प्रकार के वे चित्रण–समूह हैं जिनमें ककुद्गान वृषभों का चित्रण है। इन चित्रों की विशेषता यह है कि वृषभ की ककुद् अतिरंजना पूर्ण ढंग से विशाल एवं उन्नत दिखाई गई है। सर्वप्रथम खरबई (रायसेन) से इन चित्रों की प्राप्ति होने के कारण डा. पांडेय ने इन्हें "खरबई शैली के ककुद्मान वृषभ" कहा है (सतकुण्डा मुख्य शैलाश्रय क्रमांक १२ तथा १४) । निश्चित रूप से इन ककुद्मान वृषभों का संबंध शैव–जनों से रहा होगा तथा क्षेत्र पर शैव–धर्म के विस्तार का अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है। (छायाचित्र क्रमांक –४)

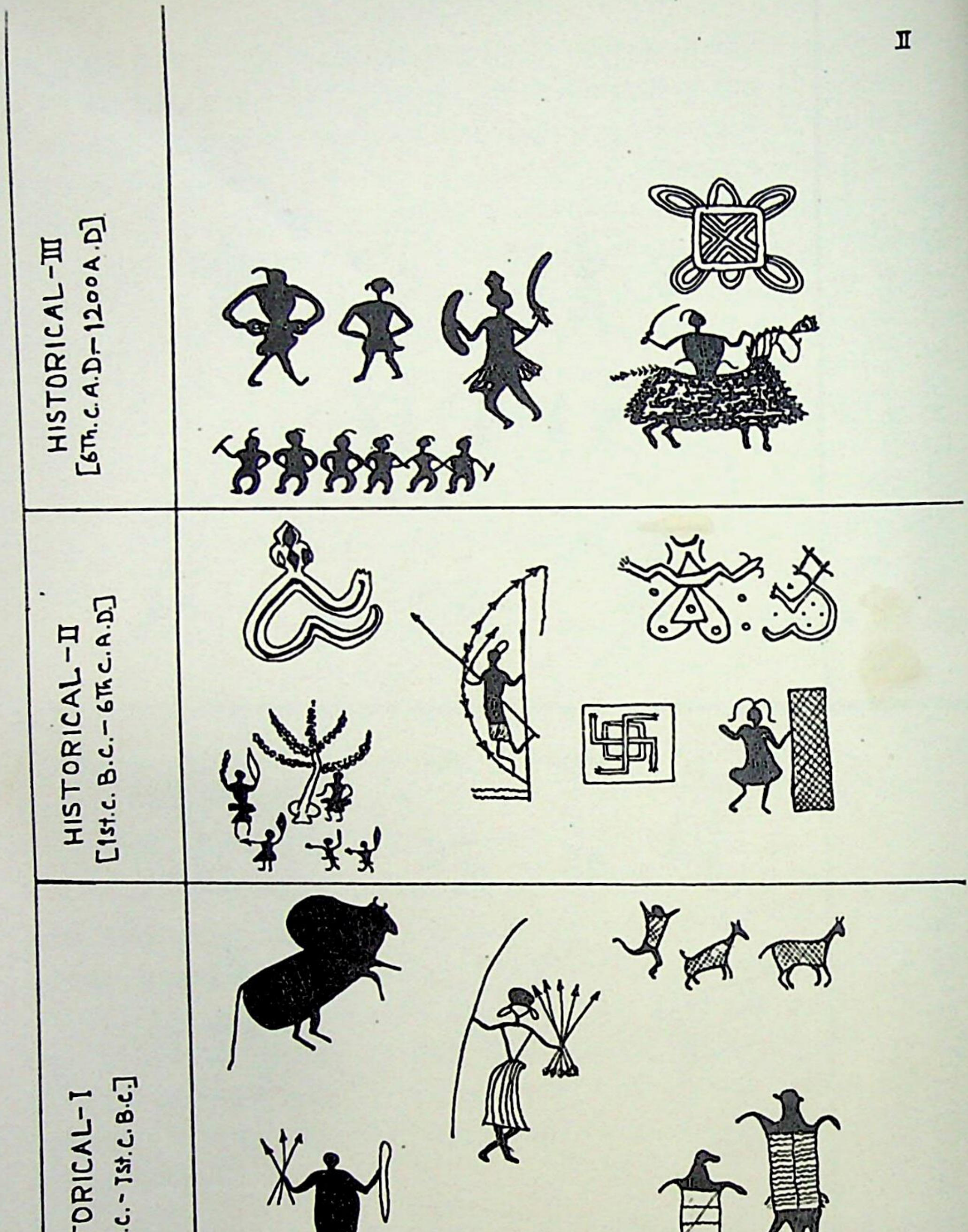
तृतीय वर्ग के अन्तर्गत वे समस्त अश्वारोही आते हैं जिन्हें झूलदार घोड़ों पर बैठा हुआ प्रदर्शित किया गया है। ये अश्वारोही ढाल, तलवार तथा बड़े–बड़े भालों से लैस हैं इनके साथ धनुष–बाण तथा ढाल तलवार लिये पैदल योद्धाओं का चित्रण भी उपलब्ध है, जो सेना के स्वरूप को प्रदर्शित करते हैं। कहीं–कहीं दो समूहों के बीच युद्धांकन भी उपलब्ध हैं। ये चित्र लाल रंग, सफेद रंग तथा लाल और सफेद रंग के सामञ्जस्य से बने हुये हैं। ये सभी परवर्ती युग के हैं और राजपूत शैली को प्रदर्शित करते हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त मांगलिक चिह्न यथा स्वस्तिक, वृक्ष–पूजा आदि ऐतिहासिक काल की विशेषतायें हैं (सतकुण्डा मुख्य शृंखला शैलाश्रय क्र. ३.१२ तथा १४)।

इस प्रकार उपर्युक्त समस्त चित्रणों के माध्यम से यह निष्कर्ष निकाला जा सकता है कि सतकुण्डा क्षेत्र में चित्रांकन उस समय से प्रारम्भ हुआ जब मानव ने लघु पाषाण उपकरण प्रयोग में लाने प्रारम्भ किये तथा धीरे–धीरे विकास करता हुआ वह राजपूत काल तक इस क्षेत्र में चित्रण कार्य करता रहा।



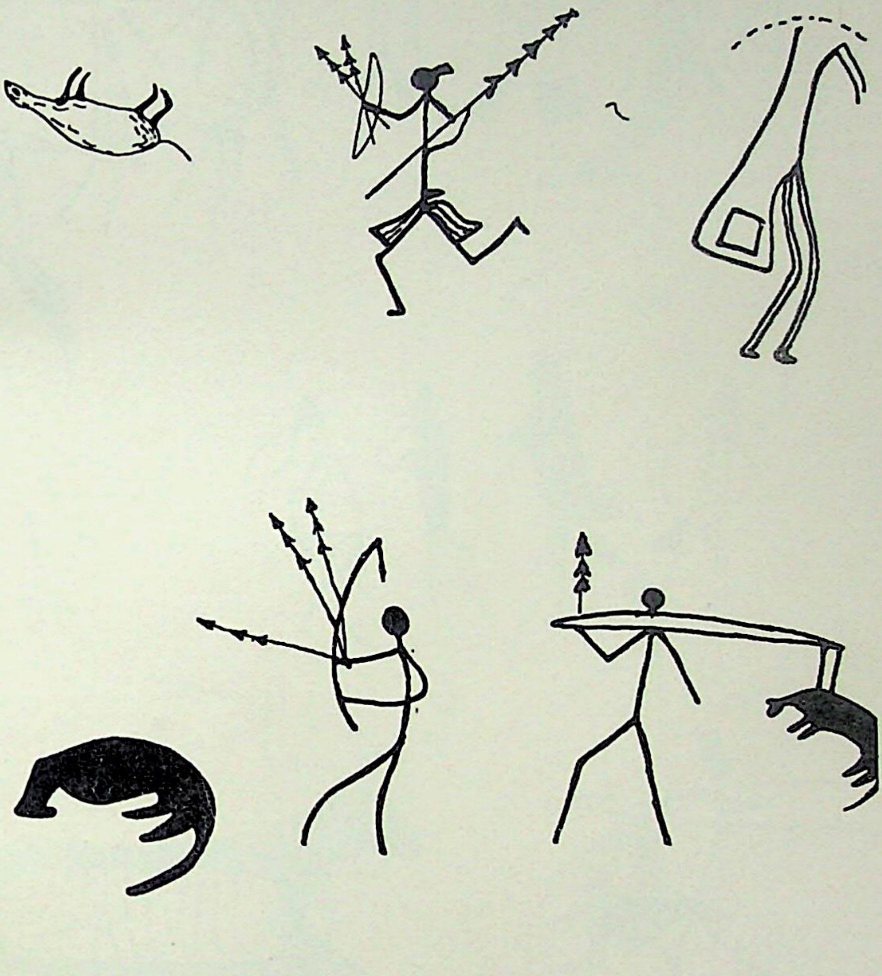
फलक क्रमांक - ।

मध्यपाषाण एवं नवपाषाण कालीन शैलचित्रांकन का कालक्रम.



फलक क्रमांक - 2

ऐतिहासिक कालीन चित्रांकन का कालक्रम.



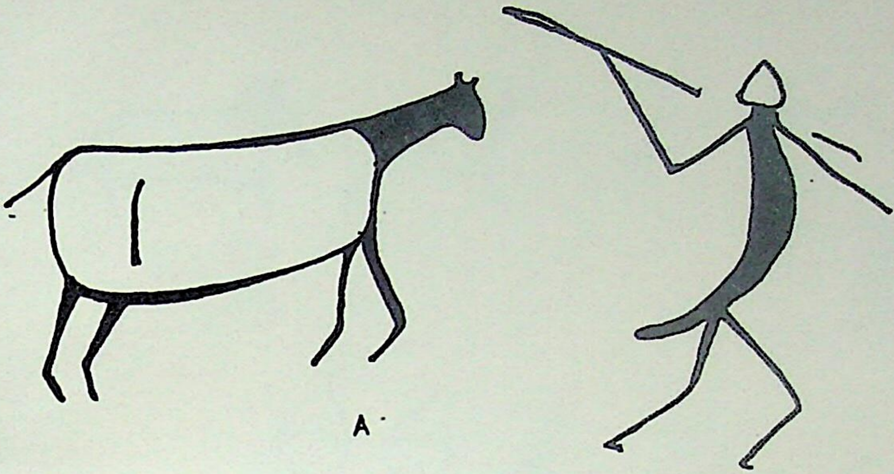
फलक क्रमांक - 3

मध्यपाषाणकालीन शिकार चित्रण

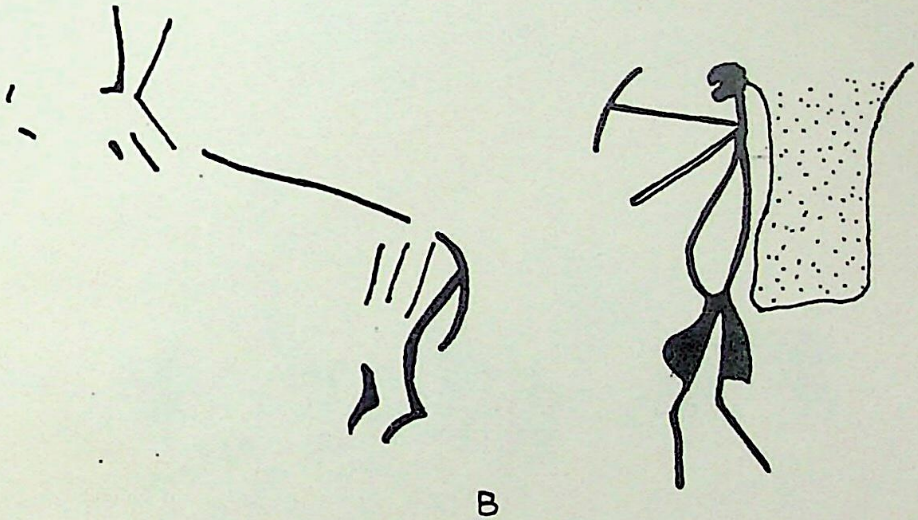


फलक क्रमांक - 4

मध्यपाषाणकालीन मानव एवं पशुचित्रण



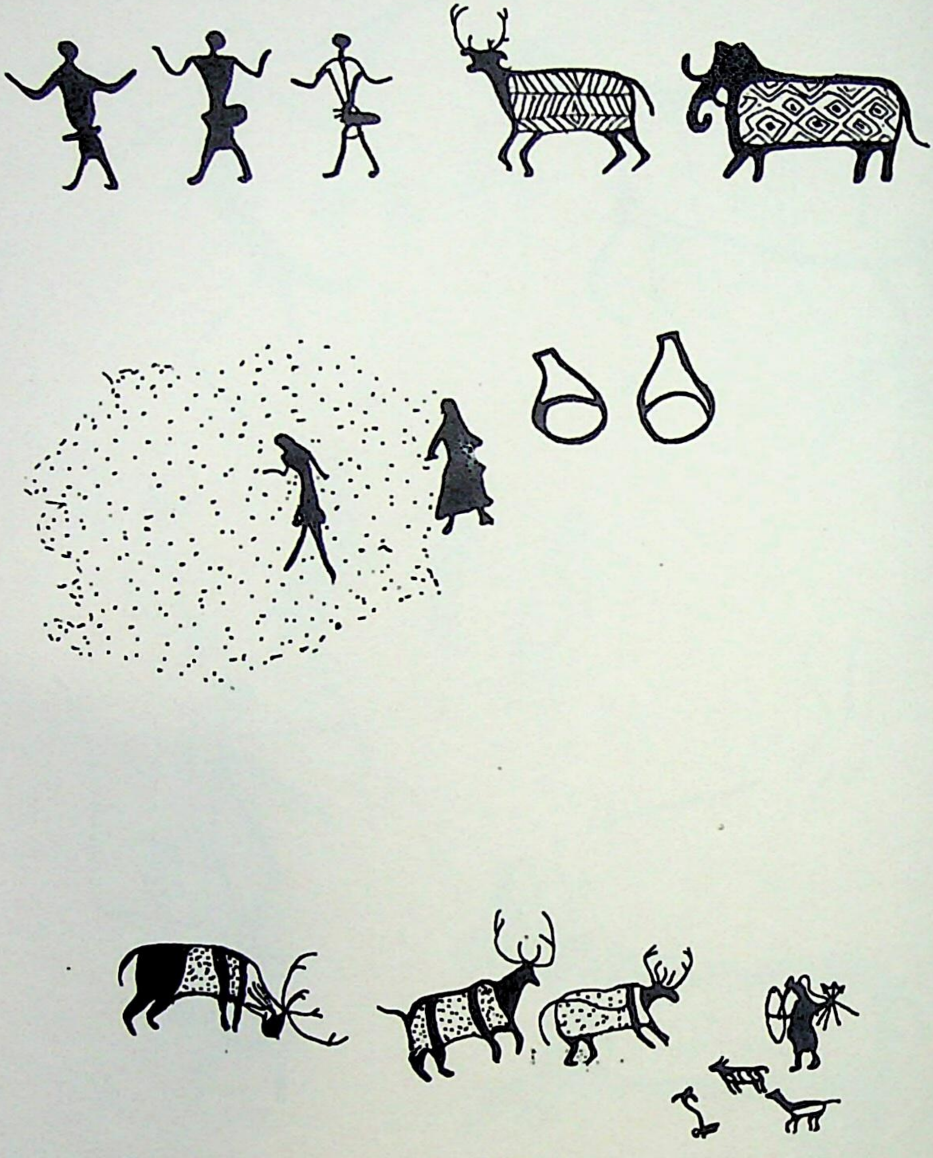
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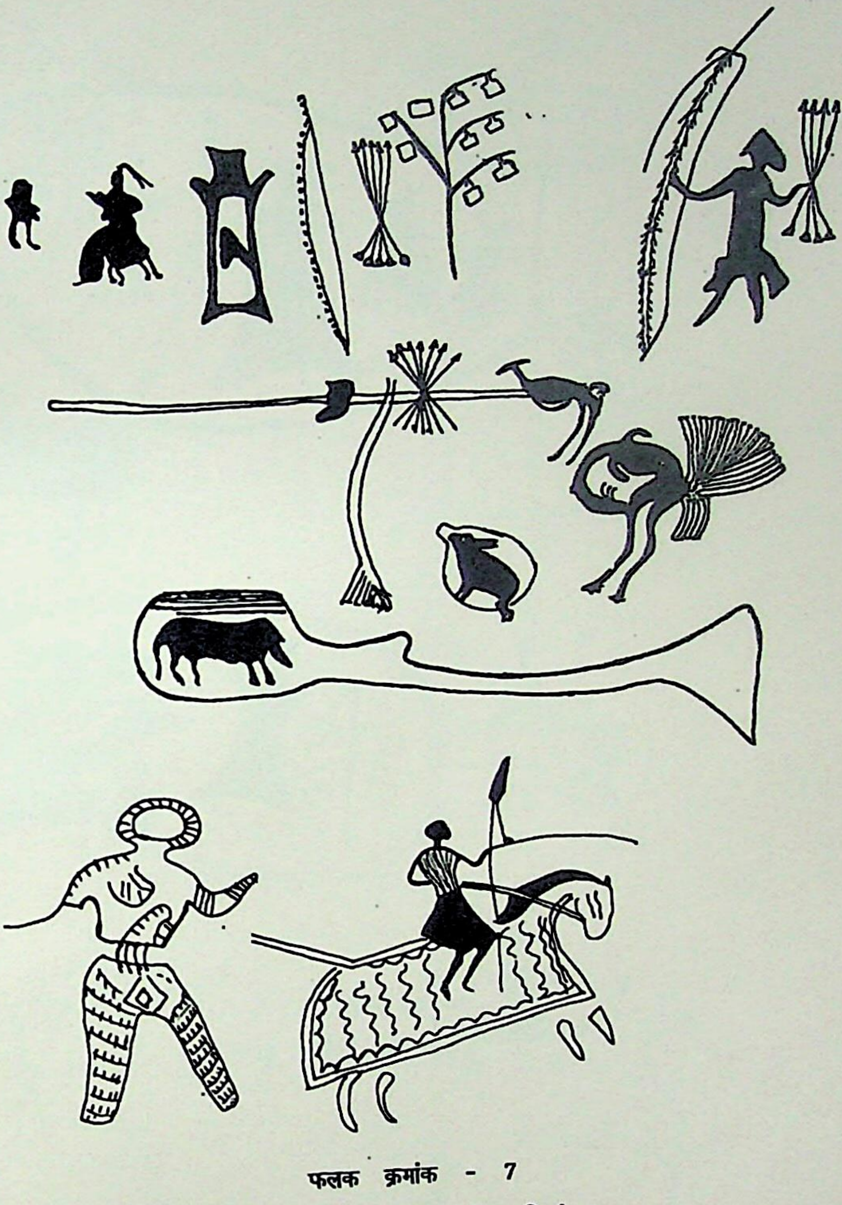
फलक क्रमांक - 5

मध्यपाषाणकालीन शिकार एवं संग्रह दृश्य



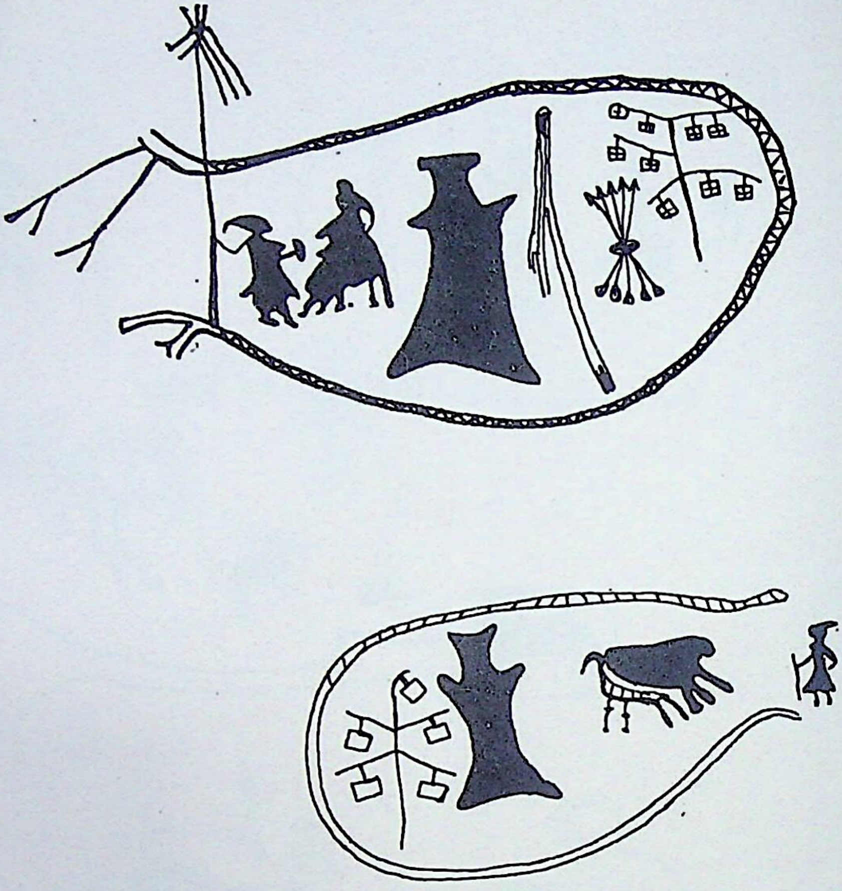
फलक क्रमांक - 6

मधुसंग्रह एवं ताम्रपाषाणकालीन पशुचित्रण



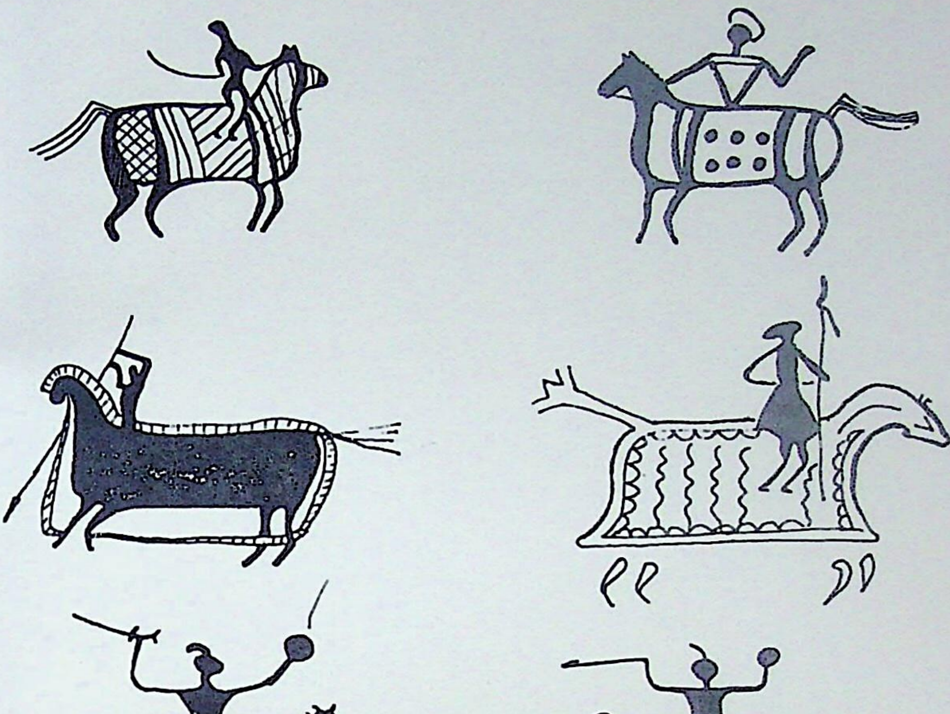
फलक क्रमांक - 7

ऐतिहासिक काल के विविध चित्रांकन



फलक क्रमांक - 8

कुषाणकालीन शिविर दृश्य



फलक क्रमांक - 9

सतकुण्डा क्षेत्र के अश्वारोहियों के विविध चित्रांकनों का क्रम

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ सूची

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(१६) एस० डी० सांकलिया, – **प्रीहिस्ट्री एन्ड प्रोटोहिस्ट्री ऑफ इण्डिया एन्ड पाकिस्तान ।**

(१७) मुल्कराज आनंद– मार्ग वाल्यूम २८, क्रमांक – ४ सितम्बर १९७५, **भीमबैठका,**

(१८) न्यूमेर इरविन – **प्रीहिस्टोरिक रॉक पेन्टिंग्स ऑफ इण्डिया**, आक्सफोर्ड प्रेस नई दिल्ली १९८३.

(१९) बी० एन० मिश्रा – **स्टोन एज इन इंडिया, एन एकोलाजीकल परस्पेक्टिव,** 'मैन एन्ड एन्वायरनमेंट' वाल्यूम XIV ए No. १,१९८९.

(२०) जी० कुमार, जी० नरवारे एन्ड आर० पन्चोली १९८८, **इन्ग्रेव्ड आस्ट्रिच एग्सेल्स आब्जेक्ट्स** : न्यू एविडेंस ऑफ अपर पेल्योलेथिक आर्ट इन इंडिया : रॉक आर्ट रिसर्च ५(१) ४३–५२.

(२१) यशोधरा मठपाल **प्रीहिस्टोरिक रॉक आर्ट ऑफ् भीमबैठका**, सेंट्रल इंडिया नई दिल्ली–अभिनव, १९८४.

(२२) एस० ए० साली, **दी अपर पेल्योलेथिक कल्चर ऐट पाटने** (जि० जलगाँव महाराष्ट्र) – **रीसेन्ट एडवांसेज इन इन्डो-पैसेफिक प्रीहिस्ट्री** (वी० एन० मिश्रा एवं पी बेलवुड द्वारा संपादित) पृ० १३३–१४५ नई दिल्ली–आक्सफोर्ड, आर.बी.एच.।

(२३) जी० आर० शर्मा **हिस्ट्री टू प्रीहिस्ट्री** – सिल्वर जुबली सोविनियर इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय १९७४.

(२४) जी० आर० शर्मा– १९७३ **स्टोन एज इन विन्ध्याज़ एन्ड दि गंगा वैली इन रेडियोकार्बन एन्ड इंडियन ऑर्कियोलॉजी** (डी० पी० अग्रवाल तथा ए० घोष द्वारा सम्पादित) पृ० १०६–११०, बम्बई –टाटा आधारभूत शोध संस्थान.

(२५) व्ही० एस० वाकणकर, १९७३ **पेन्टेड रॉक शेल्टरर्स ऑफ इंडिया**, (शोधप्रबंध) पूना विश्वविद्यालय, पूना.

(२६) आर० जी० बेन्डारिक, जी० कुमार, एवं जी० एस० त्यागी : **"पेट्रोग्लिफ़्स फ्राम सेन्ट्रल इंडिया"** रॉक आर्ट रिसर्च वाल्यूम ८, नम्बर १, १९९१.

(२७) जी० एस० त्यागी **"दि डेकोरेटिव इन्ट्रीकेट डिजायन पैटर्न इन इंडियन रॉक आर्ट"**.

फलक क्रमांक – १– मध्यपाषाण एवं नवपाषाणकालीन शैल पेटर्न इन इंडियन रॉक आर्ट.
फलक क्रमांक – २– ऐतिहासिककालीन चित्रांकन का कालक्रम.
फलक क्रमांक – ३– मध्यपाषाणकालीन शिकार चित्रण.
फलक क्रमांक – ४– मध्यपाषाणकालीन मानव एवं पशुचित्रण.
फलक क्रमांक – ५– मध्यपाषाणकालीन शिकार एवं संग्रह दृश्य.
फलक क्रमांक – ६ – मधुसंग्रह एवं ताम्रपाषाणकालीन पशुचित्रण.
फलक क्रमांक – ७– ऐतिहासिक काल के विविध चित्रांकन.
फलक क्रमांक – ८– कुषाणकालीन शिविर दृश्य.
फलक क्रमांक – ९– सतकुण्डा क्षेत्र के अश्वरोहियों के विविध चित्रांकनों का क्रम.

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THE CHALCOLITHIC MIDDLE GANGA VALLEY

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The middle Ganga Valley (24^0 30 'N-27^0 50' N and 81^0 47 'E-87^0 50' E) measuring about 144,409 km. has been a distinct cultural and economic entity even though not a clearly defined physical unit.[1] Bounded by the Himalayas in the north, Vindhyas in the south, the Ganga-Yamuna confluence in the west and Bihar-Bengal border in the east, it includes modern eastern Uttar Pradesh and plains of Bihar. On the basis of the river system, it is subdivided into the Ganga Plain North and Ganga Plain south, the former further sub-divisible into (i) the Ganga-Ghaghra doab (ii) the Ghaghara-Gandak interfluve (iii) Gandak-Kosi interfluve and (iv) the Kosi-Mahananda interfluve and the latter, i.e. the Ganga Plain south, into (i) west of Karmnasa (ii) Karmnasa-East interfluve (iii) Lower Son Valley and finally (iv) the Magadha-Anga Plain. As would be evident, the Ganga is the life-line of the Middle Ganga Valley.

The region, outlined above, has been the cradle of Indian culture and civilization. It has been a meeting ground of different races, cultures and creeds. People of the region were credited with elasticity both in their thought and action. It was the home of the *vrātyas.* Divine gospels, contained in some of the Upanisads, were conceived and preached in this region. It had the previlege of hearing the philosophical discourses of Yājñavalkya. It is the land associated with the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa.* The deductive portions of the *Mahābhārata* are also supposed to have been written in this region. It not only gave birth to Buddha and Mahavira, but also heard their teachings with rapt attention. Right from the 6th century B.C. onward, the Middle Ganga Valley played a crucial role in the political history of India. From Bimbisara to

1. R.L. Singh (ed) *India : A Regional Geography,* Varanasi, 1971, pp. 143, 192-193. see also Singh, S.C. Delimination of the middle Ganga Plain. *National Geographical Journal of India,* xi (2 June, 1965) pp. 74-83.

Asoka, the history of the Middle Ganga Valley was the history of India. It saw the rise of the early Magadhan empire as well as that of the Guptas. Viewed against such illustrious history, tradition and legends, the recorded archaeological relics of the region upto the fifties of the present century looked prosaic. The Northern Black polished ware appeared to be the earliest cultural relics of man discovered in the area. However, the archaeological investigations over the last three decades under the auspices of the Departments of Ancient History of the Universities of Allahabad, Benaras Hindu University, Sampurnanand Sanskrit Visvavidyalaya, Gorakhpur, Patna on the one hand and the state Department of Archaeology and Museum Govt. of Bihar and Archaeological survey of India on the other brought to light the relics of human culture right from the late upper Palacolithic[2] to the early historic periods through Mesolithic, Neolithic and Chalcolithic. In the following pages, however, an attempt has been made to delineate the salient features of the Chalcolithic cultures of the Middle Ganga Valley.

The archaeological sites, having bearing on the Chalcolithic culture, are scattered throughout the region though the area lying to the north of the Saryu of Ghaghara appears more promising. The sites located, include pure Deojani, Pelkhawar and Bhelvani in Pratapgarh[3], Akahua in Jaunpur[4], Rajghat[5], Prahladpur[6], Sarai-Mohana[7] and Kamauli[8]

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2. G.R. Sharma, V.D. Misra, D. Mandal, B.B. Misra and J.N. Pal, *Beginning of Agriculture, Allahabad,* 1980, pp. 117-122; See also G.R. Sharma, Mesolithic Lake Culture in the Ganga Valley, India, *Proceeding of Prehistoric Society,* Vol. XXXIX, pp. 129-156; G.R. Sharma Seasonal Migrations and Mesolithic Lake Cultures in the Ganga Valley, *K.C. Chattopadhyaya memorial Volume,* Allahabad; J.N. Pal, The Antecedents of the village and Folk Culture in the Gangetic Plain, *Rural Life and Folk Cultures in Ancient India* (eds), U.N. Roy, V.D. Misra and J.N. Pandey, Allahabad, pp. 117-127; B.S. Verma, Excavations at Chirand : New Light on the Indian Neolithic Culture Complex, *Puratattva,* Vol. 4, pp. 19-22; Lala Aditya Narain, The Neolithic Settlement at Chirand, *Journal of the Bihar Research Society,* Vol. ivi, Part I-IV, pp. 16-35.
3. J.N. Pal, *Archaeology of Southern Uttar Pradesh,* Allahabad, 1986, p. 146.
4. J.N. Pal, *Ibid.*
5. A.K. Narain and T.N. Roy, *Excavation at Rajghat,* Varanasi, 1977.
6. ----------*Excavation at Prahladpur,* Varanasi, 1968.
7. *IAR,* 1967-68, pp. 48-49.
8. *Indian Archaeology - A Review* (*IAR*) 1963-64, p. 58.

in Varanasi, Masoandih[9] in Ghazipur, Nahusa-Raja-Ka-Tila[10] in Azamgarh, Banwarighat[11], Gularihwa-Ghat[12], Lahuradeva[13], Susipar[14], Ramnagarghat[15], Baragaon[16] and Gerar[17] in Basti, Khairadih[18] in Ballia, and Sohagaura[19] and Narhan[20] in Gorakhpur districts of Uttar Pradesh and Chirand[21] and Manjhi[22] in Saran, Maner[23] in Patna, Oriup[24] and Champa[25] in Bhagalpur, Chechar-

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9. *IAR* (1964-65, pp. 42-43; *IAR* (1965-66, pp. 49-52; *IAR* 1967-68, pp. 46-47; *IAR* (1970-71, pp. 38-39).
10. J.S. Negi, Nahusa Raja-Ka-Tila, *K.C. Chattopadhyaya Memorial Vol.* pp. 50-55, Allahabad, 1975.
11. S.K. Bhatt, Archaeological Exploration in Basti District, *Puratattva,* 3, pp. 78-88.
12. *Ibid.*
13. S.N. Chaturvedi, Excavation at Sathiaon-Fazilnagar, District Deoria and Exploration in the Districts of Gorakhpur and Basti of Uttar Pradesh, *History and Archaeology,* Vol. I, Nos. 1-2, pp. 339-340.
14. S.N. Chaturvedi, Advance of Vindhyan Neolithic and Chalcolithic Cultures to the Himalayan Terai : Excavations and Explorations in the Saryupar region of Uttar Pradesh, *Man and Environment*: Vol. ix, pp. 101-108.
15. S.N. Chaturvedi, *Ibid.*
16. S.N. Chaturvedi, *Ibid.*
17. S.N. Chaturvedi, *Ibid.*
18. *IAR* 1981-82, pp. 67-70; *IAR* 1982-83, pp. 92-94; *IAR* 1983-84, pp. 86-87. See also B.P. Singh, Khairadih - A Chalcolithic Settlement, *Puratattva,* Vol. 18, pp. 28-34.
19. *IAR* 1961-62, p. 56 and *IAR* 1974-75, pp. 46-47. See also S.N. Chaturvedi, *Op. cit.*
20. *IAR* 1984-85, pp. 89-90; See also P. Singh et al. Narhan 1983-85; A preliminary Report of Archaeological Excavation *Bharati,* New Series, 3, pp. 113-188; P. Singh, et al. Excavations at Narhan 1983-85, *Puratattva,* 15, pp. 117-122; P. Singh, painted Black-and-Red ware from Narhan, *Man and Environment,* 12, pp. 17-21; P. Singh, Narhan 1985-87 : Second Preliminary Report of Archaeological Excavations. *Archaeological Studies,* Varanasi, 1988, pp. 61-72.
21. *IAR* 1962-63, p. 6; *IAR* 1963-64, pp. 6-8; *IAR* 1964-65, pp. 6-7; *IAR* 1968-69, pp. 5-6; *IAR* 1969-70, pp. 3-4; *IAR* 1970-71, pp. 6-7; *IAR* 1971-72, pp. 6-7; *IAR* 1972-1973, pp. 7-8; *IAR* 1980-81, pp. 9-10; *IAR* 1981-82, pp. 13-14.
22. *IAR* 1983-84, pp. 15-16; *IAR* 1984-85, pp. 12-13.
23. *IAR* 1984-85, pp. 11-12.
24. *IAR* 1966-67, pp. 6-7.
25. *IAR* 1969-70, p. 2; *IAR* 1970-71, pp. 4-5; *IAR* 1971-72, p. 5; *IAR* 1972-73, pp. 6-7; *IAR* 1974-75, pp. 8-9; *IAR* 1975-76, p. 7; *IAR* 1976-77, pp. 11-12; *IAR* 1982-83, pp. 15-16.

Kutubpur[26] in Vaisali, Sonpur[27] and Taradih[28] in Gaya and Senuwar in Rohtas districts of Bihar. Of these, excavations have been conducted at Rajghat, Prahladpur, Kamauli, Sarai-Mohana, Masoandih, Sohagaura, Narhan, Khairadih, Chirand, Manjhi, Maner, Oriup, Champa, Chechar-Kutubpur, Sonpur, Taradih and Senuwar with the exception of Masoandih, Maner, Manjhi, and Champa, all the excavated sites have produced painted sherds, of course in different frequencies. On the basis of the occurrence or non-occurrence of iron objects, these sites may further be divided into two groups : early Chalcolithic and marginal Chalcolithic. Rajghat I A., Prahladpur I.A., Masoandih I.A., Chirand III, Manjhi I and Taradih IIB may be included in the second group, i.e. marginal Calcolithic. Two iron objects have also been obtained from the uppermost deposit of Narhan I.[29] These horizons otherwise indicate the survival of the earlier elements with some refinements. Where both the phases are represented, there is always overlap between the early Chalcolithic and marginal Chalcolithic. The marginal Chalcolithic is everywhere pre-N.B.P.

The sites, under discussion, are situated on or near some river. The thickness of habitational deposits is proof-positive of the fact that these were not transitory camp-sites, but people lived there for considerable length for generations. A casual glance at deposits is quite demonstrative, for example, at Narhan it measures 1 m. at Khairadih it is 1.95 m. Masoan IA records a thickness of 1m. while at Manjhi it is 2 m. Maner records a variation from 93 cm to 1 m. The relevant thickness at Taradih measures 2 m and at Chirand 90 cm. at Champa it ranges from 1 m to 1.26 m.

As all the sites have been excavated only on a limited scale, no complete house-plan has been obtained at any of the sites. The pieces of burnt clay lumps with reed-impression have, however, been obtained from Narhan, Khairadih, Manjhi, Chirand, Sonpur, Taradih and Chachar-Kutubpur suggesting wattle and daub-structures. Post-holes have also been recorded at some of these

26. *IAR* 1977-78, pp. 17-18.

27. *IAR* 1970-71, pp. 5-6.

28. *IAR* 1981-82, pp. 10-12; *IAR* 1982-83, pp. 16, 25; *IAR* 1983-84, pp. 12-13 and *IAR* 9184-85, pp. 9-10.

29. B.P. Singh, Early farming communities of Kaimur Foot-Hills, *Puratattva,* Vol. 19. p. 6.

sites. Evidence of mud-houses is reported from Khairadih and Taradih. Hutments, apsidal or circular on plan, are recorded at Chirand and Chachar-Kutubpur respectively. Taradih and Chachar-Kutubpur exposed floors of beaten earth. At Taradih lime-coated floor was also met with. The evidence, outlined above, would suggest that the Chalcolithic people constructed their houses out of perishable materials. No evidence of the use of bricks, baked or unbaked or that of tile has been obtained from any of the sites.The ceramic industry of the Chalcolithic cultures, under discussion, presents a variegated picture. Pots are generally wheel-thrown though hand- made specimens are also met with. The clay used for manufacturing the pots is not well-levigated. The core of the pots exhibit impurities. Resultant pots range from coarse to medium in fabric. However, at some sites pots in fine fabric are also met with. Evidence of burnishing is recorded at some of the sites. The pots are generally ill-fired. Diversity of wares, shapes etc. clearly indicates that potters had centuries of experience with them. These pots were put to different uses i.e. drinking, eating, cooking, storing etc.

The ceramic assemblage consists of black-and-red, black-slipped, black, grey, red and occasionally corded wares. Of these black-and-red and red wares have been obtained from all the sites. Occurrence of black-slipped ware is recorded at Rajghat, Prahladpur, Sarai Mohana, Masoandih, Khairadih, Sohagaura, Narhan, Manjhi, Sonpur, Taradih, Chachar-Kutubpur, Maner, and Oriup. Khairadih, Chirand, Taradih and Champa yielded sherds of black ware. Grey ware sherds have been obtained from Rajghat, Prahladpur, Sarai - Mohana, Masoandih, Khairadih, Sohagaura, Chirand and Chechar-Kutubpur. The lower levels of Narhan have yielded sherds of the corded ware. Sherds of the burnished black-and-red ware are also reported from Narhan.

The black-and-red ware constitutes a salient feature of the Chalcolithic cultures of the Middle Ganga Valley. Made of Coarse-grained clay, it ranges from fine to coarse in fabric, the majority being of medium or coarse fabric. It is generally under-fired. Notable shapes in the ware include variety of bowls, small, deep with slightly everted featureless rim, channel-spouted, lipped, pedestalled etc., basins both lipped and without lip, vase with flared rim, straight neck and globular body, dishes with straight or concave sides, dish-on-stand, bowl cum-basin with splayed out rim, small pedestalled cup, etc. As

indicated earlier, the black-and-red exhibits painting executed in dull-white, cream, brownish and occasionally reddish colour over black surface either on interior or exterior or on both of the surfaces.The pots were painted before putting them in Kiln. The painting motifs are essentially linear, comprising wavylines, straight and oblique strokes, dots, semi-circles, circles, etc. None of the sites has yielded floral or faunal designs so far.

Black-slipped ware is another important ceramic industry represented at most of the Chalcolithic sites. As the name of the ware itself suggests, it bears a black slip over the greyish surface. The clay used in manufacturing the pots is not well-levigated. The fabric ranges from medium to fine. The pots are ill-fired. On the removal of the black film, the sherds look greyish. of the notable shapes in the ware mention may be made of bowls- sub-ovaloid, carinated, straight-sided, convex-sided, pedestalled etc., Convex or straight-sided dishes, pedestalled basin and vase and ordinary basin and vase. From Rajghat, Prahladpur, Khairadih, Sohagaura and Taradih painted sherds of the black-slipped ware have been obtained. Painting is executed in white pigment at Taradih, creamish white at Khairadih and black at Sohagaura on exterior or interior surface. Painting motifs include wavylines, straight and oblique strokes, dots, lattice,groups of slanting or oblique lines, concentric arcs, solid dots and vertical, horizontal or curved lines or oblique strokes.

The black-slipped ware is the second most prolific industry after the red ware at most of the sites. Besides, it has a long vertical distribution ranging from the Chalcolithic to the early historical period, characterised by the Northern Black Polished ware. In this connection it may be pointed out that bowls and dishes are the most frequent types both in the black-slipped and Northern Black polished wares. Concentration of sites and high frequency of the sherds of the Northern Black Polished ware at these sites clearly indicate that the ware evolved in the Middle Ganga Valley whether in Eastern Uttar Pradesh or Western or Northern Bihar. It stands to reason that it evolved out of the black-slipped ware, the former being the quality culmination of the latter.

Red ware is the most prolific ceramic industry at most of the sites, Narhan being the only exception. It may, broadly be divided into two groups, slipped and unslipped. Thick slip ranges from Chocolate, deep, bright, ochre to

pale red. The ware exhibits variety of types including bowls with or without pedestal, convexsided, perforated and legged with globular or valoid body and everted rim, small and medium-sized vases and dish-on-stand. Though essentially a plain ware industry, occasionally sherds with painting or applique patterns are also met with. Painted sherds have been obtained from Rajghat, Khairadih, Narhan, Chirand and Checher-Kutubpur. Painting executed in cream, white or ochre colour including a group of multiple vertical strokes or thin bands on the rim. The excavation at Narhan have yielded a few sherds with painting executed .in black pigment on the interior of pots. The painting, essentially linear, has been executed in multiple brush technique. Occasional use of thick brush running from top downwards in the ware is also reported. The available applique designs comprise twisted rope, pinched and cutsigns and knob patterns. Post-firing scratch-designs are also met with at Taradih, and Sohagaura.

Small scale excavation conducted at Kamauli in Varanasi district yielded a few sherds or red ware ochrous in appearance and with a tendency to ruboff. Some of the sherds are reported to have incised designs. A paralled-sided blade fashioned on chert was also found in association with the ceramic assemblage. According to the excavator, the assemblage may represent the earliest protohistoric culture in the region. Since the making of this observation, much water has flown down the Ganges, the site, however, needs extended probings. Does it indicate the extension of the ochre coloured pottery tradition in the area ? As ochre coloured pottery is found at Sringaverapur[30] and Mirapatti[31] the latter located in the Handia subdivision of Allahabad, its occurrence at Kamauli further afield is quite in keeping with the available archaeological records.

In consonance with the other non-Harappan Chalcolithic cultures with the exception of the Ahar and that of Copper-Hoards, the copper content of the Chalcolithic cultures of the Middle Ganga Valley is not impressive both

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30. P. Singh, Narhan 1985-87 : Second Preliminary Report of Archaeological Excavations, *Archaeological Studies,* p. 68.

31. *IAR,* 1977-78, pp. 54, 56; *IAR* 1978-79, pp. 57-59. See also B.B. Lal, and K.N. Dikshit, Sringaverapur : A key site for the Protohistory and Early History of the Central Ganga Valley, *Puratattva,* Vol. 10, pp. 1-7.

from the points of number and typology. However, the presence of the metal is attested to at most of the sites. From Khairadih has been obtained a socketed arrowhead with two perforation. Chirand and Taradih have yielded bangles. In this connection, a fish-hook from Taradih and wire from Chirand also deserve attention. Besides these,. unspecified copper objects have been reported not only from these sites but from Sonpur and Masoandih as well.

The excavations at a number of sites have furnished evidence regarding the occurrence of microliths. However, as the requisite raw material for manufacturing microliths was not locally available in the Middle Ganga Valley, these are obtained in low frequency. The total assemblage from Masoandih, Kamauli, Manjhi, Chirand, Mane, Sonpur, Taradih and Oriup includes cores, flakes, waste-flakes, parallel-sided blades, points, lunates and triangles fashioned out of chalcedony, agate, carnelian and chert. The very occurrence of the microliths in the Middle Ganga Valley is indicative of the fact that the Chalcolithic cultures of the region had their moorings in such cultures which had a pronounced lithic appendage.

Bone objects constitute another distinguishing feature of these cultures. The assemblage includes arrowheads both tanged and socketed (Prahladpur, Narhan, Khairadih, Taradih and Chirand), points (Sarai Mohana, Masoandih, Narhan, Taradih, Chirand, Chechar-Kutubpur and Oriup), Chisels (Taradih), fishing hook (Oriup), pins (Taradih and Chirand), beads (Sarai Mohana, Chirand and Taradih) and stylus (Sohagaura and Chirand). Viewed against the non-availability of raw material for manufacturing the microliths on the one hand and low frequency of copper implements on the other the significance of bone objects, particularly tools and weapons can hardly be overlooked. In this respect, the Chalcolithic cultures of the Middle Ganga Valley differ from their counterparts of western India, Central India and Deccan and compare favourably with those of the lower ganga valley i.e. the Chalcolithic cultures of West Bengal.[32]

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32. A flat celt of copper was from the site while digging a pit. It was brought to the notice of the author by Sri Krishna Kumar, then posted in Allahabad as Registering Officer, antiquities and art Treasures. The author subsequently visited the site along with Sri B.B. Misra and Manik Chandra Gupta of the Department and picked up ochre coloured pot-sherds.

Various stone objects are obtained from a number of sites. Of the noteworthy objects, mention may be made of balls (Narhan and Taradih) beads (Maner, Taradih, Chechar-Kutubpur, Chirand and Sohagaura, Chechar-Kutubpur yielding micro-beads recalling the Harappan disc-beads and Sohagaura and Khairadih yielding beads of Jasper agate etc.), querns and quern-fragments (Taradih and Chirand) pestle (Taradih) and hammerstone (Chirand and Taradih).

Terracotta objects, though limited in number and range, have also been unearthed from various sites. These objects comprise beads including disc-shaped with central perforation and occasionally with obliquely incised decorations (Narhan, Masoandih, Manjhi and Taradih), gamesmen (Masoandih), Terracotta disc (Sarai Mohana) pottery-discs, both with perforation and without perforation (Narhan, Manjhi and Sarai Mohana), balls (Narhan and Maner), dabber (Narhan), conical objects (Taradih), terracotta bull and animal head (Taradih) and finally terracotta figurines (Chirand and Oriup). From the foregoing account it would be evident that clay modelling of both human and animal was still in its infancy.

The available evidence from some of the sites indicates that people practised agriculture, both *rabi* and *kharif* crops were cultivated. The occurrence of rice-husk in pots has been attested at a number of sites. Rice (oryza Sativa) was cultivated. Recent excavations at Narhan[33] have furnished valuable information not only regarding some of the cereals but about other plants as well. The cultivated cereals included rice, barley, three forms of wheat, field pea, grass pea (*Khesari*), green gram (*Moong* and Chick-pea. Oil seeds of mustard, lid-seed and safflower have also been obtained from the site. Besides these, the site has also yielded botanical evidence of jack fruit (*Katahal*), grape-seed, date, nux vomica (*Kuchala*) and *tulasi*. We still grope in darkness regarding the agricultural practices of the people and the tools used in agricultural operation.

Large number of animal bones, charred and uncharred, has been obtained from a number of sites. These bones often bear cut marks indicating thereby the slaughter of animals. From this point of view the faunal date from

33. P.C. Dasgupta, *Excavation at Pandurajar Dhibi*, 1964, p. 25.

Narhan[34] and Chirand are most valuable. Bones of humped Indian cattle (Bas indicus), sheep-goat, horse and deer or antelope have been identified. With the exception of the last mentioned animal, the rest appear to have been domesticated, deer and Antelope used to be hunted. It is hoped the future excavations in the area would result in the discovery of more animal species. The occurrence of the bones of acquatic creatures like fish, turtoise etc. and those of birds indicate that these also constituted the dietary items of the people. Against this background, the discovery of fish-hook at Oriup and Taradih gets added significance. Economy of the people, needless to say, was characterised not only by cultivations of plants and domestication of animals but by hunting and fishing as well.

Chronology of the Chalcolithic cultures of the Middle Ganga Valley is still in a melting pot. Radio Carban dates have, however, been obtained from three sites i.e. Khairadih[35], Sohagaura[36] and Chirand.[37] Three dates from Khairadih read : 940 + 150 B.C., 1030 + 160 B.C. and 1120 + 90 B.C. Two dates from Sohagaura read : 1230 + 130 B.C. and 1330 + 110 B.C. Chirand has yielded five dates : 715 + 105 B.C., 845 + 125 B.C., 1050 + 90 B.C., 1540 + 90 B.C. and 1650 + 100 B.C. These dates would suggest a date bracket from 1600 B.C. to 700 B.C. Provisionally the early Chalcolithic may be dated from 1600 B.C. to 1000 B.C. and the marginal Chalcolithic from 1000 B.C. to 700 B.C. The above Chronological span is also supported by a few c14 dates obtained from the Chalcolithic horizons of the adjoining Vindhyan area on the one hand and those of the lower Ganga Valley i.e. West Bengal, on the other. From the Chalcolithic levels of Koldihwa[38] a single date reading 1440 + 120 B.C. has been obtained. In west Bengal three sites have furnished c14 dates, i.e. Pandurajar dhibi[39],

34. P. Singh, Narhan 1985-87 ; Second Preliminary Report of Archaeological Excavations, *Archaeological Studies,* pp. 70-71.

35. P. Singh, Painted Black-and-red ware from Narhan, *Man and Environment,* Vol. XVI, p. 18.

36. B. P. Singh, Khairadih - A Chalcolithic Settlement, *Puratattva,* Vol. 18, p. 33.

37. D.P. Agrawal, *Archaeology of India,* 1984, New Delhi, p. 279.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*

Mahisdal[40] and Bharatpur.[41] The single date from the first site reads 1012 + 120 B.C. Mahisdal has yielded three dates, 855 + 100 B.C., 1085 + 110 B.C. and 1380 + 105 B.C. Two dates have been obtained from Bharatpur reading 900 + 150 B.C. and 1435 + 140 B.C.

What about the origins of these cultures ? Whether these evolved outof the local Neolithic culture or introduced in the area from outside ? In this connection it may be pointed out that at Sohagaura in Uttar Pradesh and Chirand, Chechar-Kutubpur and Taradih in Bihar the Chalcolithic culture succeeds the underlying Neolithic culture without any time-gap. Similar succession is indicated at Koldihwa[42] in the Belan Valley (Uttar Pradesh) and at Senuwar[43], a recently excavated site in Rohtas district of Bihar.Besides the stratigraphic overlap, the Neolithic and the Chalcolithic cultures of the area share in common some ceramic tradition, lithic industry including the celts, bone objects and wattle and daub structures. These traits may be termed as local contribution in the make-up of the Chalcolithic cultures. But this represents only one side of the problem. The Chalcolithic cultures of the area are also characterised by black-and-red and black-slipped wares (plain and painted), introduction of some new types of bone arrowheads including the socketed variety, potter's wheel and copper. Wherefrom did the painted Black-and-Red ware tradition come ? In this context, it may be observed that the earliest occurrence of the painted Black-and-red ware in Indian subcontinent is recorded at Lothal[44] in the early Harappan context and Desalpur[45] and Surkotda[46] in the late Harappan context, all these sites

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Ibid.*

43. *IAR* 1975-76, pp. 45, 47. See also, V.D. Misra, Excavations at Koldihwa (Deoghat) : Some Preliminary observation, *Some Aspects of Indian Archaeology,* Allahabad, 1977, pp. 107-121; J.N. Pal, *Archaeology of Southern Uttar Pradesh,* p. 39, G.R. Sharma, et al. *Beginnings of Agriculture,* p. 135.

44. B.P. Singh, Khairadih - A Chalcolithic Settlement, *Puratattva,* Vol. 18, p. 33.

45. S.R. Rao, Ceramic of the Indus Valley in Gujarat, *Marg,* XIV, p. 21, S.R. Rai, *Lothal and the Indus Civilization,* Bombay, 1973.

46. *IAR* 1963-64, pp. 10-12.

falling in Gujarat. It is the distinguishing ceramic of the Ahar culture.[47] Malwa culture in the central India derives this element from the preceding Ahar culture.[48] In the upper Ganga Valley in independent horizon of plain Black-and-red ware is recorded at Atranjikhera[49] and Jakhera.[50] Such sherds have also been obtained from the painted Grey ware horizons.[51] As the painted Black-and-Red ware is not reported from any of the sites of the upper Ganga Valley so far, one has to look to the central India as a probable source for the ware. As the sites with prolific painted sherds in the middle Ganga Valley are located to the east or north-east of Varanasi, it may be inferred that the new strain i.e. painted Black-and-Red ware tradition infiltrated in the Middle Ganga Valley in this area. In this connection it would be not out of context to note that excavations at Kunjhun[52], a Neolithic site in the Sidhi district of Madhya Pradesh, yielded a few painted sherds of the typical Malwa ware indicating context between the Vindhyan Neolithic and the Chalcolithic of the central India. Sherds of Black-on-red ware have also been obtained from the Chalcolithic phase of Senuwar[53] as well. According to the excavator this suggests some kind of contact with the Chalcolithic of the central India through the adjoining Vindhyas.

To sum up, from the aforesaid discussion the following points emerge :
(i) In the Middle Ganga Valley there is cultural continuity right from the Neolithic times without any break.

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47. *IAR* 1970-71, pp. 13-15; *IAR* 1971-72, pp. 13-21; J.P. Joshi, Explorations in Kutch and Excavations at Surkotda and New light on the Harappan Migration, *Journal Oriental Institure,* Vol. XXII, 1972, pp. 98-144.

48. *IAR* 1954-55, pp. 14-15; *IAR* 1955-56, p. 11; *IAR* 1961-62, pp. 43-44; V.N. Misra, The Ahar Culture, *Pre and Proto History of the Berach Basin,* South Rajasthan, Poona, 1967, p. 150 : Sankalia, H.D. et. al. *Excavations at Ahar,* Poona, 1969.

49. H.D. Sankalia, et al, *Excavations at Maheshwar and Navdatoli* 1952-53, Poona-Baroda, 1958; H.d. Sankalia, et al. *Chalcolithic Navdatoli,* Poona-Baroda, 1971.

50. *IAR* 1962-63, PP. 34-38; *IAR* 1963-64, pp. 45-49; *IAR* 1965-66, pp. 44-47; See also R.C. Gaur Black-and-Red ware at Atranjikhera, *Potteries of Ancient India* (Ed. B.P. Sinha) Patna, 1969, pp. R.C. Gaur, *Excavations at Atranjikhera,* Delhi-1983.

51. *IAR* 1974-75, pp. 43-45; *IAR* 1975-76, pp. 50-51.

52. B.B. Lal, Excavations at Hastinapur and other Explorations in the Upper Ganga and Sutlej Basins 1950-52, *Ancient India;* Nos. 11 and 12, p. 44.

53. *IAR* 1981-82, p. 44.

(ii) The Chalcolithic culture of the region, though with a distinct personality, exhibits two strains in its make-up, one derived from the local Neolithic and the other coming from the central India through the Vindhyas.

(iii) In the light of the available c14 dates, a time bracket from 1600 B.C. to 700 B.C. may be proposed for the Chalcolithic cultures of the middle Ganga Valley.

(iv) Introduction of iron antedates the emergence of northern Black polished ware in the area.\

(v) The N.B.P. ware appears to be a quality culmination of the black-slipped ware of the marginal Chalcolithic phase of the region.[54]

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54. B.P. Singh, Khairadih - A Chalcolithic Settlement, *Puratattva,* Vol. 18, p. 34.

THE ORIGIN AND EXPANSION OF THE OCHRE COLOURED POTTERY IN INDO-PAKISTAN SUB-CONTINENT : AN ASSESSMENT IN THE LIGHT OF NEW EVIDENCE

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Fatehpur

The Ochre Coloured Pottery (OCP) is one of the earliest protohistoric ceremic industries in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. The discovery of Copper Hoard objects at a number of OCP sites in the Ganga Valley has fairly shown that the Copper Hoards and the OCP are integral parts of one and the same protohistoric culture that flourished during the 2nd millennium B.C. in Northern India.

The initial discovery of the OCP at Bisauli,[1] Rajpur Parsu,[2] Hastinapur[3] and Bahadrabad[4] had led the scholars believe that the distribution of this ware was confined to the Upper Ganga-Yamuna *Doab,* where it overlapped or intermingled with the so-called Late Phase of Mature Harappa culture at sites like Alamgirpur, Hulas, Ambkheri, Bargaon,[5] etc. However, the subsequent

1. B.B. Lal, 'Further Copper Hoards from the Gangetic Basin and a Review of the problem', *Ancient India,* 7, 1951, p. 38.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 38.
3. B.B. Lal, 'Excavations at Hastinapur and other Explorations in the Upper Ganga and Sutlej Valley', *Ancient India,* 10 & 11, 1954-55, pp. 5-151.
4. Y.D. Sharma, 'Copper Hoards and Ochre Coloured Ware in Ganga Basin', *Summaries of papers, International Conference on Asian Archaeology,* New Delhi, 1961, p. 55.
5. R.C. Gaur, 'The Ochre Coloured Pottery from Atranjikhera and its significance', In B.P. Sinha (ed) *Potteries in Ancient India,* Patna, 1969, p. 99.

archaeological investigations at Atranjikhera,[6] Saipai[7] and Bahariya[8] extended the eastern limits of the OCP in the Central Ganga-Yamuna *Doab*.[9] The excavations at Pariyar[10] and Sringaverapura[11] further extended the eastern boundary of this pottery in the Lower Ganga-Yamuna *Doab*, where it overlapped or got mixed up with the Black-and-Red, Black-slipped, Burnished Grey and associated Red wares. Some badly rolled red ochrous potsherds together with the Black-and-Red, Black-slipped, Grey-to-Buff, Black and associated Red wares were also noticed in the lower most Pre-PGW horizon at Kausambi.[12] A pair of flat copper axes have already been reported from Kausambi in the past.[13] Therefore, the red ochrous potsherds from Kausambi may be identified with the OCP, which represents the earliest ceramic industry in the Upper Ganga Valley.

In 1986 the present author noticed this ware at Mirapatti in Handia sub-division (district Allahabad), where a flat copper axe was earlier found in the course of an earth-digging operation at a brick-field located right over the ancient site.[14] In view of the badly rolled condition of the potsherds, only a

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6. R.C. Gaur, *Excavations at Atranjikhera,* Delhi, 1983.
7. L.M. Wahal, Contribution to the Seminar on the Ochre Coloured Pottery, *Puratattva,* 5, 1971-72, pp. 12-13; B.B. Lal, 'A Note on Excavations at Saipai', *Puratattva,* 5, 1971-72, pp. 46-49.
8. G.R. Sharma, 'Excavations at Bahariya, District Shahajahanpur', *Puratattva,* 5, 1971-72, pp. 42-43; V.D. Mishra and B.B. Mishra, 'Archaeological Investigations in Shahjahanpur District', *Journal of Oriental Institute* Baroda, XXVI, iv, 1977, pp. 437-443.
9. In the course of my visit to Bithur (Kanpur district) in 1986 I picked up the OCP and PGW sherds as surface-finds at Valmik Ashrama. This site is well-known for the Copper Hoard implements.
10. B.B. Lal and K.N. Dikshit, ' Pariyar- An Eastern Outpost of the Painted Grey Ware', *Puratattva,* 11, 1979-80, pp. 26-31.
11. B.B. Lal and K.N. Dikshit, 'Sringaverapura : A Key Site for the Protohistory and Early History of the Central Ganga Valley', *Puratattva,* 10, 1978-79, pp. 1-7.
12. G.R. Sharma, *History to Prehistory : Archaeology of the Ganga Valley and the Vindhyas,* Allahabad, 1980, pp. 68-71.
13. Paul Yule, *Metal work of the Bronze Age in India,* Munchen, 1985.
14. Krishna Kumar, 'The Copper Hoard/OCP Culture in the Mid-Ganga Valley : An Appraisal in the light of New Discoveries', Paper presented at Annual Conference of the Indian Archaeological Society held at Varanasi (U.P.) in 1986; 'Bhārtīya Ārya Evam Purātattva' *Sammelan Patrikā,* (Hindi), Allahabad, 1986, 72, ii, pp. 145-148.; See also *Amrta Prabhat* (Hindi Daily), Allahabad, 21st December, 1986, pp. 1-3.

few shapes, viz. jars, vases and basins could be recognised. This discovery has for the first time extended the eastern limits of the OCP in the Mid-Ganga Valley.

The excavation at Kamauli near Rajghat (district Varanasi) had earlier yielded a few sherds of red ochrous ware and a parallel sided chert blade from the lowest phase.[15] This pottery has been identified with the Pre-NBP ware in the Mid-Ganga Valley and the Chalcolithic pottery of the Vindhyas.[16] But, as pointed out elsewhere, most probably it represents the typical OCP,[17] which intermingled with the Chalcolithic Black-and-Red, Black-slipped, and associated Red wares in the Lower Ganga-Yamuna *Doab* and the Mid-Ganga Valley. The OCP like sherds have also been noticed in the lowest levels at Prahladpur in district Varanasi.[18]

In the course of a re-examination of the well-known Copper Hoard site at Parihati in district Midnapur (west Bengal) a few potsherds of ochrous red colour together with some microliths and a terracotta bead were picked up as surface finds.[19] Later on, a few more potsherds of ochrous red colour together with the Black-and-Red and associated Red wares (both coarse and fine) were found on the surface there.[20] In view of its association with the Copper Hoards, the ochrous red ware from Parihati may reasonably be identified with the OCP. This discovery is significant in the sense that it has for the first time extended the eastern limit of the OCP right in the heart of the Lower Ganga Valley.

The discovery of numerous DSW/OCP sites in the Sarasvati Valley (Punjab and Haryana) during last two decades has extended the western

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15. *Indian Archaeology,* 1963-64 - *A Review,* p. 58.

16. J.N. Pal, *Archaeology of Southern Uttar Pradesh,* Allahabad, 1986.

17. Krishna Kumar, 1986, *Op. cit.*

18. M.D.N. Shahi, 'Transition from Ruralism to Urbanism in the Gangetic Doab', *Bharti* (New Series), I, 1983, p. 11.

19. Amita Ray and A.K. Datta, 'Copper Hoard Culture in West Bengal', *Journal of Ancient Indian History,* Calcutta, XI, 1978, pp. 58-65.

20. Subhra Bose, 'The Copper Hoard Culture of West Bengal' In A.M. Shastri, et. al (eds) *Vajpeya* (Essays on the Evolution of Indian Art and Culture), Delhi, 1987, I, pp. 39-43.

boundary of this pottery as far as Katpalon near Jullunder in the north-west.[21] In this region the OCP, which is also known as the Degenerate Siswal ware (DSW),[22] represents a late phase in the development of the Siswal ware, which was influenced by different contemporary ceramic industries, viz. the late Harappan, cemetry H, Bara, Sothi, etc.[23] The excavations in the Swat valley in North-West Pakistan yielded an ochre coloured and grey burnished ware.[24] However, the relationship between the DSW/OCP of the Sarasvati valley and the ochre coloured and grey burnished pottery of the Swat valley has yet to be established by an intensive field-work in the area lying in between Katpalon in India and the Swat valley in Pakistan.

An ochrous ware resembling the OCP was also recovered from excavations at different Chalcolithic sites, viz. Kayatha,[25] Maheshwara and Navdatoli[26] in Madhya Pradesh and Nasik and Jorwe[27] in Maharashtra. An OCP like ceramic industry has also been reported from Ganeshwara and Jodhpura in Rajasthan.[28] Since the genuineness of this ochrous ware has already been

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21. K.N. Dikshit, Exploration along the right Bank of River Sutlej in Punjab, *Journal of Indian History,* Trivendrum, 1967, XLV, ii, pp. 561-568; 'Nature of Harappan ware in Sutlej Valley' In B.P. Sinha (ed) *Potteries in Ancient India,* Patna, 1969, pp. 56-66; Suraj Bhan, 'New Light on Ochre Coloured Ware Culture', *Research Bulletin (Arts) Punjab University,* LVII, iii, 1967, pp. 1-9; *Excavations at Mitathal (1968) and other Explorations in the Sutlej-Yamuna Divide,* Kurukshetra, 1975 pp. 111-113, 123-126; Suraj Bhan and J.G. Shaffer, 'New Discoveries in Kurukshetra' In A.M. Shastri, et. al (eds) *Vajpeya,* Delhi, 1987, I, pp. 53-62.

22. Suraj Bhan, 1975, *Op. cit.,* pp. 111-113.

23. *Ibid.,* pp. 84-86, 112-115.

24. G. Stacul, 'Ochre Coloured and Grey Burnished Ware in North-West Indo-Pakistan (c. 1800-1300 B.C.)' *East and West*, 23, 1 &2, 1973, pp. 79-88.

25. V.S. Wakankar, 'Chalcolithic Malwa', In R.K. Sharma (ed) *Indian Archaeology - New Perspectives,* Delhi, 1982, p. 225.

26. H.D. Sankalia, et. al, *Report on Excavations at Maheshwara and Navdatoli,* Poona, 1958, p. 85.

27. H.D. Sankalia and S.B. Deo, *Excavations at Nasik and Jorwe - 1950-51,* Poona, 1955, p. 37.

28. R.C. Agrawala and Vijaya Kumar, 'Ganeshwara - Jodhpura Culture : New Traits in Indian Archaeology', In G.L. Possehl (ed) *Harappan Civilization : A Contemporary* Perspective, New Delhi, 1982, pp. 125-134.

questioned by some eminent archaeologists[29], it is too early to finally fix the southern and western limits of the OCP in Northern India.

Thus in the present state of archaeological research we may conclude that the area of the OCP in Northern India roughly extended from Katpalon (Punjab) in the North-west to Parihati (West Bengal) in the east and Kausambi (Uttar Pradesh) in the South. Whereas the Upper Ganga Valley was the main centre of the Copper Hoard/OCP culture, it was slowly spreading towards the Middle and the Lower Ganga basin in the east.

A major problem in linking the copper Hoard/OCP sites discovered at Mirapatti and Kamauli (Uttar Pradesh) in the Mid-Ganga Valley with the solitary Copper Hoard/OCP site at Parihati (West Bengal) in the Lower Ganga basin is the big territorial gap that separates these sites. We may hope that an intensive field-work in the intervening area shall fill up the gap in future.

Whereas in the Sarasvati valley the DSW/OCP (Shaffer, Siswal C) marks a late phase in the vertical development of the indigenous Siswal ware, in the valley it represents an early stage in the horizontal expansion of the same. This clearly shows that the origin of the DSW/OCP lies in the late Siswal (Shaffer, Siswal C) ware in the Sarasvati valley. In the north-western areas the OCP overlapped with the so-called Late Phase of Mature Harappa culture, while in the eastern regions it intermingled with the Black-and-Red and associated wares. Thus the DSW/OCP represents a protohistoric folk movement that started from the Sarasvati Valley in the north-west and came to an end in the Lower Ganga basin in the east. Incidentally, it also supports the identification of the so-called Copper Hoard/OCP culture with the late Ṛgvedic Aryans as discussed elsewhere.[30] It is well-known that the Ṛgvedic Aryan culture mainly flourished in the Sarasvati valley, from where it had spread in different directions.

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29. B.K. Thapar, *Recent Archaeological Discoveries in* India, Paris, 1985, p. 105; K.N. Dikshit, 'Ganeshwara Culture : An Appraisal', *Puratattva,* 11, 1979-80, p. 122; A.K. Sinha and B.R. Meena, 'Recent Explorations in Eastern Rajasthan', In K.V. Ramesh, et. al (eds) *Svasti-Sri* (Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra Felicitation Volume), Delhi, 1984, pp. 316.

30. Krishna Kumar, 'Religious Life of the OCP people : A reconstruction', Paper presented at Annual Conference of Indian Archaeological Society held at Gauhati (Assam) in 1984 ; 1986, *Op. cit.,* 'The Copper Anthropomorphs : A New Identification', Paper presented at Annual Conference of Indian Archaeological Society held at Sagar (M.P.) in 1987; 'Authorship of the Copper Hoard/OCP Culture in Northern India', *Panchala,* Kanpur, 3, 1988, pp. 125-128; 'Idolatory in the Rgvedic age : Some Literary and Archaeological Evidence', *Archiv Orientalni,* Praha Academia, Czekoslovakia, 56, ii, 1988, pp. 110-113.

The scarcity of the OCP and the abundance of a variety of Copper Hoard objects and Copper ingots in the eastern region comprising modern Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa clearly shows that it was not the sub-centre of the Copper Hoard/OCP culture. The bearers of the Copper Hoard/OCP culture appear to have gone there mainly for the exploitation of rich copper ore deposits in the Chhotanagpur plateau. Similarly, the absence of genuine OCP and the stray occurrence of typical Copper Hoard objects including a fragmentary anthropomorph, antennae weapons, flat axes rings, etc. in different parts of the Deccan plateau suggests that the authors of the Copper Hoard/OCP culture presumably went there on some military expedition. In case the future archaeological investigations prove that the ochre coloured and grey burnished ware discovered in the Swat Valley in North-West Pakistan is genetically related to the DSW/OCP of the Sarasvati valley in India, it shall provide an evidence to show the expansion of the DSW/OCP culture towards the north-western parts of the sub-continent.

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THE PARADOX OF THE CYCLICAL AND LINEAR IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIAN CITIES

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In the history of urban development in ancient India Harappan Civilization occupies a pivotal place. Archaeologists have been patiently adding to our understanding of this civilization ever since its discovery in 1920-21[1] and an impressive body of literature has grown around it.[2] It has been a fascinating mosaic of theses advanced, theories amplified, formulations modified and views rejected. In the process it has led to a broadening and clarification of our knowledge of the life and nature of this civilization, shedding welcome light, especially, on areas relating to its genesis, growth and maturing. Over the last three decades, for instance, opinions have changed and crystallised on a number of important questions. It is no longer seriously contended that Harappa Civilization burst forth with sudden brilliance; that it had a spatial and temporal uniformity of assemblages, monotonous in their lack of variations; that it represented an imperial political system with twin capitals at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, etc. In one critical area, however, Harappan Civilization remains as nebulous as ever. We are referring here to the process of disintegration of this civilization and its impact on the subsequent history of the country. Since the issues residing in this area have relevance to the post-Harappan urban development there is perhaps still some scope for looking at them afresh.

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1. Cunnigham had visited Harappa in 1853 and D.B. Bhandarkar visited Mohenjodaro in 1912. But the discovery of the distinctive Harappan civilization ought to be placed in 1920-21 when D.B. Sahni began working in Harappa and R.D. Banerji in Mohenjodaro. Possehl, G.L., 'Discovering Ancient India's Earliest cities' in G.L. Possehl ed. *Harappa Civilization : A contemporary perspective,* New Delhi 1982, pp. 405-413.

2. Comprehensive bibliography is given in G.L. Possehl, ed. *Ancient cities of the Indus,* New Delhi, 1979.

The factors leading to the disintegration of the Harappan Civilization,[3] important though they are, are not central to our concern here. We are concerned more with the nature and extent of the process of disintegration. Basically the question that confronts us is whether the Harappan civilization met with a complete demise (with no successor to hold on to the patrimony) or whether it declined gradually to be subsumed by succeeding epochs ? Despite cautious attempts to strike a different note[4] scholarly opinions still generally adheres to the neat summing up of the situation by Wheeler more than thirty years ago : "Paradoxically it would appear that the Indus Civilization transmitted to its successors a metaphysics that endured whilst it failed utterly to transmit the physical civilization which is its present monument."[5] Since these words were written, substantial new material have been brought up and the picture has undergone some change. For instance, it is now known that all the Harappan settlements did not come to a sudden end simultaneously ; settlements in the peripharal regions lingered on for some time more while those in the 'centre' had made their exit. But the essence of the paradox pointed out by Wheeler remains true for most of the archaeologists. Thus speaking about cities in early historical India Ghosh writes : "The stage for the rise of cities in the early historical period

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3. Main theories are : Aryan invasion; flooding of the Indus plain and tactonic movement; growth of population and depletion of economic resources; break out of some fatal disease, etc. A conspectus of the various views is given in the articles by Wheeler, Dales, Raikes and Lambrick in part IX in Possehl, *Ancient cities of the Indus.* Also see Kennedy, K.A.R., 'Trauma and Disease in the Ancient Harappans' in Lal B.B. and Gupta S.P. ed. *Frontiers of the Indus civilization,* New Delhi, 1984 pp. 425-36 and Farservis, Jr. W.A. 'origin character and decline of an Early civilization' in Possehl, *Ancient cities of the Indus* pp. 66-89.

4. An example : "Even the often stated disappearance of urban centres noted for the Late Harappan is an assumption. While urban centres may have ceased to exist in Sind, it is impossible to assert that this was the situation for the entire area covered by the Harappan culture during this phase. Certainly until some of the large Mediaeval and Early Historic sites which also have associated Late Harappan ceramics are excavated and the extent of the Late Harappan settlement determined, it is inappropriate to conclude that urban centres were absent during the Late Harappan culture". Shaffer, J.G. in Possehl ed. *Harappan Civilization : A Contemporary Perspective,* P. 49.

5. Wheeler, M., *The Indus Civilization,* London, 1953, p. 95.

was thus set......No survival nor revival of the long-dead Harappan urban tradition was necessary, and it is certain that there was none."[6] Between the decline of the Harappan Civilization and urbanisation of the Gangetic valley Fairservis speaks of 'Unicivilized India' and 'Vedic Night'.[7] Referring to the rise of cities during early historical period even Bridget and Raymond Allchin, who have chosen the title 'The Legacy of the Indus Civilization' for part III of their latest book on Indian archaeology - incidentally, part III constitutes the largest section of the book and covers the entire spectrum of post-Harappan developments - show an interesting ambivalance and uncertainty. They state : "The social, economic and intellectual concomitants of this near sudden flowering of city life are striking. The use of writing seems to have vanished with the end of the Indus cities". And again : "This emergence of city life in the Ganges valley marks the beginning of the Classical period of Indian civilization, and we can not fail to wonder to what extent it was also a rebirth of something which had long before flourished in the Valley of the Indus."[8] Thus Bridget and Raymond Allchin exemplify the dilemma that the archaeologists face : how to account for what seems to be a sudden reemergence of cities and the art of writing after a gap of a thousand years. This then is the paradox : the material manifestation of civilization in early India, it seems, had a cyclical movement while its ideational manifestation moved on a linear path.

Taken beyond the domain of exclusively archaeological evidence the paradox becomes more and more enigmatic. A term like 'Vedic Night' conceptually implies that the disintegration of Harappan settlements witnessed the obliteration of the very idea of what is taken to be urban civilized existence. Fairservis has an explanation.[9] The pressure of impoverished land forced the Harappan farmers and their large cattle population to move towards the

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6. A. Ghosh *The city in Early Historical India,* Simla 1973, p. 89. Ghosh also speaks of deurbanization of Harappan civilization, Possehl, *Harappan civilization : A contemporary perspective.* pp. 321-24.

7. Fairservis Jr. Walter. A., *The Roots of Ancient India* Chicago 1975.

8. Allchin, Bridget and Raymond, *The Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan,* Cambridge, 1982 pp. 360, 361; emphasis added by us.

9. Fairservis Jr. , 'Harappan civilization : New Evidence and More Theory' and 'The origin, character and decline of an Early civilization' in Possehl, *Ancient cities of the Indus,* pp. 49-89.

peripheral areas till the frontiers of the Harappan ecological zone were reached and then they did not know what to do as the Ganges valley was unfit for the cultivation of wheat and millet. Thus they met their doom. It has been pointed out that the exhaustion, to the point of extinction, of the agricultural and farming resources of the entire area covered by the Harappan Civilization is not borne out by the subsequent history of the area.[10] The Indus valley provided the theatre also for the Vedic Indians. While the Harappans and their cattle failed to eke out an existence, the Vedic Indians and their cattle flourished in the same area. Moreover, the Vedic Indians along with their cattle crossed the limits of the ecological zone and moved into the Ganges valley without peril while the Harappans perished in their endeavour. The difference in the fate that met the Vedic Indians from the fate that met the luckless Harappans, in Fairservis' scheme, unless explained on the basis of technological advancement achieved by the former would be a difficult proposition to establish.[11] The use of iron alone will not be able to take the whole load of this argument.

The relative failure or success of the Harappans and the Vedic Indians to exploit the ecological factors need not detain us for long. The major question before us is how the urban traditions of the Harappans got completely lost or how the Vedic Indians, if they had succeeded the Harappans in the same geographical area, could remain completely untouched by the Harappan traditions? Did the decay of the most prominent of the urban centres bring about an extinction of the idea of urban life? Does such a possibility look logical? What do the non-archaeological evidence indicate and can we afford to ignore such indications altogether ?

Collapse or decay of the major urban centres brought about by some staggering blows or by a fortuitious combination of various factors is not unlikely. It is also not unlikely that in consequence of the decline of such centres coupled with the coming of an alien culture orientation, the cities may lose their dominant position in the total socio-cultural set up. This in its turn may lead the economic and political nerve centres of the society to gravitate towards the rural

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10. Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *The Rise of civilization in India and Pakistan*, p. 224.

11. It is interesting that Fairservis thinks that as far as veneration for cattle is concerned, the Harappans were as steadfast as Vedic Indians; Fairservis in Possehl, *Ancient cities of the Indus us*, p. 60-61.

from the urban. But it will not necessarily mean collapse of civilization itself and a return to barbarism. Did the Vedic society mean a return to the uncivilized?

Chronologically the Aryan occupation (PGW/OCP) of the Indus and Gangetic valleys is placed after the Harappan Civilization. However, during second millennium B.C. people belonging to the Aryans family are known to have entered some other countries as well : Anatolia (Hittites) and Mesopotamia (Kassites), for instance. In both these places the Aryans do not seem to have obliterated the existing pattern of life[12] as they are supposed to have done in India. This striking difference in Aryan response in India has to be adequately annotated. It does not appear maintainable that the Aryans - they might have come in a single wave or more -- entered India when the Harappan cities had already decayed and the post-urban Harappan phase had already begun and therefore the Aryans did not have the advantage of learning the art of city life through direct contact and communication but had to evolve it *ab initio* through a long internal process spanning a thousand years. The destruction of *puras* by the Aryan warriors does not accord with such a hypothesis.

It does not also appear reasonable to hypothesis that the pastoral barbarian Aryan hordes destroyed the Harappan cities (*pura*)[13] and all traits of city life while preserving the vocabulary for city in their language all along during the long gap between the first and second urbanisations in order to use the vocabulary when the cities would surface again. Moreover the expression *pura* is of quite frequent occurrence in the *Ṛgveda* and in later Vedic literature.[14] And *pura* does not occur only in non-Aryan *dāsa-dasyu* context.[15] The *Ṛgveda* refers to imposing strongholds with hundred limbs (*śatabhuji*), to ones made of stone

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12. U. Bahadir Alkim - *Anatolia* I, Geneva 1968, pp. 179 ff. Seton Lloyd, *the Archaeology of Mesopotamia, London,* 1978, p. 172.

13. George F. Dales, 'The mythical Massacre of Mohenjodaro' in Possehl *Ancient cities of the Indus,* pp. 293-96. Wheeler has, however, modified his earlier views; ,see Sir M. Wheeler *The Indus civilization,* 3rd ed. Cambridge University Press, Combridge 1968, pp. 129-34. The view of Wheeler are not totally rejected by all : Fairservis, *The Roots of Ancient India,* pp. 310-11; Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *The Rise of civilization in India and Pakistan,* pp. 307-308.

14. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index,* Vol. I, Delhi, 1967, pp. 538-40.

15. G.C. Pande *Foundations of Indian Culture,* Vol. II, New Delhi, 1984, p. 99.

(*aśmamayī*) perhaps, also to settlements of metal (*āyasī*).[16] Another factor that should also be taken into consideration is the reference found in vedic literature to chariots and charioteers. Does it imply that there were roads for the chariots to play?

Sketching the socio-political assemblage of the Harappan and *Ṛgveda* periods is a risky excursion; for the Harappan we do not have written evidence, for the *Ṛgvedic* we have just a single text of avowedly religious character. Therefore we have to exercise sufficient caution in drawing conclusions whether the passage from the Harappan to the Vedic amounted to a reversal from an evolved complex political organisation to a simple tribal arrangement. The interrelationships between the *rājan, sabhā* and *samiti* did not perhaps represent a political system at the simple rudimentary level. The elaborate *śrauta* and the consecration ceremonies described in the *Yajurveda* and Brāhmaṇa texts indicate a complex political organisation with kingship and statehood highly developed.[17]

With the disintegration of the Harappan Civilization archaeological evidence of literacy disappears and does not come up again till the Mauryan period. One of the most important characteristics of civilization is thus found absent during the period that succeeded the Harappan. Looked at from this point of view the label Vedic Night seems quite appropriate.

The question of the disappearance of literacy in the wake of the decline of the Harappan Civilization, however, is more complex than it looks at the first sight. It is significant that the literacy of the Harappan Civilization is evidenced by a single class of evidence, the seals.[18] We do not know for certain what functions these seals were expected to perform. But that these seals had some specific function (s) is certain. If the necessity for that specific function had not

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16. *Ṛgveda* I. 166.8; VII, 15.14; IV, 30.20; I. 58.8; II 20.8; etc. See *Vedic Index,* Vol. I. pp. 538-39, cf. the modern expression like 'Still city' 'still town' etc. Therefore cities of metal may also mean metal producing places and not necessarily strong holds made of metal.

17. A.K., Coomerswamy *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power in the Indian Theory of Government',* Delhi, 1979; Heesterman, J.C., *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration,* The Hague, 1957.

18. A few graffities are also found, but their nature is highly doubtful.

arisen the Harappans would not have produced their seals and and thus would not have left any archaeological trace of their literacy. It is also reasonable to argue that the production of seals would cease the moment the fuction that the seals were performing had ceased to exist. It is fortunate that the Harappans felt the necessity to cut those beautiful seals, otherwise their civilization would have been dubbed as illiterate. From the number and extent of the find of seals it can be surmised that the spread of literacy in the Harappan Civilization could not have been very narrow. It can thus be further surmised that the literate Harappans put writing to other uses besides inscribing the seals. But not other written documents have been found. The point that we are trying to make is that it may not be always safe and wise to characterise a period or culture on the basis of the presence or absence of a 'single' set of evidence.

When we take up the other end of the archaeological evidence relating to the beginning of art of writing in India, i.e. the script used in the Mauryan inscriptions, we are struck by its evolved character. Ghosh, however, thinks that the system of writing used in the Mauryan inscriptions could not have taken more than about two centuries to develop to the standard Asokan scripts. In fact he thinks that the writing used in Asokan inscriptions show clumsiness and uncertainty and therefore did not have a very long history behind it.[19] Clumsiness and errors are found in inscriptions of much later periods also.[20] By the developed nature of Mauryan scripts we do not mean the form of letters but the whole gamut of conceptual exercises that had gone to the systematisation of the alphabet on a unique phonetic arrangement, of the system of conjoint letters, of the numerals, etc. Such major feats could not have been achieved within a short period and especially if that society had been an illiterate society. It would be no exaggeration to say that in the Asokan inscriptions we meet Indian alphabet, on the conceptual plane, fully developed. Other than in the shapes of letters there has not been any substantial change in Indian alphabet since the days of Asoka.

Neither internal evolution nor adoption of foreign system of writing and then modifying it to suit the requirements of Indian language and giving it a unique arrangement all its own could have been a short term exercise or an

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19. A. Ghosh, *The city in Early Historical India*, p. 14 especially note 33.
20. D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi, 1965, pp. 29-30.

exercise that an illiterate society was capable of performing. It is pertinent to remember that tree leaf or bark or tree, the material normally used for writing in ancient India, do not have much chance of survival as antiquity. Moreover, the emphasis on listening and memory (*śruti* and *smṛiti*) in a sacerdotal religious tradition does not necessarily denote lack of knowledge of writing. It may only indicate that in rituals correct recitation was given great importance. Uninfluenced by the knowledge of writing emphasis on memory continued throughout the history of our learned tradition.

Interaction between the pre-Aryans and the Vedic Aryans appear to have begun right from the Ṛgvedic period. There are allusions not only to storming of the pre-Aryan citadels by the Aryans and the mutual hostility between the two but also to the beginning of a fusion between the Aryans and the non-Aryans even at the very highest levels of society. D.D. Kosambi had drawn attention to several instances of the non-Aryan priests acquiring important positions in the brahmanical circle and the admixture of non-Aryan blood among the Aryan royalty.[21] The termination *dāsa* in the names of Divodāsa and Sudāsa is interesting. "That so early a name of an Aryan king should end in *dāsa* means that there was some recombination between Aryans and non-Aryans soon after 1500 B.C."[22] Dāsa king Balbhūta and Taruksha are praised by the brahmana sage Vaśa Aśvya for gifts received.[23] The sage Bharadvāja in a hymn praises Bribu, the chief of the Paṇis for patronage.[24] Kosambi has built a texture of cogent arguments which indicate that such famous ṛṣis as Vaśiṣṭha, Agastya were of non-Aryan descent. Same was perhaps true of Tvasṭṛ whose son Tvāṣtra is mentioned as an important teacher in Upaniṣads and who was said to have been killed by Indra. One of Ajīgarta's sons, Śunaḥśepa (dog tail)- the names of Ajīgarta and his sons have a distinct non-Aryan flavour -- was adopted by Viśvāmitra. Kakṣīvan the son of Uśij, was born of a *dāsī*. Kavaṣa Ailūṣa was accused of being a son of a slave woman. Some charge was labelled against Vatsa. The great Veda Vyāsa himself was perhaps of non-Aryan descent. We may not agree with Kosambi's assertion that seven main brāhmaṇa clan

21. D.D. Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India*, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 81-84.
22. Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India*, p. 81.
23. *Ṛgveda*, VIII, 46.32.
24. *Ṛgveda*, VI, 45.31 - 33.

progenitors may go back to pre-Aryan lineages but there are enough indications that the brahmana priestly circle did contain a fair share of non-Aryan priestly blood.

Even if it was not to the same extent as in Egypt or Mosopotamia, religion nevertheless did play an important role in the Harappan Civilization and the priests enjoyed a high status.[25] In the literate Harappan society the priests must also have been literate. It is only natural therefore to assume that the members of the priestly and learned circle of the Harappan Civilization must have carried with them their learned literate tradition into the brahmanical fold. It is impossible that such a useful skill as writing once discovered would be discarded by the practioners of the skill.

The archaeological evidence relating to monuments and buildings are similar to those relating to the art of writing. Archaeologically there is a huge gap between the Harappan period and the NBP horizon. The use of burnt bricks does not begin in the Gangetic valley till the appearance of NBP ware. Recently S.B. Rao has claimed that Dwarka was protected from the sea by a massive stone masonry wall as far back as 1000 B.C.[26] The excavator of Kausambi had claimed that the foundation of the city there might go back to similar antiquity.

It may not be out of context here to remind ourselves of some of the well known features of the extent monuments of early historical India. They suddenly emerge into view with a splendid brilliance which had prompted a noted historian to remark that the history of Indian art is written in decay. That such brilliance could have been achieved without some amount of background work does not appear probable. V. Irwin thinks that some of the so called Asokan pillars were produced long before the Mauryan period.

What is even more significant is the fact that the stone architecture of historical India had a wooden beginning. The early stone buildings were the descendants and adaptations from wooden predecessors. The carpenter was originally an architect. The memory of this unity between the carpenter and the architect survived in the word *sūtradhāra* which meant both carpenter and arthitect. The carpenter is included among the 'building experts' (*vāstuka*) in the

25. Fairservis in Possehl *Ancient cities of the Indus,* pp. 58 ff.

26. S.R. Rao's talk at Allahabad Museum in 1987.

Arthaśāstra.[27] In an early Brāhmī, inscription we find an interesting expression 'stone carpenter' (*sela vaḍhakı*) obviously meaning a stone worker.[28] It was natural that wood was extensively used in early building. A man would build with the best building material available to him. And best building material does not necessarily mean the strongest and the most durable, it can mean the one which is most conveniently available and most viable from the labour and utility angle. With timber readily available in the Gangetic valley the urge to build in wood would be natural. Megasthenes noted the wooden palace at Pāṭaliputra. The use of brick or stone, as building material need not, in all climes and environment, a firm indicator of the level of culture.

Another characteristic of the noblest of early extant Indian monuments may be taken note of. They are all religious monuments and are generally found away from the thicks and bustle of the political and economic life. These were usually built on secluded places like hilltops where monks and nuns could meditate on the great spiritual unity binding the animate and the inanimate, the human and the natural. It may not therefore be always a rewarding pursuit to look for monumentality in the centres of political and economic power in the same manner as can be found in the great urban centres of Egypt or Mesopotamia.

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27. *Arthaśāstra,* 10.1.1.

28. *Lüders List* no. 987..

INDIA IN THE WAKE OF SEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

(Late) PROF. K.D. BAJPAI

Saugar

The history of ancient India is marked by several memorable features. These include : a broad-based ideal of welfare state, humanitarian emphasis on the administrative system, social justice and cultural advancement. During the long period of its ancient history, beginning from the proto-historic times to the end of the 12th century A.D., India endeavoured to implement the above mentioned principles in life and thought. Its contribution to the political and cultural institutions rightly earned a name for India in the world history.

Before the beginning of the seventh century A.D. remarkable progress was made in the country in the fields of polity, religion, philosophy, literature and fine arts. The ancient literature and archaeological relics eloquently prove this. During the epochs of the Mauryas, the Sātavāhanas and the Guptas, the country witnessed an all-round progress in state-administration and socio-economic and cultural growth. Several institutions, with strong foundations, had been established. They contributed to the welfare of the state, the formation of a strong social system, based on the *Varṇa-āśrama dharma*, and the development of education and fine arts.

Prior to the *7th* century A.D. the northern India was under the Gupta empire. The Gupta monarches particularly Samudragupta and Chandragupta-II, successfully tried to build up a strong nation on the lines of Chandragupta Maurya. Kauṭilya, the preceptor of Chandragupta, had envisaged a strong state based on public welfare. This ideal derived its source from the Vedic polity.

The Vedic perception of the state was given an all-round form by Kauṭilya. Kauṭilya was not only a man of vision but also a practical statesman, who guided the Maurya emperor to give concrete form to the principles enunciated in the *Arthaśāstra*.

The Śuṅgas, the Sātavāhanas, the Guptas, the Vākāṭakas and the Pallavas largely followed the state ideals of Kauṭilya. By the end of the *6th*

century A.D. India, both in the North and South, emerged as a great power in the political and cultural fields.

After the disintegration of the Gupta empire, two great powers emerged in the north. The first was that of the Maukharis of Kanauj and the second of the Vardhanas of Thaneshvar. In the west the Maitrakas and in the south, the Chālukyas of Badami and the Pallavas of Kanchi rose to power.

It is noteworthy that the traits of the Gupta period, which is rightly regarded as the 'Golden Age' of Indian history continued to survive even after the disintegration of the Gupta empire. These are discernible in the political set-up, the socio-economic and religious areas and also in the field of performing arts. In the seventh century and even thereafter these traits continued to flourish.

It would be worthwhile to take stock of the distinguishing features of the Gupta art-tradition here.

The Gupta age marks a glorious chapter in the art-history of India. The political and economic stability of the period provided a sound basis for the development of literature and art during the reign of the mighty Gupta emperors. In so far as the evolution of plastic art is concerned, traditions had already been built up in the central and northern India. Bharhut, Sanchi, Bodhgaya, Pawaya, Mathura and Gandhāra were the chief centres where sculpture art in variegated forms had developed in the pre-Gupta age. Kalinga, Vengi region and Deccan had also made their own contributions to art.

The exuberance of art in the Gupta period was not a sudden occurrence. It had a rich tradition behind, from which the artists of the Gupta period drew inspiration. The aesthetic and iconographic elements of the Śuṅga-Sātavāhanas and the Kushāṇa periods were given adequate place in the Gupta art. This can be clearly seen in the art of Mathura, Ahicchattrā, Kauśāmbī, Deogarh, Sarnath, Nachnā, Bhumrā, Ajanta, Bāgh and several other Gupta centres known to us.

During the Gupta age iconographic norms of various deities were established. But it may be pointed out that in this period, aesthetic excellence had the upper hand over the iconic details. Secular subjects were also largely touched upon by the artists, to whom art was an ennobling medium to realise the beauty of this mundane world and the spiritual happiness of the other world. Religion, to the Gupta sculptors and painters, was a thing of joy in life and

beyond. To this end the artists worked, and they created some of the most remarkable pieces of art. The concept of a fusion between beauty and grace reached a high watermark during this age.

The Gupta art eloquently represents the ideals of fine arts (*lalita kalā*) as mentioned by Kālidāsa, the national poet of the period. *Rūpa* or beauty was now given new dimensions of perfection. The ideal of beauty was to enlighten the mind and soul. It was not meant for stimulating the lower senses towards evil. In this connection Kālidāsa rightly points out to the *adage* recognised in Indian tradition, when he says :

Yaducyate Pārvati pāpavṛttaye na rūpamityavyabhicāri tadvacaḥ. (*Kumārasambhava,* V, 36) *Rasadṛṣṭi* (correct conception of sentiment or emotion) was another significant feature of the Gupta art. The supremacy of sentiments was now recognised in the art-objects, whether they be animate or inanimate. Another interesting innovation in the Gupta art was that of decorative motifs which endowed the art with a remarkable charm and dignity.

A striking feature of the Gupta art is noticed in the life-size images of the Buddha, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya and a few other major deities. The idea of *cakravartin* had grown during the Gupta age. This is borne out by the contemporary literary, epigraphical and numismatic evidence. The emperors of the period assumed grandiloquent titles to emphasize unlimited power at their command. The idea of indicating all pervasiveness found its expression in the images of important deities of this age. This feature was elaborated during the post-Gupta period.

A study of the Gupta art-motifs in this respect would be found interesting. The Gaṅgā-Yamunā motif may be taken up as an instance. The region of *antarvedī* watered by the two holy rivers, came to be regarded as the land *par excellence* during the Gupta age. The two rivers were now represented on the door-jambs of the Gupta temples, holding *pūrṇaghaṭas* in their hands and standing on their *vāhanas*. This symbology continued in the Medieval period almost throughout the country.

The Gupta art of the northern and central India had its distinctive impact on the art of other regions, particularly the eastern India, Deccan and south India. Some of the traits become popular outside in South-East Asian countries also.

During the rule of the Vardhanas, the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, the Pāṇḍus and the Pālas, the Gupta artistic devices were largely followed in the northern and eastern India. This we can distinctly notice at several sites such as Kanauj, Kauśāmbī, Gwalior, Tumain, Barwāsāgar, Marhkherā, Sirpur, Rājim, Nālandā, Gaya and Kurkihār. In the Deccan and South the art which developed under the rule of the Vākāṭakas, the Chālukyas and the Pallavas bears similar traits. Sarnath played the role of a pivot of plastic art from the Gupta period onwards. The Pāla art of eastern India, which made its considerable impact in Nepal and Indo-China, derived its inspiration mostly from Sarnath.

During the seventh century A.D. Kanauj and Nālandā played significance roles as cultural centres in the North. Several aesthetic and iconic norms were formulated at these centres. They were imbibed by several other areas along with regional traits.

This period marks the beginning of a voluminous growth in the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina pantheons. For the development of these religions, art provided a convenient medium. After the *6th* century we notice considerable growth in the construction of temples, monasteries and images related to various religions.

The ideal of amity and good will among the followers of different faiths continued during the seventh century and onwards. This is confirmed by the accounts of Chinese travellers Hiuen-Tsang and It-sing. The archaeological remains and literary works amply prove this. Several common features in architecture and art, their themes and compositions indicate a broad idea of tolerance among the followers of the Vedic-Puraṇic, Buddhist and Jaina faiths.

The cultural material of the early Medieval period, known from several parts of India, tends to indicate that the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva cults had an upper hand over other Brahmanical cults. Among the various incarnations of Viṣṇu, the Varāha incarnation became quite popular, particularly in its composite human-animal form. The Nṛsiṁha incarnation, in a similar form, also deserves special mention. The Gupta images of Nṛsiṁha in the composite form are known from Udaigiri, Pawāyā, Eran and Tigwā. At Eran three shrines, one each of Viṣṇu, Varāha and Nṛsiṁha, have been discovered. After the *6th* century the popularity of these two incarnations continued. In the central and western India Jainism had also a simultaneous growth. Buddhism particularly flourished in eastern India under the chief patronage of the Pālas.

Other Buddhist centres were Sirpur, Malhar and several areas in Orissa, including Lalitagiri and Ratnagiri. The impact of Nalanda was wide spread during the early Medieval period.

The aesthetic norms of the Gupta age are discernible in various regional arts up to about 800 A.D. After this period, these norms were, overcome by the conventional forms and profuse ornamentation. This is borne out by the regional art developed during the time of the early Medieval dynasties, such as the Chandellas, the Kalachuris, the Paramāras, the Senas, later Chālukyas, the Rāṣṭralūṭas, the Cholas and the Hoyasalas.[1]

During the seventh century certain Tāntric beliefs began to take concrete forms. A striking reference to the construction of a shrine for the mother-goddesses, called Dākinis, is found in the Gandhāra stone Brāhmī inscription of king Viśvavarmā of the Aulikar dynasty.[2] The inscription is dated in the Malava (Vikrama) year 480 (423 A.D.)

Bāṇabhaṭṭa in his *Harṣacarita* mentions Bhairavācārya and his disciple and their peculiar religious rites.[3] The description by Bāṇa of various religious cults and their performances, including the Tāntric worship of Devī[4] clearly indicates that the Śākta and Śaiva tāntric beliefs were practised in some parts of the country. The tāntric centres were primarily located in the forests and hilly areas in order to attract the inhabitants of those regions. Gradually such centres were established at many more sites.

Recently a colossal stone statue of Śiva in his *vibhava* fierce aspect has been discovered at a site called Tālā in the Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh. The image is eight-headed and bears several interesting iconographic traits. This unusual cult image of Paśupati Śiva can be assigned to early *7th* century A.D. Śaiva and Śākta *āgama* texts were composed during this period. Several Purāṇas, related to these religions were given their present form during the period between the *7th* and *10th* centuries A.D. These Purāṇas contain interesting material bearing on the religious life of the people.

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1. See K.D. Bajpai, *History and Culture of Madhya Pradesh,* (Ahmedabad, 1984, pp. 86-9).
2. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions,* Vol. I, (Calcutta, 1965), pp. 399-405.
3. See V.S. Agrawala, *Harṣacarita : Eka Adhyayana* (Patna, 1953), pp. 57-62.
4. *Ibid.,* pp. 104-14; 190-92.

Tāntric beliefs had their wide impact on the Śaiva, Śākta and Vaiṣṇava faiths. Buddhism and Jainism also could not remain aloof. Their literature, art and iconography bear influence of the tāntric beliefs which were gaining ground.

During the Śaka-Sātavāhana and the Gupta periods, strong culture and commercial relations of India had been established with central Asia and the South-Eastern countries. A fillip was given in this direction during the post-Gupta period. The literary and archaeological evidence of the early Medieval period indicates that both the internal and external trades were in progress. In the drama *Ratnāvalī* of Harṣavardhana, the *Daśakumāracarita* of Daṇḍī, the *Samarāiccakahā* of Haribhadra Sūri and the *Tilaka-manjarī* of Dhanapāla there are interesting details about the sea-routes and trade between India and the south-east Asian countries. These accounts show that small and big boats and ships were constructed in the country.[5]

Trade relations with the Arab countries were also given a fillip during the period. The accounts of the Arab writers, such as Abu-Zaid, Sulaiman and Ibn-hurdadhā, bear testimony to this.[6]

Literary works of the period under review furnish rich and varied evidence bearing on the material life of the people. This was the time when, looking to the importance of Sanskrit language, several Buddhist and Jaina authors turned to Sanskrit and composed their works in that language. Thus Sanskrit became the national language in the true sense.

The seventh century has the credit of producing some reputed literary luminaries. Mention among them may be made of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Harṣavardhana, Bhāravi, Mayūra and the Chinese scholar-traveller Hiuen-Tsang. These and several other writers enriched language and literature in various ways. The artists of the period created some immortal works of excellence during the period.

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5. For details see K.D. Bajpai, *Prācīna Bhārata kā Videshon se Sambandha* (Indore, 1973), pp. 128-135.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 134-141.

NEW LIGHT ON THE AULIKARA RESISTANCE TO THE HŪṆAS IN CENTRAL AND WESTERN INDIA

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The recent discovery of a stone slab-inscription from Risthalpur also known as Rinasthalpur (a village situated in Sitamau sub-division of the Mandasor district, M.P.) in September 1983 and also three copper-plate inscriptions from a field on the outskirts of the town of Sanjeli situated in the Zalod Taluka of the Panchmahal district of Gujarat in December 1974 have thrown new light on Indian history from the following points of view :

(i) the genealogical history of the Aulikaras of Daśapura (modern Mandasor, M.P.);

(ii) the role of the Hūṇas in the early part of the Sixth Century A.D. in Northern India under the leadership of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula;

(iii) the economic history of Northern India in the Sixth Century A.D.;

(iv) the resistance of the Aulikaras (the leaders of the Mālava-gaṇa) to the Hūṇas in Central and Western India.

The Risthalpur Inscription, belonging to Malava Era 572 (515 A.D.) was published by V.S. Wakankar (*Bharati,* p. 56-62) and also by K.V. Ramesh And S.P. Tiwari (*Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. X, pp. 96-103) and V.V. Mirashi (*Journal of Oriental Research Institute,* Vol. 33, pp. 315-324). The three Sanjeli Inscriptions, brought to light in 1974 were published by R.N. Mehta and A.M. Thakkar in 1978 as monograph of Maharaja Sayaji Rao University Arch. Series No. 14 under the title of 'M.S. University Copper-plate of The Time of Toramāṇa'. These inscriptions were also later published by K.V. Ramesh in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XL. Part V, pp. 175 to 186, No. 347.

The first charter belongs to the regnal year 3 of Toramāṇa who took the imperial titles of Mahārājādhirāja and Paramabhaṭṭāraka which denote his imperial status. It also refers to his feudatory Mahārāja Bhūta and his mother (queen-mother) Vīrāḍhyikā. The second charter also speaks of Mahārāja Bhūta who was meditating on the feet (tadpādānudhyāta) of Paramabhaṭṭāraka in his sixth regnal year. It is silent about the name of the imperial ruler but there can not be any objection against his identification with Toramāṇa himself who is mentioned by this very title in the charter of his third regnal year. The third charter refers to Viṣayapati Mahārāja Mātṛdāsa II, the son of Mahārāja Bhūta and the loyal feudatory (tadpādanudhyāta) of Paramabhaṭṭāraka in his regnal year 19. It is clear that Paramabhaṭṭāraka of this charter is also no other than Toramāṇa himself.[1]

As regards new light thrown by these inscriptions on the aforesaid first three points, namely genealogical history of the Aulikaras, the role of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula in Northern India and economic history of India in the Sixth Century A.D., critical and cautions study has already been made of them from time to time by my 'pūrvasūris' (previous pioneers) in a commendable manner and I have nothing to add anything in this respect.

But so far as the fourth question is concerned, it comes within the purview of this paper which aims at a fresh and detailed appraisal of the Aulikara resistance to the Hūṇas in the light of these new inscriptions, proving highly significant in this matter. The Hūṇas had created havoc in Iran and given rude shock to the Sassanian Emperors in early part of the fifth century A.D. By the year 425 A.D., they challenged the formidable Sassanian king Vehram the fifth, who had to fight sanguinary battle with them. His son Yazdgard II was busy in incessant warfare with them for eight years (443-451 A.D.). His immediate successor Feroz had to agree to a humiliating treaty with the formidable Hūṇa invader, Khus Newaz who had proved notorious for his atrocities and barbaric destruction in the Sassanian Empire.[2]

It appears that after registering a crushing defeat in the middle of the fifth century A.D. on Sassanian Yazdgard II, Khush Newaz invaded India either

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1. R.N. Mehta, M.S. University Copper-Plates of The Time of Toramāṇa, pp. 5-8; K.V. Ramesh, *Epigraphia Indica*, No. 34, pp. 178-79.

2. U.N. Roy, *Gupta-Samrāṭa Aura Unakā Kāla, p.* 475.

at the fag end of the reign of Kumāragupta I, 'Mahendrāditya' or immediately after his death in 455 A.D. The serious damage caused is mentioned as 'drifted fortunes of the Gupta lineage' in the Bhitari and Junagarh Inscriptions which speak of Skandagupta's military engagements in restoration of the 'fallen fortunes of his family'. It is commonly believed on the basis of the Bhitari Inscription that the Hūṇas had created terrible whirlpool in the Gangetic basin at this time but the Mandasor Inscriptions of the Aulikaras prove that besides this there was every possibility of the Hūṇa's creating serious menace and political crisis in Central India also. The Aulikaras put stiff resistance to them and successfully checked their aggression as loyal feudatories of the Imperial Guptas in this part of the country.

Dr. Mirashi's explicit view that the Aulikaras had never accepted the suzerainty of the Imperial Guptas is contradicted by glaring references in the Mandasor Inscriptions to this family. The Aulikaras belonged to the Mālava-gaṇa and as such their inscriptions are invariably dated in the Mālava Era (Mālavānām gaṇa-sthityā). In the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, they are placed at the top in the list of the nine 'gaṇas' in the time of Samudragupta as his loyal subordinates. This placing of *Mālava-gaṇa* indicates their importance as a powerful clan of the period. To quote the words of Sāndhivigrahika Hariṣeṇa, the Mālava-gaṇa, along with other tribal powers, fully gratified the imperious commands of Samudragupta by obeying his orders (ājñākaraṇa), paying all kinds of taxes (sarvakara - dāna) and also by making obeissance and personal attendance (*praṇāmā-gamana*)' in the Imperial Gupta capital.

In the Mandasor Inscription (M.E. 524-467 A.D.), Aulikara Prabhākara expresses his firm loyalty to Mahārāja Govindagupta, the younger son of Chandragupta II and the Imperial Gupta governor in Malawa (Mālava-deśa) for a long time. He is described in the inscription as conflagration (*dhūma-ketuḥ*) to the enemies of the Gupta lineage (Guptānvayāri). The Risthalpur Inscription (M.E. 572=515 A.D.) of Prakāśadharmā alias *Bhagvạt-Prakāśa* makes a reference to his overlord, the Imperial Guptas (*Goptṛbhir-nṛpaiḥ*). The Mandasor Inscription of Yaśodharmā (undated one) mentions the Guptas as overlord of his ancestors (*Gupta-nāthaiḥ*) and the limitations of his family (*svagṛhaparisara*) in this respect.

It was for the first time that Aulikara Yaśodharmā, the son of Prakāśadharmā alias Bhagawat-Prakāśa overthrew this overlordship (*avajñayā*)

and successfully traversed the Gupta Empire although for a very short time only in course of his eastern expedition up to the bank of the river Brahmaputra (*Lauhitya-taṭa*). But till pre-Yaśodharmā phase, the Aulikaras had served as significant subordinates of the Imperial Guptas for a period of about one hundred and seventy years (C. 350 A.D. to 520 A.D.). So, the contention of Dr. Mirashi[3] that the Aulikaras had never submitted to the Imperial Guptas and fought against the foreign invaders (i.e. Śakas and the Hūṇas) as independent power and friend and ally of them is untenable.

In the post-Samudragupta period, like the Sanakānīkas the Aulikaras also had played an important role in the Śaka campaigns of Chandragupta II. In the Mandasor Inscription (M.E. 461=404 A.D.) of Aulikara Naravarman, his father Siṁhavarman has been described as the close follower of 'Siṁha-Vikrānta' (*Siṁha-vikrānta-gāmini*) who can rightly be identified with Chandragupta II who used the epithet of *Siṁha-vikrānta*[4] which is reminiscent of the title 'Vyāghra-parākramaḥ' of Samudragupta. This bears an indirect relation to the close participation of Siṁhavarman as a loyal feudatory in the Śaka campaigns of the Imperial Gupta monarch. Towards the close of the fourth Century A.D. (388 A.D.=397 A.D.) with the help of the Aulikaras, Chandragupta II succeeded in annexing the territories around Mandasor, Neemach and other places in Central India which were under the rule of the Western Kṣatrapas. This region was known as Mālava deśa (also as Ākarāvanti). The Aulikaras played the same vital part against the Hūṇas to protect the vital interest of their overlord, the Gupta kings.

The Junagarh Inscription of Skandagupta mentions that Skandagupta was highly worried for the protection of the western frontiers of his empire and had adopted adequate measures to check a possible Hūṇa invasion in the future. It was with this end in view that he had appointed Parṇadutta as the '*Goptā*' (protector) of the province of Saurāṣṭra which was vulnerable to foreign inroad.

The Mandasor Inscription of the Malava Era 529 (472 A.D.) suggests that the period of 36 years falling between 436 A.D. and 472 A.D. was a period of turmoil and political somersault in Malawa. It informs that in the above

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3. *Journal of the Oriental Institute,* Volume, 33, page 330.
4. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions,* Vol. 1, ed 1, p. 378, f.n. 2.

intervening period the sun-temple built in Malava Era 493 (436 A.D.) in the time of Bandhuvarmā, the Aulikara feudatory of Kumāragupta I (Mahendrāditya) was seriously damaged and that western Malawa was ruled by hostile kings (*anyaiśca pārthivaiḥ*). Dashrath Sharma rightly observes that this refers to hostile attack on Central India by the Hūṇas sometimes after M.E. 493 (436 A.D.).[5] They would have attacked the city of Daśapura and created a serious turmoil there. Because of this disastrous attempt of the Hūṇas, the city would have suffered a serious setback and a part of the sun-temple which was one of the central sites in it suddenly fell down (*vyaśīryadeka-deśasya*) so that after return of normalcy the question of its repair became an imperative necessity. The inscription also suggests that this Hūṇa occupation was of a temporary nature. It seems that when the sun-temple was restored, Bandhuvarmā was not alive because the epigraph speaks of him with reference to the date of the construction of the temple (M.E. 493=436 A.D.) and not in connection with the restoration date (M.E. 529=472 A.D.). It is quite possible that Bandhuvarmā died a hero's death while resisting the Hūṇas much before this date (472 A.D.).

The Mandasor Inscription of Mālava Era (467 A.D.) suggests that Bandhuvarmā, in all probability, was succeeded by Prabhākara. The inscription also speaks of Govindagupta, the son of Chandragupta II and the younger brother of Kumāragupta I. He appears to have been a long-lived person. He was the governor of Malawa in the time of his elder brother Kumāragupta I and continued as such in the time of his nephew Skandagupta as well. He was found indispensable for this charge in view of his well-tried efficiency, long experience and confirmed loyalty to the vital interests of the Gupta family. The inscription refers to Duttabhaṭa, the commander-in-chief of Aulikara Prabhākara who was like burning fire to the enemy of the Gupta lineage (*Guptānvayāridrum-dhūma-ketuḥ*)[6]. The enemy mentioned here may reasonably be identified with the Hūṇ· who would have invaded Malawa also, besides the Gangetic valley, in the time of Skandagupta. This suggests that Hūṇas, temporarily gaining upper-hand at Mandasor (Malawa) towards the close of the reign of Kumāragupta I or immediately after his death, were uprooted by Prabhākara under the able

5. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions,* Vol. 1, ed. 1, p. 295, f.n. 4 (view of Dashrath Sharma).

6. *Mandasor Stone Inscription, M.E.* 524 (467 A.D.), verse 10.

supervision of Govindagupta. Duttabhaṭa, who was the commander-in-chief of Prabhākara would have played a vital role in ousting the Hūṇas from Malawa with great success.

As a result of thanks-giving for this notable victory, we find Duttabhaṭa making religious donation like Vīrasena (Śāba), the commander-in-chief, of Chandragupta II in lieu of his success against the Śakas. For future precaution, the Imperial Guptas continued to appoint able and well-tried officers in the *antarvedī* of Kālindī and Narmadā for close vigilance against the probability of Hūṇa invasion in future. As for example, the Eran Inscription of the time of Budhagupta (Gupta Era 165=484 A.D.) informs that Mahārāja Suraśmichandra was appointed as '*lokapāla*' in the *antarvedī* because of his commendable qualities required for protection of the region (*pālayati lokapāla-guṇaiḥ*)[7].

The veil of darkness of the Aulikara resistance to the Hūṇas in Malawa after Prabhākara (467 A.D.) is lifted with the discovery of the Risthalpur Inscription of Prakāśadharmā alias Bhagwat-Prakāśa (M.E. 572=515 A.D.). He is mentioned as *Bhagwata-Prakāśa* in the second verse of this inscription just as Pulakeśin II is mentioned as *Satyāśraya* in the second verse of the Aihole Inscription. Vāsula, the author of the Risthalpur Inscription is referring to the name of the contemporary ruler of Daśapura who was leader of the kings (lalām rājñām). The Risthalpur Inscription informs that besides the main line of the Aulikaras ruling in Malawa with Daśapura as their main seat as revealed by the Mandasor Inscriptions, there was yet another Aulikara-line ruling at Risthalpur or Rinasthalpur in the Sitamau sub-division of the Mandasor district (M.P.). The Aulikaras of Daśapura used Varman-ending names, such as Jayavarmā, Siṁhavarmā, Naravarmā, Viśvavarmā, Bandhuvarmā and Prabhākara (varmā ?).

The Aulikaras of Risthalpur-line used Vardhana-ending names, such as Druma-vardhana, Jayavardhana, Ajitavardhana, Vibhīṣaṇa-vardhana, Rājyavardhana and Prakāśadharmā alias Bhagawat-Prakāśa. Since the history of Daśapura-line starts from C. 350 A.D., it should be treated as main or elder line whereas the Risthalpur line should be treated as the younger and subsidiary Aulikara-line because it started ruling from C. 400 A.D.[8] The first ruler of this

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7. J.F. Fleet *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Vol. III, G.E. 165, p. 89.

8. V.V. Mirashi, *Journal of The Oriental Research Institute,* Vol. 33, P. 317.

dynasty, Drumavardhana used the title of *Senāpati* only. It suggests that this subordinate branch was ruling under the main Aulikara branch of Daśapura. That it was also an Aulikara-line is clear from the expression '*Aulikara-lakṣma*' (stamp figure of the Aulikara lineage), occuring in the Risthalpur Inscription. The epigraph clearly suggests their allegiance to the Gupta overlords (*Goptṛbhir-nṛpaiḥ*).[9]

Since the history of the main Aulikara-line comes to an abrupt close after Prabhākara (467 A.D.), we may reasonably believe that Vibhīṣaṇavardhana, the fourth ruler of the Risthalpur branch whose years of reign roughly fall between C. A.C. 460 and 480, took over the succession of the Daśapura branch as a member of the Aulikara lineage. Henceforth, there was only one line of the Aulikara with their headquarter at Daśapura. The inscription informs that his son Rājyavardhana (c. A.D. 480-500) was a real *Rājyavardhana* in the sense that he had expanded the boundaries of his kingdom. This may bear an indication to the amalgamation of the two Aulikara branches into one, resulting in raised prestige and status of the ruling family.

With the discovery of the three Sanjeli Inscription and the Risthalpur Inscription, our knowledge about the history of Toramāṇa and Aulikara resistance to this formidable Hūṇa leader attains entirely a new dimension in the history of Northern India in the early part of the Sixth Century A.D. The Risthalpur Inscription (M.E. 572 = 515 A.D.) informs that Rājyavardhana was succeeded by Prakāśadharmā alias Bhagwat-Prakāśa whose reign represents an important landmark in the history of the Aulikara dynasty. He would have succeeded the throne in C. 500 A.D. That he was the father of Aulikara Yaśodharmā alias Viṣṇuvardhana (532 A.D.) whose ancestry was shrouded in mystery, is a fact which admits no doubt after the discovery of the Risthalpur Inscription.

The dates of Prakāśadharmā alias Bhagwat-Prakāśa (M.E. 572 = 515 A.D.) and Yaśodharmā-Viṣṇuvardhana Janendra (M.E. 589 = 532 A.D.) follow in succession. The Risthalpur Inscription was composed by Vāsula, the son of Kakka (*Vāsulenoparachitā pūrveyam Kakkasūnunā*) and so also the undated Mandasor Pūrvā (eulogy) emanated from the pen of the same author with the

9. *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India,* Vol. 10, 1983, p. 99.

same descent (*Vāsulenoparachitā ślokāḥ Kakkasūnunā*). Rājasthānīya (local administrator), Bhagavaddadośa whose name is mentioned in the Risthalpur Inscription (515 A.D.) has also been noticed in the Mandasor Inscription (532 A.D.) of Yaśodharmā. It should also be noted here that Nirddośa, the son of Bhagavaddadośa has also been mentioned in this inscription (532 A.D.). It seems that Vāsula, the poet as well as Rājasthānīya Bhagavaddośa had outlived Prakāśadharmā and graced the court of Yaśodharmā too. It clearly reveals the antecedences of Yaśodharmā which was shrouded in mystery before the discovery of the Risthalpur Inscription (515 A.D.). Even before the discovery of this Inscription, V.S. Wakankar had already conjectured that Śrī Prakāśadharmā who is mentioned in the two seals discovered in the Mandasor excavations (1978) would have been the father of Yaśodharmā.[10]

The question arises at this place as to what can be the equivalence of the regnal years 3, 6 and 19 of Toramāṇa in the Christian Era ? The clue to the problem is to be found in the Bhamodra-Mohota Copper-plate Inscription of Mahārāja Droṇasiṁha (Saṁvatsara 183 = 502 A.D.) which speaks of his overlord 'Paramabhaṭṭāraka' who can reasonably be identified with Budhagupta. As this is the last known date of the Imperial Gupta rule in Gujarat, the dates of Toramāṇa (regnal years 3, 6 & 19) can be placed only after 502 A.D. So the complete replacement of the Gupta suzerainty in Western India by the Hūṇa ruler would have taken place three years after this date i.e. somewhere in 505 A.D. which would have been the regnal year 3 of Toramāṇa. Hence, we may reasonably conclude that the regnal years 6 and 19 of Toramāṇa correspond to 508 A.D. and 521 A.D. respectively.[11]

The years following the establishment of the imperial status of Toramāṇa in Malawa and Gujarat is to be marked for constant efforts of the Aulikara in the name of their Gupta overlords to uproot the Hūṇas from this part of the land. This is clear from reference to the Gupta emperors ('*Goptṛibhir-nṛpaiḥ*) in the 11th verse of the Risthalpur Inscription which speaks eloquently of the mighty prowess of Aulikara Prakāśadharmā and his remarkable military exploits. In the 16th and 18th verses, the inscription mentions that he had

10. Rinasthalpur Stone Inscription of Aulikara Prakāśadharmā, M.E. 570, *Bharati*, p. 57.

11. U.N. Roy, Gupta *Rājavaṁśa Tathā Usakā Yuga*, p. 782.

captured the shining throne of his contemporary kings, defeated in battle '*Hūṇādhīśa*' Toramāṇa and nullified his epithet '*Adhirāja*'. He had caused trouble to the damsels of the Harem (*pramadāvarodhana*) of the world-famous Toramāṇa (*Lokaprakāśa*). The victory of Prakāśadharmā was of great significance. We find him busy with religious activities in order to express his thanks for his glorious success against formidable Toramāṇa, such as a Śiva temple (*Prakāśesvara-sadma*) at Daśapura and also Varāha temple and multi-turreted lofty and splendid temple (chāru mandira) of Brahmā, assembly hall (*sabhā*), tanks, monasteries (*maṭha*) and Āśramas (*ārāma*) for the benefit of the *Sānkhya-Yatis.*[12]

This decisive battle would have been fought in M.E. 572 (515 A.D.) which is the date of the Risthalpur Inscription. It seems that it was fought at Risthalpur (Rinasthalpur) itself, which would have anciently been known as *Raṇasthalapura* i.e. the city existing on the site where this decisive battle was fought. It would have been renowned as such because of the remarkable victory of Prakāśadharmā over Toramāṇa. Before this battle, Eran had already been liberated from Toramāṇa as is clear from the posthumous Eran Inscription, mentioning Bhānugupta (G.E. 191 = 510 A.D.). This war of liberation of Eran (*Airikiṇa-pradeśa*) was of the nature of a great battle (sumahat-prakāśa-yuddha) in the words of this epigraph[13]. This battle would have been fought in this very date (510 A.D.). After these two important defeats (one at Eran and the other at Risthalpur), Toramāṇa's rule was confined to Gujarat only in Western India. This is witnessed by the Sanjeli Inscription of the regnal year 19, suggesting his continuous rule in this part of the land till 521 A.D. Probably, he continued to maintain his sway in Punjab and some adjoining parts in the North-west.

Dr. Wakankar believes that Prakāśadharmā is mentioning in his Risthalpur Inscription the same battle which was fought at Eran in G.E. 191 = 510 A.D. The span of five years after this event (i.e. 510-515 A.D.) was devoted by him to the construction of several temples, monasteries and *āśramas* at Daśapura as mentioned in the Risthalpur Inscription (515 A.D.)[14]. But we should not forget the fact that the aforesaid posthumous Eran Inscription (510 A.D.)

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12. Risthalpur Inscription of Prakāśadharmā VV. 24-25. *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. 10, 1983, p. 102.

13. D.C. *Sircar, Select Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, ed. 1, p. 236.

14. *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. 10, 1983, p. 102.

mentions Bhānugupta and his friend Goparāja only who had participated in the battle and died a hero's death in it. It is totally silent about participation of Prakāśadharmā or any other power there in. In the Risthalpur Inscription (515 A.D.), Prakāśadharmā takes the sole credit of his victory over Toramāṇa and also some other contemporary powers. The name Risthalpur also known as Rinasthalpur, as already pointed out, suggests that this place itself represents the site of the important battle between the Aulikara led by Prakāśadharmā on the one hand and Hūṇas under the leadership of Toramāṇa on the other. Hence the above two battles (Eran and Risthalpur) should be treated as separate from each-other.

Dr. Mirashi[15], Dr. Wakankar[16] and some others believe that Prakāśadharmā had fought this battle independent of the Imperial Guptas. While interpreting the reference in preservation of worldly stability by the Guptas (bhuvanasthiti-goptṛbhir-nṛpaiḥ) in the 11th verse of the Risthalpur Inscription, they believe that Gupta power had grown weak by this time. Rājyavardhana, the father of Prakāśadharmā took over the responsibility of protecting the earth when the Guptas had become weak. This view of the aforesaid scholars is contradicted by the fact that the verse (11th one) informs that he (Rājyavardhana) was protecting the region in accordance with the practice which was consonant with his family conventions (Svakulocita). This indicates the continuance of the subordinate status of the Aulikaras under the Imperial Guptas.

Rājyavardhana, according to the calculations of Dr. Wakankar[17] and Dr. Mirashi,[18] was ruling in between 480-500 A.D. We have already seen that according to the Bhamodra-Mohota-Copper-plate Inscription, the Guptas continued to maintain their imperial sway till the Valabhī Era (same as Gupta Era) 183 (502 A.D.) up to Gujarat in the west. Moreover, Yaśodharmā speaks of the subordinate status or political limitations of his ancestors (Svakula-parisara) and also their Gupta overlords (Gupta-nātha) in his Mandasor eulogy (undated). In fact, Prakāśadharmā had fought the battle in the name of the Imperial Guptas in the same way as the Maukharis and Later Guptas had fought against the Hūṇa

15. *Journal of the Oriental Research Institute,* Vol. 33, p. 321.

16. Risthalpur Stone Inscription of Aulikara Prakāśadharmā, M.E. 570, *Bharati,* p. 58.

17. *Ibid.,* p. 61.

18. *Journal of The Oriental Research Institute,* Vol. 33, p. 317.

power in the north-east as loyal feudatories in the post-Budhagupta period (i.e. after 502 A.D.).

We have to note that the term 'Goptṛbhir-nṛpaiḥ' of the Risthalpur Inscription of Prakāśadharmā connotes the same sense as 'Gupta-nāthaiḥ' in the Mandasor eulogy of his son Yaśodharmā. Vāsula, the author of the Risthalpur Inscription means to say that Prakāśadharmā had the credit of registering a crushing defeat on Toramāṇa in Malawa and also falsifying (vitatathā) the meaning of his imperial title 'Adhirāja' held by him. We should not interpret that Prakāśadharmā, himself had become an 'Adhirāja' or imperial ruler as a result of this victory. It actually means that he had deprived Toramāṇa of his imperial sway (Adhirāja-śabdaḥ). As regards the expression 'lalam rājñām' (head amongst the princes) occurring in the Risthalpur Inscription, it is the same as 'kṣitīśacūḍāmaṇi (best amongst the king) as used for Jīvitagupta (the feudatory of the Imperial Guptas) in the fourth verse of the Aphasadh Inscription.

K.V. Ramesh and S.P. Tiwari[19] believe that the expression 'Ā-Toramāṇa nṛpateḥ' (from Toramāṇa onwards) suggests that Prakāśadharmā had the credit of defeating Mihirakula also in the same battle. But this supposition is hardly tenable. The Risthalpur battle was fought in 515 A.D. whereas Mihirakula appeared on the political scene only after 521 A.D. which is the last known date of Toramāṇa in the light of his third Sanjeli Copper-plate Inscription. The Risthalpur Inscription is only mentioning at this place the contemporary ruling princes of the time of Toramāṇa. Mihirakula had yet to become a ruler by this time. Moreover, the epigraph is referring to the name of Toramāṇa, the Hūṇa only and not to any one of his sons here. Vāsula, the writer of the Risthalpur Inscription describes in a poetic style the 'event of bowing down of the contemporary princes or the acts of surrendering themselves to Toramāṇa ('foot-stool was variegated by the cluster of the rays of the crest-jewels of the kings up to Toramāṇa').

This was followed again by political upsets and somersaults in Malawa between the Aulikara and the Hūṇas. This phase of Aulikara-Hūṇa rivalry is marked for the rise of Yaśodharmā on the one hand and Mihirakula on the other.

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19. *Journal of The Epigraphical Society of India,* Vol. 10, 1983, p. 97.

It has already been pointed out that after the discovery of the Risthalpur Inscription (M.E. 572=515 A.D.), it has substantially been proved that Yaśodharmā alias Viṣṇuvardhana was the son of Prakāśadharmā, the conqueror of Toramāṇa who was succeeded by Mihirakula. The latter had proved a great problem to the Imperial Gupta monarch, Bālāditya (Narasiṁhagupta, Bālāditya) and a great terror to his other contemporary powers. I need not go into various details of the Indian and foreign accounts, suggesting his great power and influence over a considerable portion of Northern India. The success, achieved by Prakāśadharmā against the Hūṇas in Malawa after his notable victory over Toramāṇa was wiped out by Mihirakula in this part of the land. The capture of Malawa by this Hūṇa ruler is proved by the Gwalior Inscription which belongs to the fifteenth year of his reign[20].

But this seizure of Malawa by the Hūṇas under the leadership of Mihirakula was challenged by the Aulikara Yaśodharmā the son of Prakāśadharmā. He had used the epithet of 'Janendra' . He not only proved a chip of the old block but markedly excelled the political achievements of his father by his brilliant military exploits. His Mandasor eulogy (undated one) composed by Vāsula informs that ultimately Mihirakula had to completely surrender himself by kneeling down at the feet of this Aulikara king. In a poetic style he mentions that this ferocious Hūṇa rival 'worshipped them by the locks of his matted hair, adorned by garland of flowers'[21]. On the basis of the other Mandasor Inscription of Yaśodharmā alias Viṣṇuvardhana (M.E. 589 = 432 A.D.) which contains a vivid account of his military exploits, it is generally believed that this Aulikara king would have defeated Mihirakula in this very date i.e. 532 A.D. But on the evidence of the Sanjeli Inscriptions of Toramāṇa combined with the testimony of the Gwalior Inscription of the time of Mihirakula, it can be said that the total length of the rule of these two Hūṇa leaders would have amounted to atleast for 34 (19 + 15) years. So, Mihirakula can be taken to have ruled atleast up to 536 A.D. (502 A.D. + 34 years).[22] This would have been the real probable date of the final and conclusive defeat of Mihirakula at the hands of his Aulikara adversary (Yaśodharmā). In the undated Mandasor Inscription of

20. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions, Vol.* 1, ed. 1, p. 401.

21. J.F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Vol. 3, p. 147.

22. U.N. Roy, *Gupta-Rājavaṁśa Aura Usakā Yuga,* p. 782.

the latter, Mihirakula is known as the ruler of 'Himagiri' i.e. the Himālayas (Kāśmīra) only[23]. This victory of Yaśodharmā, 'Janendra' was significant in the sense that Aulikara, now, substantially eliminated for ever the Hūṇa occupation of Malawa which had formed a bone of contention between the two powers.

It is quite possible that he succeeded in liberating Gujarat also from the yoke of the Hūṇas because his Mandasor Praśasti (undated) mentions that he had conquered territories up to Western Ocean (paśchima payodhi). He had also extended his victorious arms up to the borders of 'Tuhinaśikhara' (Himalayas). He appears to have deprived him of his political influence in the north in a large measure. It should be noted here that Yaśodharmā had fought the battle with Mihirakula almost single-handed and independent of the Guptas. The epigraph indicates that he had crossed the limits of his family (sva-gṛha-parisara) by stopping allegiance to the Gupta overlords. If we go by the inscription literally, this ambitious Aulikara invader had given rude shock to the Guptas (avajñayā) in course of his Lauhitya expedition (Lauhityopakaṇṭha)[24].

It may be mentioned here that the view of R.C. Majumdar and H.C. Roychaudhary that the rise and fall of Yaśodharmā was 'meteoric' is contradicted by the evidence of the Risthalpur Inscription which makes his antecedence quite clear to us. It is quite possible that he took time to complete his scheme of conquests against the Hūṇa power. It was not so quick as is generally supposed to have been.

We have reason to believe that he had to make military expeditions twice in the north as well as in the east. The mighty eastern powers (prāco nṛpān) and many northern powers (bahūnudīcaḥ) mentioned in the Mandasor Inscription (532 A.D.) may bear a relation to his victory over the Hūṇas in the north and the Imperial Guptas along with their ambitious feudatories (Maukharis and the Later Guptas) in the east. Besides, a vivid and picturesque account of his crushing defeat over Mihirakula and successful military expedition towards the east up to the river Lauhitya is mentioned in his other Mandasor eulogy (undated one). From the combined evidence of these two Mandsor epigraphs, we may

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23. J.F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol.* 3, p. 146.

24. D.C. *Sircar, Select Inscriptions,* Vol. 1, ed. 1, p. 394.

reasonably conclude that he had defeated Mihirakula as well as the contemporary eastern powers twice.

The first victory against Mihirakula would have been made in 532 A.D. (M.E. 589) which is the date of his Mandasor eulogy (the dated one). It was at this very stage that he took the imperial titles of 'Janendra' *Rājādhirāja* (king of kings) and '*Parameśwara*' as mentioned in this 'praśasti' (532 A.C.) in view of his florious success. To commemorate this brilliant achievement he got the 'praśasti', engraved at Daśapura, his ancestral capital. The second and the decisive one over Mihirakula would have been made in 536 A.D. which seems to be the last year of the reign of this Hūṇa king. To commemorate this memorable event of his life, Yaśodharmā had set up a victory stand (*jaya-stambha*) which is represented by his Mandasor Stone Pillar Inscription (the undated eulogy).

With this decisive victory of Yaśodharmā 'Janendra' over Mihirakula, there came to an end the continuous chain of Aulikara-Hūṇa rivalry in Central and Western India, which covered a period of about 81 years extending from 455 A.D. to 536 A.D. The effect of the '*digvijai*' of Yaśodharmā as described in his two Mandasor eulogies appears to have been of a short-lived nature. The quick succession of subsequent events resulted in drastic changes in the political condition of North India in the later half of the Sixth Century A.D. The Maukharis and the Later Guptas who had played a vital role in the Gangetic Valley against the Hūṇas as loyal feudatories of the Imperial Guptas declared their independence and henceforth started entertaining imperial designs. The future course of history shows that very soon Malawa came into the hands of the Later Guptas. That is why Mahāsenagupta of this dynasty has been mentioned as '*Mālava-rāja*' i.e. king of Malawa in the *Harṣacarita*. Besides, the Later Guptas, the Maukharis and Puṣyabhūtis emerged as well-established powers with their head-quarters at Kānyakubja and Sthāṇīśvara respectively. These two dynasties which later had entered into matrimonial alliance played vital role in successfully resisting the Hūṇas in the last part of the Sixth Century A.D. as is clear from the Haraha and Aphasadh Inscriptions on the one hand and the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa on the other.

At the end of discussion, it will be most appropriate here to make an observation about Mahārājādhirāja Dravyavardhana, the ruler of the Avanti country (Avantinātha) as mentioned by Varāhamihira in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* (ch.

86, V. 2) and Mahārāja Ādityavardhana, mentioned in the fragmentary Mandasor Inscription of his feudatory Mahārāja Gauri (I.H.Q. 33, p. 14). As regards the latter (Ādityavardhana), it is clear that he neither belonged to the Aulikaras of the Risthalpur branch (subsidiary line) nor to the Aulikaras of the Daśapura line (main branch). Dr. Mirashi is right when he observes that Ādityavardhana would have been a collateral of the Vardhana branch, holding a small principality in the kingdom of the main branch of the Aulikaras *(Journal of the Oriental Research Institute,* V. 33, p. 323).

About Mahārājādhirāja Dravyavardhana, different views have been expressed. Dr. Mirashri conjectures that he would have occupied the region round Ujjayinī when the Guptas left it after the close of Skandagupta's reign in C. 467 A.D. *(Journal of the Oriental Institute,* V. 33, P. 322). It is difficult to agree with this view. The Gupta Empire remained intact up to Gujarat in the west till the reign of Budhagupta whose feudatory Mahārāja Droṇasiṁha has been mentioned in the Bhamodra Mohota Copper-plate Inscription which was issued from Valabhi (502 A.D.). In the Maliya (Kathiawad) Copper-plate Inscription of Mahārāja Dharasena II, Valabhī Era 252 (which is the same as the Gupta Era 252 = 572 A.D.), it is said that the coronation ceremony of Droṇasiṁha who reigned atleast up to 502 A.D. was performed by paramount master in person (svayam-upahit-rājyābhiṣeko), the sole lord of 'the circumference of the territory of the whole earth' (akhila-bhuvana-maṇḍala-ābhogaika-svāminā-paramasvāminā[25]). Evidently, the 'parama-svāmī' (paramount master) as mentioned here refers to his overlord Budhagupta, the Imperial Gupta ruler of the time. This suggests that the Guptas had meintained their imperial sway in Gujarat up to 502 A.D. (i.e. till 35 years after the death of Skandagupta).

K.V. Ramesh and S.P. Tiwari believe that Mahārājādhirāja Dravyavardhana of Varāhamihira is the same as Drumavardhana (Drapavardhana ?) who is mentioned as the first king of the Risthalpur line *(Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India,* Vol. 10, 1983, p. 103, f.n. 2). But this contention, too, is not tenable. The above scholars, themselves, agree that the reading '*Drapa*' is rather unusual and meaningless. The word does not occur in Sanskrit dictionaries. Hence, the correct reading of the name is

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25. J.F. *Fleet, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Vol 3, p. 165.

Drumavardhana as suggested by Dr. Mirashi and Dr. Wakankar. Moreover, it should be noted that Drumavardhana, according to the calculation of these very scholars, flourished in between C. A. D. 400 and 420 whereas Varāhamihira who mentions his contemporary king (Mahārājādhirāja Dravyavardhana) belonged to the sixth century A.D. Drumavardhana had used the title of Senāpati only whereas Dravyavardhana is mentioned in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* as Mahārājādhirāja. Towards the second half of the Sixth Century A.D., when the Gupta power had declined, he would have flourished as an independent king in the Avantideśa with Mahārājādhirāja as his title. Vardhana ending name suggests that in all probability he belonged to the Aulikara dynasty. His time (later half of the Sixth Century A.D.) suggests that he would have been the successor of aśodharmā alias Viṣṇuvardhana who had stopped allegiance to the Imperial Guptas and declared his independence. Probably, this king was the last of the Aulikaras of Daśapura.

It should be mentioned here that Dravyavardhana the lord of Avanti (Avantinātha) would have been the ruler of western Malawa only, which is mentioned in ancient literature as Avanti-deśa or Ujjayinī-deśa. So far as eastern Malawa is concerned, it was under the possession of the contemporary ruler, Mahāsenagupta (of the Later Gupta family) who belonged to the second half of the sixth century A.D. and has been mentioned as '*Mālavarāja*' (king of Malawa) in the *Haṛsacarita* of Bāṇa. The expression '*Mālavarāja*' of *Harṣacarita* suggests that he was the ruler of eastern Malawa only because where the word 'Mālawa' alone was used, it denoted eastern Malawa only. In the commentary of *Kāmasūtra,* it is mentioned that the women of Avantideśa or Ujjayinī-deśa were known as ladies of western Malawa (*Apara-mālavyaḥ*) but the ladies of eastern Malawa were known as '*Mālavyaḥ*' only (Ujjayinī-deśa-bhavyāḥ tā-evāparamālavyaḥ Mālavyaḥ iti pūrvamālava-bhavāḥ). This suggests that Avantideśa (same as Ujjayinīdeśa) denoted western Malawa whereas Malawa denoted eastern Malawa only. This explains the attribution of the epithet '*Avantinātha*' by Varāhamihira to the Aulikara king Dravyavardhana and ascription of the title 'Mālavarāja' by Bāṇa to the contemporary Later Gupta ruler, Mahāsenagupta.

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EARLY GREEK ACCOUNTS ON URBANIZATION IN NORTH-WESTERN INDIA.

U.P. ARORA

Bareilly

The urbanization in ancient India is regarded as having two distinct phases. The Harappan cities which emerged in the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C. in North-Western India represent the first phase. Marked by the use of bronze technology these cities collapsed within six hundred years without leaving any surviving urban centers. With the discovery of iron in first millennium B.C. and its use in the ploughshare and axe, was renewed the second phase of Urbanization, which had its epicenter in the Central Gangetic Valley. This second phase had maintained its continuity unabated at least upto the period of the Guptas.

The Greek accounts on ancient India synchronize with the second phase of urbanization. It should further be noted that the early Greek accounts, i.e., from 5th C.B.C. till the time of Alexander describe the region of North-western India only, whereas during this period the epicentre of urbanization has been associated with North-Eastern India. But the Greek accounts reveal that at this time the striking developments were going on in the economy of North-western India also. These developments consist of thriving trading activities, multiplication of Crafts and industries, influx of foreign immigrants, advanced iron technology, writing system, rise of independent urban professionals, perceptible growth of cities, population and magnetization.

Coming first to population, which has been taken as the first trait of early urbanization by Chilled, we can well presume on the basis of Greek accounts that the cities in North-western region were densely populated. Herodotus, a Greek historian of 5th C.B.C., whose concept of India was limited to the region around Indus only reported India as the most populated nation in

then known world and so prosperous that it paid to the Achaemenian empire the huge revenue of 360 talents of gold dust, which was one third of the total levy on the Asiatic provinces.[1] That Indians were the most numerous people in the world was repeated by Herodotus in another passage also in which the thracians were put next to them.[2] The similar statement regarding the population of India was made by Ktesias.[3] The accounts of some later Greek authors like Megasthenes[4] and Strabo[5] further show themselves to be well acquainted with the great number of the people inhabiting India.

On the size and population of a town in this region we can have vague idea from the observations made by Alexander's companions. The densely populated city of Taxila, which lay between the Indus and the Jhelum was about the size of Nineveh. We are informed that lying between Jhelum and Chenab the country of Poras had 300 cities.[6] The small republic of Glaugnicai, had at least 37 towns.[7] We are further apprised by Aristobulus, that between Jhelum and Beas, Macedonians had conquered nine nations and 5000 cities, not one of which was less than Keeps Meropis.[8] Tarn thinks that the number 5000 in Aristobulus was a mistake in transmission or in interpreting for 500, which was the Indian use for a large number.[9] There may be an exaggeration in the Greek accounts regarding the number of towns but the fact of the existence of a large number of densely populated cities in the area cannot be denied. It is on account of this reason, it is assumed that the size of a town in North-western India could not have been very large.

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1. Herodotus, III, 97.
2. Herod., V, 3.
3. Ktes., Jac. No. 688, F. 45 (2). Also see F. 49a (Arrian., *Ind.,* 3, 6); F. 49b (Strabo, XV, 1, 12).
4. Meg., Jac. No. 715, F. 12 (Arr. *Ind.,* VII).
5. Strabo, II, 5, 32.
6. Strabo, XV, 1, 29. This statement has been attributed to Aristobulus by W.W. Tarn (*Alexander the Great,* Pt. II, p. 34)
7. Arrian, *Anabasis,* V. 20, 2-4.
8. Strabo, XV, 1, 13; XV, 1, 33 (attributed to Aristobulus by Tran, *Op. cit.,* pt. II, p. 32, fn. 3).
9. W.W. Tarn, *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* Vol. XL (1940). p. 84.

The reference to Kos Meropis in the report of Aristobulus is significant for it may give same clue to the size of a town in this area. Kos Meropis is an island in Greece which today has an area of 109 square miles with a population of 19,000 inhabitants.[10] To estimate its population about 5000 in ancient days will be a modest hypothesis. This will be in accordance with the reports of Alexander's companions, who had maintained that the smallest town in this area contained over 5000 inhabitants and many contained more than 10,000.

The description of the armed forces in some of the North-western Indian states which Alexander's army had encountered during its comparing could also be of some help in the demographic study of the region. But we are informed about the number of soldiers in six or seven states only whereas the existence of nearly 30 states are known to us from the accounts of Alexander's companions. Among them the minimum strength of 43,000 soldiers was those of Aggalesoi[11] and the maximum of nearly 60,000 was those of Abastanoi.[12] Accepting some overstatement in these reports, if we accept in average 40,000 soldiers in each state, the total strength of 30 states comes to 1,200,000. It is certain that in the pre-scientific age a sizable number of population would have been mobilized to join army at the time of crisis. What would have been this percentage is difficult to guess. On the basis of an approximate estimate of number of soldiers as mentioned above Panned has proposed a 20 million population for North-Western India at the time of Alexander's invasion.[13]

If we accept the 20 or 30 million population for the North-western region only at the time of Alexander's invasion, the entire population of the country at that time must be four or five times of this. In the light of the various literary evidences the population of India during the Centuries that preceded the Christian era had been estimated about 13 crores.[14]

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10. *Blue Guide. Greece* (1967, London), pp. 644. 65.
11. McCrindle. *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* (Westminister, 1896) p. 252.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 252.
13. G.C. Pande. *Foundations of Indian Culture* (1984, Delhi), Pt, I, p. 47.
14. K.M. Shembvnekar, "The Population of Ancient India" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXXIII (1952), pp. 83-96.

If one judges the past on the basis of what he sees in the present, he will certainly be surprised at the above conjectural estimate. In fact population does not increase constantly. The increase goes alongwith the progress of the people in material civilization. If India's population has been more than doubled during the last 100 years, it is entirely due to the changed condition like the unification of the country as a rapid growth of industrialization. But during the course of more than 2000 years which intervened between Ashoka and Aurangzeb the growth in the population appears to have been very slight. A comparison between Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and *Aine-Akabarī* reveals nearly the same type of civilization. As the material conditions during the long period preceding the modern industrialised age were nearly constant we may safely assume that the population too was almost stationary.[15] Thus the estimate of 13 crores population for the entire India and 2-3 crores for the North-western region only during the early historical period do not appear to be incongruous.

The exposure of North-Western region towards various foreign lands was one of the major causative factors in its early unbanisation. In the 6th C.B.C. the Persian Empire, which had touched Greece at one extremity and India at the other provided for the first time the conditions more favorable for the interchange of the ideas. The Indians from Gandhara and the Indus region and the Greeks living in the Indian cities under the Persian rule got an opportunity of knowing each other as they were serving together in the Persian court. It was at this time that a Greek sea Captain Skylax was commissioned by the Persian emperor Darius the Great (521-485 B.C.) to explore the Indus to its mouth.[16] According to Herodotus, the result of the Voyage were that Darius subdued the Indians and made use of this sea.[17] We know that the Persians did include a part at least of the Indus basen in their empire, while the statement that Darius made use of the sea is borne out, for the part of the Voyage from the Persian Gulf to the Gulf of Suez by a Cunciform Inscription found at the Suez Canal, in which Darius stated that he caused ships to pass from the Red Sea to Persia[18]. Trade by sea was opened up and there is evidence for Indian wares and perhaps

15. *Ibid.*

16. For the account of the Voyage see, F. Jacoby, *Fragemente der griechischene Historiken* (Berlin 1923-30), Skylax, No. 709, F.I. (Herodotus, IV, 44).

17. Herodotus, IV. 44.

18. C. B. Grey, in *Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. IV. p. 200.

ships making their way to Babylonia in the same century.[19] Soon afterwards we find an Indian women called Busasa having axinn at Kish.[20] The accounts of both Herodotus and Ktesias attest the export of various Indian items in the west.

The opening of a sea-route as a result of Skylax discovery was thus a significant contributory factor to the growth of external trade and urban centres in the North-western India. The advent of Alexander accelerated this process. Besides the land route which Alexander himself had followed with his contingent, the voyage made by his commander Nearchus between India and Mesopotomia is of great significance.[21] The motivating force behind Nearchus' Voyage appears to be Alexander himself, who wanted a thorough survey of the coastline and a report on the conditions of life there, presumably as a preliminary to opening up the route between India and Mesopotamia. From the description of Searches Voyage it is guessed that Masonry (Ras Shenal Bandak) was probably the intermediate point where Indian goods were handed over to Arabian or Persian middlemen.[22] It was mentioned by Nearchus that at Cape Maceta in Arabia, the soldiers were informed that from there the Assyrians had imported Cinnamon and other spices.[23] The reference to spices in Cape Maceta is an interesting notice for it throws light on Arabian trading activities by sea in Indian spices, particularly Cinnamon which was considered as an Arabian product even in the time of Eratosthenes due to deliberate silence about its true

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19. J.O. Thompson, *History of Ancient Geography*, p. 81.

20. Olmstead, *History of Persian Empire*, p. 145.

21. For Nearchus' account of the Voyage see in F. Jacoby, *Op. cit.*, No. 133, F.I. F. la-F. Ih.

22. Schiwek, H., *Der persische Gold als Schiffahrts--Und see handels route, in Achamenidischer zeit und in der Zeit Alexanders des Grossen.* (Pers. Golf) Bonner Jahrbucher 162 1962 4ff., 60. In Markianos I, 28 ff. (Muller, *Geographi Graeci Minores,* I, 532 ff.). Mousarna appears as the boundary between Gedrosia and Karmania and the city from which the Coastal distances are reckoned. Brown (*Onesicritus,* Univ. of California, 1914, p. 114) draws our attention to the "strange correspondence" between Strabo's figure of 7,400 stades for the length of the Ichthyophagan Coast (15, 2, IC 720) and the sum of the distances from Mosarna to Karmania border in the *Indika.*

23. Nearchus in F. Jacoby, *Op. cit.,* No. 133, F.I. (Arrian. *Ind.* 32, 7).

place of origin by the Arabians, who carried it to the western world.[24] In fact the route followed by Nearchus was not a new one. Before him the voyage of Skylax had also incorporated the difficult circumnavigation of Arabian also in addition to the distance travelled by Nearchus. But it was probably on account of the decline of Persian empire that the information's contained in Skylax' report were almost forgotten and Alexander had to revive it by motivating Searches to take this arduous Voyage. In the history of navigation the voyage of Searches is considered to be of great significance. W. Smith remarks that, "it is the first event of general importance to mankind."[25]

In the development of cities in North west India the Greek accounts of the period also speak about the contributions made by the foreign immigrants. Alexander is said to have established cities named Boukephalia[26] and Nikaia,[27] in the kingdom of Poros. The other cities he had founded on the upper Cherub river,[28] the one on the confluence of the Chenab and the Indus[29] and another one in the country of the Sogdians'.[30] During his expedition in India Alexander also came across a town Nysa in the Swat Valley whose inhabitants claimed to have descended from Dionysus, the "divine Greek conqueror of India". They welcomed Alexander as a fellow Greek and led him to the mountain sacred to the God of wine.[31] Nysa had an administration modelled on Greek proto-types. The city of Nysa appears to have been established by the Greek merceneries,

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24. H. Berger, *De Geographischen Fragmenta Des Eratosthenes* (Leipzig, 1880), F. III B. 48, p. 291 (Strabo, XV, 4, 4). Also see W.W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization,* p. 244.

25. Dr. Vincent, *Voyage of Nearchus,* pp. 1-2. Also see Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography,* Vol. I, 525 ff., who had made a comparison of Nearchus, Voyage with his predecessor's account of Scylax.

26. F. Jacoby, *Op. cit.,* Chares, No. 125, F. 18 (Gell. V, 2, 1).

27. Strabo, XV, 1, 29 (attributed to Aristobulus by Tarn, *Alexander the Great,* pt. II, p. 34).

28. Arrian, *Anabasis,* V, 29, 3. This is probably the Alexandria-Ionousa mentioned by Claucius Ptolemy, *Geography,* VII, 1, 46. Cf. W.W. Tarn. *Alexander the Great,* pt. II, p. 237.

29. Arrian, *Anabasis,* VI, 15, 2.

30. Arrian, *Anabasis,* VI, 15, 4.

31. *Ibid.* V, 1-2.

who had come to India in Darius army. A large number of tham, fatigued from prolonged fighting or disabled in bloody and brutal battles, chose to settle down in India rather than undertake the long and arduous journey to home. That there must have been some more towns of this type in the North-western provinces and that the Greek immigrants were the familiar figures, is attested by the grammarian Pāṇini in the 5th C.B.C.[32] The cities established by Alexander the Great had become centres of Greek culture and of intercommunication between India and Greece.

Foreign trade, an important causative factor for the rise of urban centres and the ninth criterian of urbanisation in the scheme of Childe must have been developed as a result of the opening of the land and sea routes mentioned above. The Greek accounts of this period speak about various items of export, and industries developed in India. Indian textile industry was well established at this time. In Herodotus[33] description of wool bearing wild Indian tree used for clothing, we can well recognise his reference to cotton. The Indian mercenaries in Persian army were reported by Herodotus as having their uniforms in cotton.[34] In the work of the same author occurs the word "sindon" for muslin,[35] which appears to have been named after the place of its origin in Sindhu. The usage of the word 'Karpasis' in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*[36] for cotton was evidently from the Sanskrit 'Kārpāsa', while the types known as monache and sagmatogene were the Greek corruptions of Indian cotton used for making garments.[37]

The influx of Chinese silk for which India was an intermediary between China and the West in the early Christian era can be traced in North-Western India from the 5th C.B.C. The sereṣ of the Greek accounts, who have been identified with the people living in the north-western part of China, the adjacent

32. George Woodcock, *The Greeks in India,* 21ff.
33. Herod, II, 106.
34. Herod, VII, 65.
35. Herod., I, 200; II, 25.
36. *Perip,* 41.
37. W.H. Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (Eng. trans. and notes. Philadelphia, 1914), p. 72.

parts of Tibet and Chinese Tartary[38] were mentioned first by Ktesias, as manufacturers of silk along with the Indians of upper India.[39] The Seres may therefore be said as having commercial connection with India almost from 5th C.B.C. in the production and sale or rather of export of silk and silken products. Alexander's companion Nearchus too had heard about the seric fabrics in N.W. India[40] i.e. the silk in raw state imported from China. So far as the Indian sources are concerned Kauṭilya is the first author to refer not only the goods of Chinese origin but also the word Seres. When referring to various types of skin, he mentions those of 'godhera', 'Seraca', 'dvipi',[41] etc. As the word 'sereka' does not appear to be the name of any animal, it is possible that Kauṭilya alludes to the type of skins from the serike country. This was in accordance with Kauṭilya's practice of adopting the name of countries to denote origin of products.[42]

There were certain kinds of timber for which India was famous from antiquity. In a society which had just begun to taste the fruits of urbanisation and where burnt bricks had not become common, the wood and worker in weed become important for society. The celebrated Indian timber which repeatedly finds mention in Greek accounts was ebony. Herodotus had recorded that the Kalantian Indians and the Ethiopians brought among other gifts, to the Persian king Darius I as tribute, logs of ebony.[43] As according to Herodotus such ebony tribute continues from the reign of Darius I (521 - 482 B.C.) to the days of Herodotus (484 - 431 B.C.) himself, it may be justly inferred that the Indian ebony was exported from India to Persia from 6th C.B.C. onward. The mention

38. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy* (London, 1885), BK. I, Ch. XV, p. 9, F. ns. 6-7, 4.9-10. Bostock, Pliny's *Natural History* (Eng. trans. in 6 vols. London, 1855-57), II, p. 36, f.n. 6.

39. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ktesias the Knidian* (Bombay, 8882), p. 46; Also see Aristotle, *De Hist. Anim.*, VIII, 28.

40. F. Jacoby, *Op. cit.*, Nearchus No. 133, F-19 (Strabo, XIV, 1, 20).

41. Shama Shastri, Kauṭilya *Arthaśāstra*, B.K. II, C. XVII, p. 108, text p. 100.

42. *Kaut. Arth.*, BK. II, ch. XVII, p. 108, text, p. 100. Kauṭilya mentions the Haimavata, Kalingaka and Daradaka, which the connentatir explains as the products of the Himalayas, the Kalinga and Darada Countries.

43. Herod., III, ch. 97.

of Indian ebony in Megasthenes,[44] Theophrastus[45] Virgil[46] & *Periplus*[47] attest the continuation of its experts in subsequent periods too.

An important aspect of wood worker's Craft was building boats and ships, Herodotus [48] and Ktesias[49] refer to the large specimens of the Indian bamboo, used for making boats and ships. The companions of Alexander report the skill of Indian Craftsmen of North-western region engaged in the art of ship building. The evidence of Pāṇini,[50] who belonged to the same area speaks about the boat ferry which was called 'navya'. These evidences indicate that the ship building had already become a flourishing industry in North-western region at the time of Persian domination.

Among the precious stones, Ktesias in the 5th C.B.C. mentions the gems known as 'Pantarba' and the mountain from which the Onyx, sardine and other steal stones were brought in the Persian empire.[51] His 'Pantarba' gem has been interpreted as a changing stone agate or sun-agate remarkable for the variety of colours it displayed when thrown into the water.[52] The Indian Onyx known to Ktesias in Persia was greatly valued into the western world. Writing about onyx in the days of Romans, Pliny states that the most esteemed Onyx was from Carmania the next being the produce of India and then came those of Syria and Asia.[53]

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44. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian.* (London, 1877), p. 56.
45. Theophrastus, *Hist. Plan.*, IV, 4, 6.
46. Virgil, *Georg.*, BK. II, lines 1167-117. He speaks in glowing terms of the ebony tree, one of which was peculiar to India and states that it would grow in no other country. But Herodotus had observed that it also grew in Ethiopia.
47. *Pārip,* (36), p. 36.
48. Herod., III, 98.
49. F. Jacoby, *Op. cit.,* Ktes. No. 688, F. 45 (14) and F. 45 (Tzetz, *Chil.,* 7, 738-41).
50. Pāṇini, VI, 4, 9.
51. F. Jacoby, *Op. cit.,* Ktes. No. 688, F. 45 (6).
52. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ktesias the Knidian* (Calcutta, 1882), pp. 7-8.
53. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.,* VI, 12.

From the excavation at Bhir Mound strata (5th-3rd B.C.) in Taxila 752 beads of semi precious stones have been recovered. Among them the prime favourite was *carnelian* (417), with agate, to which it is closely related, a good second (191). Then comes the colourless quartz crystal. The same preferential order occures at all periods. Other stones common at all the settlements of Taxila but much more sparingly used, were chalcedony, garnet, Jasper and lapislazuli. Black agate is represented by a few specimens in all the Bhir-Mound strata, but not at all in Sirkep.[54]

Alexander's companions came to know the method of procuring pearls during their Campaign. One of Alexander's followers Androsthenes of Thasos[55] and Chief usher Chares[56] had some information of the varieties of pearls and the chief fisheries. According to Nearchus along the coast of Persia at a place called Ilos near an island called Caicandros, pearls were caught as in the Indian sea.[57] The allusion here may be to the island of Behrein but what is interesting is that Nearchus was certainly aware of pearl fishing at that period in the Indian ocean.[58]

One of the basic factors responsible for the second phase of urbanisation was the increased use of iron. The Sūtra literature refers to various implements of iron, mainly associated with agriculture.[59] These references thus indicate the growing dependence of agriculture on iron technology. But the Early Greek accounts on N.W. India although speak highly about the quality of Indian iron, they are silent about the iron implements employed in Agriculture. They refer mainly to iron weapons. Herodotus mentions the Indian mercenaries distinguishable on account of their cotton uniform and iron tipped arrows in the army of Xerxes.[60] Mardonius, the brilliant young nephew of Darius and the moving spirit of Xerxes invasion was reported by Herodotus to have recruited en

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54. John Marshall, *Taxila.* in three Vols. (Reprint from Delhi, (1975), Vol. II, pp. 729-31.
55. F. Jacoby, *op. cit.,* Androsthenes, No. 711, F. I (Athen. 3, 45, p. 93 A.C.).
56. *Ibid.,* Chares, No. 125, F. 3(Athen, III, 45, p. 93 C D).
57. F. Jacoby, *op. cit.,* Nearchus No. 133, F. I (Arrian, *Indika,* 38, 1-3).
58. R.N. Saletore, *Early Indian Economic History,* (Bombay, 1973), pp. 262-263.
59. Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras,* (Delhi, 1983), p. 136.
60. Herod., VII, 65.

messe the mercenaries from India, while only selected few from other nations.[61] It was certainly on account of their superior quality of iron tipped arrows and skill in the war that the Indian mercenaries were held in great repute in the Persian empire. Ktesias at the Persian court mentions two remarkable swords of Indian steel, which had come into in his possession.[62] He had also heard in Persia about an iron in some part of India which was placed in the bottom of a well and had special properties of averting snow, hail, thunder and lighting.[63] The N.W. Indian tribes of Malloi and Oxydracae are reported to have presented through their ambassaders one hundred talents of iron bans, which has been suggested as bright Indian iron 'ferrum candidum.'[64] The steel swords which were in the possession of Ktesias may be of the same material.[65]

The recent archaeological discoveries in India have clearly established that the steel proper was firstly made in India & the famous wootz process, i.e., conversion of wrought iron into steel by the so called crucible method was known to innovative Indian metallurgist even in 7th-6th C.B.C.[66] The early Greek reports regarding iron coincide with archaeology of the North-Western region, which contrary to *Sūtra* literature reveals mainly the iron objects used in the war in the early historical phase.Among the iron objects discovered by Marshall with the contemporary Bhir Mound strata at Taxila, we have 14 war weapons, 3 agricultural implements, 4 house hold utensiles, 1 elephant goad and remaining 12 are Carpenters and black smith's tools which were used for preparing various types of iron objects. Among the 14 iron weapons were included 10 arrow-heads, 2 swords, 1 Javelin and 1 spear-head.[67] It is noteworthy here that the arrow-heads which had put the soldiers from N.W. India in high esteem in the Persian Empire are in majority at Bhir Mound strata

61. *Ibid.,* VII, 113.

62. F. Jacoby, *op. cit.,* Ktes. No. 688, (F. 45 (a)).

63. *Ibid.* According to Lassen (Quoted by McCrindle in *Anct. India as Described by Ktes. the Knidian.,* p. 68) this may be a reference to lighting conductor.

64. Cf. Rufs Q. Curtius, *History of Alexander,* Ch. VIII.

65. McCrindle, *The Invas. of Ind. by Alex. the Great* (Westminster 1806), p. 252, f.n. 1.

66. H.C. Bharadwaj, "Indian Contribution to Steel Making in Antiquity", in History and Culture- *B.P. Sinha Felicitation Volume,* Ed., B. Sahai, (Delhi, 1987), 383 ff.

67. Marshall, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, 533 ff.

in Taxila. The analysis and micro-examinations of selected specimen from Taxila fully corroborate the high quality of its iron and steel.[68] That the region continued to remain in prominance for iron and steel in the 2nd C.A.D. is evident from the text *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. The *Periplus* speaks about the export of Indian Iron and steel to Abssina.[69] It speaks of the town Proklais from Pukkhalāvatī (Puṣkalāvatī) as a great trade emporium of Gandhara. The Pahlavi 'polavaten' and New Persian 'pulad' for steel appears to be an adjectival noun from middle India 'pokkalavata' a derivative of the town Pokkhalavati, mentioned as Peucolaotis by Alexander's Companions. On the basis of the early Greek accounts of Herodotus and Ktesias, corroborated by the archaeological evidence of Bhir-Mound, it may be assumed that the iron industry during the early historical period in North-western India was geared up to meet the military requirements of the various ambitious warring states.[70]

It is to be noted further that out of the 221 iron objects discovered at Taxila, more than four fifth come from the Saka-Parthian strata of Sirkap and some early medieval monasteries, and less than one fifth from the Bhir-Mound and the early settlements in Sirkap. This disparity according to Marshall, must not be taken to imply that iron at Taxila was less common in the centuries before than in the centuries after Christ. It is simply because iron, which is peculiarly liable to corrosion and disintegration has the best chance of survival when subjected to great heat (without of course being melted) and then buried in wood ash, and that these conditions were fulfilled only in the case of the objects found in some of the 'Saka-Parthian building of Sirkap and the later monastries. In the lower settlements of Sirkap and in the Bhir-Mound no such general conflagaration appear to have occurred.'[71] In fact the iron was extensively used in early historical period. On a much larger scale than the bronze used by the Harappans. It is believed that it was probably on account of their week technological base that the Harappan cities could not survive for long, where no such thing happened after the emergence of second urbanisation.

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68. *Ibid.*, 534-535.
69. *Perip*, 5-6.
70. S.Doshi (ed.), ***India and Greece-Connection and Parallels*** (Marg. pub., 1985), p. 20.
71. Marshall *op. cit.*, p. 533.

Among other metals, gold was reported to be in abundance. Herodotus mentions that the Indian province in the Persian Empire was giving the highest tribute to the Persian Emperor, which was 360 talents of gold dust.[72] Regarding its source he writes that it was obtained in the form of gold dust from a desert near the country of Derdai guarded by the gold digging ants. The rest was partly dug and partly brought down by the river.[73] The gold according to Ktesias was obtained from the mountains guarded by griffins.[74] He also speaks about a spring of moist.[75] which according to Lassen was a cistern, while he views the passage as a whole as evidence of giving knowledge of how to obtain gold by melting the ore.[76] Ktesias report on the silver mines that they were not as deep as these in Bactria[77] appears to be based on actual fact. The mining experts of Alexander are reported to have seen the gold and silver mines in some mountainous region of North-Western India, but they had found the people as inexperienced in the art of mining and smelting.[78] Megasthenes too probably deriving his informations from Herodotus mentioned gold mines in Dardistan.[79] His remark that the "Indians were at elementary stage in the mining technology for they did not even know how to separate gold from dross should also be understood for the North-Western India only, for the *Arthaśāstra*[80] shows a highly developed skill in mining and a large number of officers connected with it under the Mauryans in North-Eastern India.

Herodotus statement of mentioning abundance of gold in the region around Indus poses the problem as the source of this gold has not yet been

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72. Herod., III, 97.
73. Herod., III, 102-106.
74. F. Jacoby, *op. cit.,* Ktes. No. 688, F-45h (Aelian, *N.A.* , IV, 27); F-45 (26). In this reference Tarn (*Greeks in Bactria and India,* p. 105) finds a clue to the import of gold from Siberia.
75. F. Jacoby, *op. cit.,* Ktes., No. 688, F-45 (a)).
76. Quoted byt McCrindle, *India as Described by Ktes. the Knid.* (Calcutta, 188), p. 68.
77. *Ibid.,* p. 69.
78. F. Jacoby, *op. cit.,* Onesic, No. 134, F. 21 (Strabo, XV, 1, 30).
79. *Ibid.,* Megasth. No. 715, F. 23b (Strabo, XV, 1, 44). Herod. III, 106.
80. *Arthaśāstra,* II. 12.

ascertained. On the subject of his 'ant-gold' much has been written,[81] but the last word has yet to be said. The old idea that India was a land of gold, which may writers still persist in repeating, was perhaps due to the fact that so much wealth was sunk in gold jewellary, but it is certainly wide of the mark.

The gold from the excavation of Taxila also has been unearthed in the form of Jewellery, of the 213 items of Jewellery from Taxila almost all gold, the majority to the number of 180, come from the later strata in the city of Sirkap and belong with few exceptions to the first C.A.D. After that comes Bhir-Mound from where 27 pieces, dated between 5th to the end of 3rd C. or the early 2nd C.B.C., have been discovered. The remaining six come from the Buddhist settlements at the Dharmarājika, Jaulian and Giri.[82]

Among the minerals, Alexander's companion Onesiritus, referring to rock salt writes, "It is said that in the territory of Sopeithes, there is a mountain composed of fossile salt, sufficient for the whole of India.[83] Cunningham had identified this region with the well-known rock mines of the salt Range in the whole of the upper portion of the sind-sugar Doab which, he held, must have been once included in the territories of Sopeithes.[84] These salt ranges continued to remain in prominence even in the days of Pliny.[85] According to him these salt ranges were bringing in a larger revenue to the sovereigns of these countries than that arising from their gold and pearls. If this statement of Pliny is coupled with Kauṭilya's regulations and official control directives are to be given any credence, then we may infer that such salts must have been exported, for local sales alone could hardly have netted for the government the largest revenue.[86]

The ivory objects of India had become famous in the west from the very beginning. On the basis of the occurrence of the word 'elephas' for ivory in Homer, and its similarity with the Sanskrit 'albhi', the scholars have tried to trace

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81. Bunbury, *Hist. of Anct. Geography,* (New York-1959, reprint), Vol. I, p. 257; Blakslay's commentary on Herodotus (London, 1854); McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature* (West minister, 1901), p. 44.
82. Marshall, *op. cit.,* p. 616.
83. F. Jacoby, *op. cit.,* Onesic., No. 134, F. 21 (Strabo, XV, 1, 30).
84. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India,* (New edition, Delhi, 1979), p. 180.
85. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* V, BK XXXI, ch. 39.
86. R.N. Saletore, *op. cit.,* p. 251.

its export from India even in the days of Homer.[87] Herodotus reports that the Calantian Indians and the Ethiopians together were paying in tribute 20 elephant tusks along with many other items.[88] Nearchus refers to earrings of ivory used by the rich Indians[89]. Ivory was used in Taxila for the manufacture of a multitude of small objects of daily use, personal ornaments, toilet and domestic articles, toy furniture and other miscellanious things. Among the ivory objects which have been found only in Bhir-Mound (500-300 B.C.) are ear-reels, spindle whorls, & draughtmen or Counters.[90]

Another important item of export was the Indian purple dye. Ktesias (late 5th C.B.C.) has presented for us the details of the Indian purple which according to him was obtained from two sources from a kind of insect and also a specific flower. From his account we come to know that the robes tinted with this dye were exported to Persia and acknowledged by the Persians as superior to these exported by the celebrated Tyrean people, known all the world over.[91]

With the growth of urban culture there emerged a class which became engaged solely in preparing scents and unguents for the sophisticated citizens of the cities. From Ktesias account it may rightly be suggested that the use of perfume probably originated from India rather than Persia and the Persians seem to have known the use of scents from this country. Referring to the Indian Cinnamon-flowers called 'Karpion' (unguent of roses) by him, he mentions the oil which oozes from them. This red coloured thic oil was reported by Ktesias as having the sweetest smell in all over the world. Ktesias saw that oil with the king of the Persians, which was presented to him by some Indian king.[92] This scented oil can be identified with the Sanskrit 'Kuruṅte', Tamil, Malyalam 'Karuppu' or 'Karppa' or 'Karappatailaṁ', namely, oil of Cinnamon. It is said to have been derived from the Sanskrit, 'Karpūra' (Camphor) which is claimed to be a product

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87. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasth. and Arrian* (Calcutta, 1877), p. 3 (Introduction).
88. Herod. III, 97.
89. F. Jacoby, *op. cit.*, Nearchus. No. 133, F. 11 (Arr. *Ind.*, XVI).
90. Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 651.
91. F. Jacoby, *op. cit.*, Ktes, No. 688, F. 45 (38 and 39).
92. *Ibid.*, F. 45 (47).

of the Cinnamon tree the 'Camphora officianarum'.[93] Ktesias also relates that the first use of unguents became known to the Greeks from the Persians who had obtained it from India.[94]

Among some other Indian products Ktesias living in Persia knew about the pepper,[95] Cocoa-palms,[96] oil obtained from sesame and nut and the wine[97]. Ktesias refers to wine exported from India as the sweetest and claims to have tasted it himself while living in Persia[98]. Indians were mentioned as lover of alcohlic drinks by the companions of Alexander. According to Chares, Alexander had organised a drinking contest after the funeral of Kalanos, which was in accordance with some Indian Custom.[99] But such view can be accepted as true only for some particular people of North-Western frontier only, which was exposed to various foreign influences.

An amusing description in Nearchus is about the imitation of Macedonian articles by the Indians. They were the imitation of the natural sponges used by the Macedonians and also learnt from them to make oil bottles and scrapers.[100] The natives might have been motivated to make such articles for the need of the Macedonians. In connection with the Indian art of weaving he mentions the closely woven linen cloth used for writing.[101] Speaking about the leather industry of the Indians, Nearchus mentioned the shoes of the Indians as the white-leathered, elaborately ornamented, variegated and thick soled.[102] He highly praises the technical ingenuity of Indians in making brass vessels. He

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93. R.N. Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 239.
94. McCrindle, *Anct. India as Described by Ktes. the Knid.*, pp. 29-30.
95. F. Jacoby, *op. cit.*, Ktes. No. 688, F. 63 (10 ann. Lyd. De mens. 4, 14).
96. *Ibid.*, F. 45 (28).
97. For Various types of Indian Oils in the account of Ktesias see *Ibid.*, F. 45 (25), F. 45 (46-47), F. 45 R (Ael., *N.A.*, 53).
98. F. 45 (48).
99. F. Jacoby, *op. cit.*, Chares, No. 125, F. 19a (Athen. *Des.* X, 49, 437 A B); F. 19b (Plut. *Alex.*, 70).
100. F. Jacoby, *op. cit.*, Nearch. No. 133, F. 23 (Strabo, XV, I, 67).
101. *Ibid.*
102. *Ibid.*, F. 11 (Arr. Ind., XVI, 5).

reported that the vessels of this brass if fell on the ground were broken into pieces like earthenware.[103]

The description of the various items as narrated above reveals us that the trade along with the development of various arts and crafts in North-Western India were great contributory factors in the urbanisation. The towns in this region must have been thriving with various craftsmen, ivory-workers, perfumers, weavers, carpenters, jewellers, etc.

Trade was greatly facilitated by the use of coined money in urban economy. The extensive use of coinage in N.W. India may be attested both by literary and archaeological evidence. Deriving his information from one of the accounts of Alexander's Companions Curtius explicitly tells us that Taxile, the king of Taxila, gave to Alexander, among other presents, two hundred talents of what he called 'Signati argenti'. According to Curtius "the mode of manufacturing these coins was first to get ready a hammered sheet, which was then cut into strips and sub-divided into lengths of approximately the desired weight, which was adjusted by Clipping the corners when necessary."[104] From this piece of information we learn how the 'signati argenti', representing silver punch-marked coins, were actually made ready for circulation. That such an inference is correct has been fairly corroborated by the dicovery of a hoard of coins in the 2nd strata of the Bhir-Mound assigned to middle of the 4th C.B.C. This hoard contained two coins of Alexander the Great, one of Philip Aridaeus (who died in 316 B.C.) in the mint condition, 33 bent bar coins, 79 māsaka-coins and 1055 punch marked coins of the usual type. Their weight has been in general 176.8 grains.[105]

Among some independent professionals associated with urbanism the profession of doctor is valued most. With the growth of urbanisation the Doctors were given a high status in the society. The *Sūtra* texts, which have a predilection for rural life have disparaged the profession of a doctor.[106] It was with

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103. *Ibid.*, F. 23 (Strabo, XV, 1, 67).

104. McCrindle, The Invasion of Ind. by Al. the Gr., p. 83 (Vit. Alex., VIII, 12, 14).

105. Allan, *Beginning of Coinage in India*, p. 377.

106. Āpastamba, I, 6, 19, 14; 6, 18, 6-18 and 21; Gautama, XVII, 17; Vasiṣṭha, XIV, 1-10 and 19.

the emergence of Buddhism and Jainism that the medical science was developed in India. The early Greek accounts of N.W. India speak highly about the skill of Indian physicians. It is notable that among the sciences, it was only medical science which had attracted the early Greek authors on India. Ktesias found the Indians as long-lived and free from all the diseases, which was on account of their simple diet.[107] Like Ktesias Alexander's Companions had also found the Indians as free from all diseases, which was on account of their simple diet, teetotalling and the genial seasons in their country.[108] Alexander's Companion Onesicritus in his description of the land of Mousicanos in India, writes that they made no accurate study of the sciences except that of medicine, for they regarded too much training in some of them as wickedness; for example military science and like.[109]

The Indian technique of healing the wound, caused by snakebiting, was greatly commended by the Macedonians. Nearchus commented that whereas the Greek physicians were unable to cure a person bitten by snake, the Indians knew the cure. Alexànder had all the most skilful of the Indians in the healing art, collected around him in the Macedonian Camp for their services. These physicians were able to cure other types of pains and diseases also.[110] This was an important difference from Egypt. In Egypt according to Herodotus each doctor had specialised in one disease,[111] but according to Nearchus the Indian physicians were equally prepared to cure snake bite or any other ailments, a remark, which perhaps Nearchus would have not made unless he had Herodotus in mind.

Onesicritus finds India as abounding in medical herbs. He refers to a traditional law prevalent among the Indians which pronounced death upon any man revealing a new poison; unless he at the same time revealed a remedy of it,

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107. F. Jacoby, op. cit., Ktes. No. 688, F. 45 (32).

108. *Ibid.,* Nearch. No. 133, F. 10a (Arr. *Ind.* 15), F. 10b (Strabo, XV, 1, 45); Onesic., No. 134, F. 20 (Strabo, XV, 1, 34).

109. Onesic., F. 20 (Strabo, XV, 1, 34).

110. Nearch. F. 10a (Arr. *Ind.* 15).

111. Herod. II, 77.

if he did both, he received a reward from the king.[112] This clearly indicated that Medical Science in North-Western ancient India particularly the discovery of the poisonous substance, had received a proper state control, backing and remunerative patronage through the strict medico-legal state laws[113].

Filliozat has opined that Indian medicine was accessible to the Greek world through Achaemenian Empire before the invasion of Alexander the great. After the return of Alexander, introduced with new drugs, the Greeks must have wished to acquire them. This is suggested by the fact that Chandragupta Maurya sent some medicine as a present to Seleucus.[114]

The professionals such as jugglers, singers, musicians etc. received patronage, encouragement from the aristocratic section of the urban society. Indian jugglers were mentioned by Alexander's Companion Chares of Mytilene during the mass nuptial ceremony of Alexander and his companions in Persia.[115] Onesicritus described them as carrying cymbals, drums and castanets.[116]

In connection with the life in Taxila we have an interesting account of Gymnosophists (naked saints). Alexander's Companion Aristobulus[117] reports that in Taxila he saw two of such sages, both Brahmans; their spare time was spent in the market places; in respect of their being public counsellors they received great homage, and had the privilege of taking without payment whatever they wanted that was offered for sale.

The association of Brahmana ascetics with the city as narrated in the above account was unpalatable to the orthodox Brahmanical school. Gautama forbids the study of *Vedas* in the town.[118] Baudhāyana makes his attitude very clear by declaring that nobody living in the city with his body covers with the

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112. Onesic., No. 134, F. 22 (Strabo, XV, 1, 22). Although the Loeb text attributes this statement to Aristobulus, Jacoby connects it with Onesicritus.

113. *La Doctrine Classique de la Medicine Indienne* (1949), 212 ff.

114. F. Jacoby, *op. cit.,* Phylarchus, No. 81, F. 35b (Athen., I, 32, 18DE).

115. *Ibid.,* Chares, No. 125, F. 4 (Athen., XII, 54, 538b-539a).

116. *Ibid.,* Onesic., No. 134, F. 22 (Strabo, XV, 1, 22).

117. *Ibid.,* Aristob., No. 139, F. 41 (Strabo, XV, 1, 61); Onesic., F. 17 (Strabo, XV, 1, 65).

118. Gaut. VII, 45.

dust of the city and his eyes and mouth filled with it can attain salvation even if he leads an austere life.[119] In fact the ethos pervading the law texts is definitely oriented towards ruralism. The Gymnosophists of Taxila who were encountered by Alexander appear to be Digambar Jains and not Brahmana ascetics. In fact the hetrodox sects of Buddhism and Jainism had played a crucial role in making the atmosphere congenial for urban growth. The rural-urban antagonism does not occur in Buddhist and Jain literature.

Except the reference of fortification, the Early Greek accounts of N.W. India do not refer to truly monumental buildings which has also been considered by Childe as the Criterion of city. This silence is not without significance, for had they seen any monument of an imposing or striking character, we may be tolerably sure that we should have heard of it. The excavations done in the area do not reveal any monumental building. Even Taxila is lacking that. John Marshall has himself accepted that 'Taxila in the 4th C.B.C. no doubt a large and densly populated city, had no architecture worthy the name.[120] In fact not only in the period taken up in this paper, but in entire Greek and Roman accounts of Ancient India, the description of a monumental architecture is absent except a solitary account of the Mauryan palace by Megasthenes.[121] The phenomenon of the absence of monumental building may thus be accepted as true for not only North-Western India but India in general.

The absence of burial practice among the Aryans, the floods, the use of perishable wooden material may be explained as some of the reasons on account of which the material remains of early historical India could not survive till our times. On account of the absence of burial practice, an archaeologist in India does not find magnificent tombs along with their rich and varied artefacts, as unearthed from various sites in Middle East, Greece and Rome, Megasthenes has rightly commented on this phenomenon, "The Indians do not rear monument to the deads, but consider the virtues which men have displayed in life, and the songs in which their praises are celebrated, sufficient to preserve their memory after death".[122] In this observation of Megasthenes, a foreigner's attempt to

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119. Baudh., II, 3, 6, 33.

120. Marshall, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 20.

121. F. Jacoby, *op. cit.,* Megasth., Jac. No. 715, 18a (Arr. *Ind.* X, 6-7); F. 18b (Strabo, XV, 1, 36).

122. F. Jacoby, *op. cit.,* Megsth. No. 715, F. 15 (Arr. Ind. X, 1).

understand the outlook of the Indians and their attitude towards monuments is quite admirable.

It will also be relevant to point out here that the construction of an imposing monument requires plentiful supply of labourers to work on the project. In the Greek and Roman world, such imposing monuments could be built with employment of a large number of slaves. The primary fact for the Greek slavery was that the supply was plentiful and relatively cheap. An average slave in Athens was not much more than might be accepted on his keep for a year. At the time of Athens' greatest prosperity and highest citizen population, the slaves were estimated between 80,000-100,000 an average of about one and a half slaves to every adult citizen, or about one in four of the entire population.[123] Coming to this phenomenon in India Alexander's companion Onesicritus had found the absence of slavery in the state of Mousicanos in N.W. India.[124] Later on, Megasthenes, report extended this phenomenon for the whole of India.[125] But this statement of Megasthenes does not tally with numerous references to slavery in Indian literature. In fact while viewing India the Greek traveler has in his mind the slavery of his country, which India did not know in any historical period. The recognizable slave population with their abundant supply like Greece, was absent in India. The slaves in India were never numerous not plentiful and that they were employed in domestic work rather than in making building or working in fields and mines. According to Kauṭilya slave retains personal as well as property rights.[126] It may thus be accepted as one of the solid grounds, on account of which the imposing architecture like Greece, Rome or Egypt could not be built in India.

The knowledge of writing and alphabet has also been taken among one of the essential traits of early urbanization by Childe and many others. The material evidence of writing during the period of second urbanization in India occurs first in Aśokan edicts. But its highly evolved form in the Mauryan period leads us to believe that the writing in India must have been much older. In the 5th C.B.C. Greek script was well-known in North-Western India as Pāṇini, a

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123. Antony Andrewes, *Greek Society* (Pelican), p. 148.

124. *Ibid.,* Onesic., No. 134, F. 20 (Strabo, XV, 1, 34).

125. *Ibid.,* Meg. No. 715, F. 32 (Strabo, XV, 1, 54); F. 6 (Arr. *Ind.* X, 8).

126. Arthaśāstra, II, 15; II, 24. Basham, *The wonder that was India* (paper back) p. 154.

resident of Śalātur not far from Taxila speaks about the script of the Greeks.[127] Alexander's admiral of the fleet Nearchus came to know about the letters written on closely woven clothes in North-Western region.[128] Thus the first definite literary evidences for the art of writing in ancient India come from North-Western India.

Thus the Greek accounts furnish valuable data on North-Western India during the earlier period of the second phase of urbanization in ancient India. The notion that during the second phase the developments were shifted from North-Western to North-Eastern region does not appear to be valid on the basis of the early Greek accounts. As pointed above North-Western India had all the essential ingredients of urban pattern at the time when first Greek accounts were written, we may conclude, if not prior then at least together the cities were developing both in the bordering and interior Gangetic region.

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127. Pāṇini, IV, 1, 49.

128. F. Jacoby, op. cit., Nearch., No. 133, F. 23 (Strabo, XV, 1, 67).

RECENT EVIDENCE ON THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

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The Sātavāhanas ruled over an extensive territory comprising modern state of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and parts of Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh, and Maharashtra can be reasonably described as the centre of their vast empire. Besides establishing a strong state, they also contributed substantially to the growth and development of religion, society, economy and literature. Just as the Kushanas controlled a large part of Northern India, the Sātavāhanas did the same in the case of Deccan and South India. In spite of the work spread over the last nearly one and half centuries, there are certain problems concerning their political history which are still a dark corner.

However, discoveries during last nearly one and half decades have thrown welcome light on some of these problems.

These lines are intended to take a stock of these discoveries and to highlight the new evidence they have provided for the history of the Sātavāhanas.

There has been a keen controversy regarding the initial period of the Sātavāhana rule with most of the scholars holding that the Satavahanas were the immediate political successors of the Mauryas in the Deccan. And for quite some time this hypothesis appeared convincing, for there was no clear archaeological evidence then available to indicate a gap between them. In recent years, however, a lot of numismatic material bearing on this problem has come to light in course of systematic archaeological work as well surface collection from various sites in Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh, and we now know that the Mauryan punc hmarked coins were followed by uninscribed cast copper and

die-struck coins[1] as well as coins belonging to the Bhadra[2] and Mitra[3] dynasties which have to be assigned to the pre-Sātavāhana period.[4] It would thus follow that there was a considerable time gap between the termination of the Maurya rule and the commencement of that of the Sātavāhanas and that the latter event may be dated about the middle of the first century BC, preferably in the latter half, a date supported by other considerations as well.[5]

Consequent upon the discovery of the coins of a chief named Sātavāhana it was held by some scholars that he was the founder of the dynasty which was christened after him.[6] But the stratigraphy of the excavations at Nevasa[7] and typological considerations favour his identification with *Kumāra* Sātavāhana of a Naneghat label inscription.[8] The bronze[9] coins of Simuka Sātavāhana reported

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1. P.L. Gupta, 'Sātavāhana Coins from Excavation', *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations,* ed. Ajay Mitra Shastri, Nagpur, 1972, pp. 128 ff.; Ajay Mitra Shastri, 'Pre-Sātavāhana and Sātavāhana Coinage of the Deccan' (Presidential Address delivered at the 69th Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India at Sambalpur University on 18.10.1981), *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,* (*JNSI*) Xliv, pp. 1-4.

2. We have designated the dynasty by this name after the name-ending of its members. For the coins of Gobhadra, Satyabhadra and Damabhadra, See *Numismatic Digest,* ii (i), pp. 13-14; *ibid.,* ii (ii), pp. 28 ff; *ibid.,* iv (i), pp. 5-7; *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,* Diamond Jubilee Volume, pp. 963-67. A large number of Bhadra coins are in the collections of my friends Shri Raghunath Sanghi and Shri P.P. Kulkarni of Nagpur and Shri Kottamkar of Umred and are under study.

3. These coins under study by us form part of Shri P.P. Kulkarni's collection.

4. See *JNSI*, xliv, p. 4, for the chronological position of these and some other series of coins.

5. See Ajay Mitra Shastri, 'The Epoch of the Satavahana Rule: A Re-appraisal', *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from* Excavations, pp. 103-09.

6. V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology,* iii, Nagpur, 1962, pp. 1-9.

7. H.D. Sankalia *et al, From History to Pre-history at Nevasa,* Poona, 1960, pp. 18 ff, *JNSI,* xxii, p. 145. We find it difficult to accept the suggestion that there were 'several kings bearing the name Sātavāhana' (*ibid.,* p. 144; *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations.* p. 135).

8. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and* Civilization, i, Calcutta, 1965, p. 191, no. 6.

9. These, like many other coins, are popularly described as of copper; but a study of the metallic contents shows that they are actually of bronze.

recently from Kotalingala in the Karimnagar District of Andhra Pradesh[10] are definitely earlier than those of Sātavāhana, and it is likely that Sātavāhana was a part of or another name or appellation of the founder of the dynasty and that Sātavāhana of the coins was his grandson and, in keeping with the popular custom, named after his grandfather or grand-uncle, if the Puranic genealogy were to be followed. The discovery of the coins of Simuka is of great significance not only because they are the earliest monetary issues of the dynasty but also because they throw some light on the problem of the original home of the family in as much as they show that the founder of the dynasty ruled over an area including at least a part of Andhra, i.e. Telangana where the findspot of these coins is situated. They explain the genesis of their being described as Andhra or Andhra-jatiya in the Puranic accounts, while Sātavāhana, which alone is mentioned in their numerous inscriptions, was the name of the *kula* or family.[11] This suffices to dispose of the popular notion that the name Andhra or Andhra-jatiya is applied to them in the Puranas because towards the end their rule was confined to Andhra, for which there is hardly any basis.[12]

The Jaina tradition recorded in some mediaeval collections of popular tales knows of a Sātavāhana chief named Śaktikumāra,[13] and he was doubtfully equated in some quarters with *kumāra* Hakusiri of a Naneghat label inscription and Sati-siri of the larger inscription from the same site.[14] But till recently we had no definite evidence to corroborate his existence, and he was therefore generally disposed of as a legendary figure. But the recent discovery of a round lead coin found in excavations at Satanikota in the Kurnool District, Andhra

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10. *Numismatic Digest,* ii (i), pp. 10-13; *ibid.,* ii (ii), pp. 24-26.

11. The family is referred to as *Sātavāhana-kula* in the Nasik inscriptions of (the time of) *Kṛshṇa* and of the 19th regnal year of Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi. See D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.,* p. 189, textline 1; p. 204, text-line 6.

12. See Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Presidential Address", Section V, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress,* 39th Session, pp. 969-70; "Pre-Sātavāhana and Sātavāhana Coinage of the Deccan", *JNSI,* xliv, p. 7; "Closing Phase of the Sātavāhana Rule and Allied Issues", *Recent Studies in Sanskrit & Indology,* (Prof. J.N. Agrawal Felicitation Volume) ed. D.K. Gupta, Delhi, 1982. pp. 187-89.

13. *Vividha-tīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabhasūri, Singhi Jain Series, Vol. x, Santiniketan, V.S. 1991. Pratishṭhāna-pura-kalpa, pp. 61-64; *Vīracharita* of Ananta (M. Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature,* pp. 275-76).

14. D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.,* p. 191. no. 5; *ibid.,* p. 194, text-line 4.

Pradesh, bearing a group of devices and the Brāhmī legend *siri-Satakumārasa* on the obverse and a somewhat uniquely formed tree and river (in the form of a wavy line) with some aquatic creatures on the reverse puts a seal of historicity on him. It may further be mentioned that the coin has been reported from layers stratigraphically datable to early first century A.D., which should help us not only in dating this prince but also support a first century BC date for the rise of the Sātavāhana power.[15]

The order of succession after Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi, son and successor of the great Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, has been a vexed problem with historians offering divergent opinions. This was due to variant readings and interpretations of the relevant portion of the historical accounts of the Purāṇas.[16] The relevant coins give us the names of, besides Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi, Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Pulumāvi. But there was confusion regarding the identity of the last named monarch, and it was suggested that Śivaśrī was only an honorific and that Śivaśrī of the Purāṇas was identical with Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi and the coins bearing both the names, *viz.*, Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi and Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Pulumāvi, belong to the same ruler.[17] However, the discovery of a couple of silver coins of Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Pulumāvi bearing a portrait anatomically different from that of Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi has clinched the issue and demonstrated the separateness of the two kings.[18] A reasoned reconstitution of the relevant Purāṇic text also leads to the same conclusion, and we may reasonably conclude that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was succeeded by his sons (i) Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi, (ii) Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and (iii) Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Pulumāvi in this order. It is not our intention to deny the employment of *Śivaśrī* as an honorific as seems to have been the case with Āpilaka and Skanda Sātakarṇi on whose coins it is found so used but only to aver that in the case in question it was used as a proper name.[19]

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15. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress,* 39th Session, 1978, pp. 970-71 : *JNSI,* xliv, pp. 6-7; *Numismatic Digest,* v (i), pp. 8-14.
16. F.E. Pargiter, *The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age,* p. 42.
17. *JNSI.,* xxxi, pp. 151-154; *ibid.,* xxxiv, 210-12; *ibid.,* xlv, pp. 117-18.
18. *Journal of the Academy of Indian Numismatic and Sigillography,* iii, pp. 7-9; *Andhra Pradesh Journal of Archaeology,* i (ii), pp. 105-14.
19. Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Pulumavi", *Rangavalli : Recent Researches in Indology* (S.R. Rao Felicitation Volume), Delhi, 1983, pp. 151-62.

There has been divergence of opinion regarding the identity of Pulumāvi of the Myākadoni rock inscription,[20] though he is generally identified with the last monarch of the main line referred to as Pulomā in the Purāṇas.[21] Apart from palaeographical evidence which has formed so far the main basis of discussion, the inscription provides internal evidence which cannot but force us to date it later than all the other known records of the Sātavāhanas and consequently ascribe it to the last monarch of this name. Unlike any other Sātavāhana inscription, it introduce the king as 'of the Sātavāhanas' (*raño Sātavāhanānaṁ siri-Pulumāvisa*) in the very opening line in the fashion of the early Pallavas[22] and the Vākāṭakas[23] and in fact provides the earliest instance of this kind.

Pulumāvi III was, thus, the last ruler of the main line of the dynasty both according to the Purāṇas and epigraphic evidence and the close of the Sātavāhana rule is generally dated around 230 AD.[24] However, a close examination of the contents of the Tarhālā hoard of Sātavāhana coins tells another story about them in so far as Vidarbha is concerned. It contains coins of all the members of the family from Gautamīputra or, according to another view, Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi to Pulumāvi III, the last king.[25] In addition we have in this hoard coins of three other chiefs, *viz.*, Kaṇa Sātakarṇi, Kumbha Sātakarṇi and Śaka Sātakarṇi, for whom there is no room from the great Gautamīputra to

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20. *EI.* xiv, p. 155; Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 212; V.V. Mirashi, *The History and Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and Western Kshatrapas*, Bombay, 1981. Part II, pp. 85-87 where it is captioned 'Adoni rock inscription'.

21. V.S. Sukthankar (*EI.* xiv, pp. 143 ff.) was inclined to identify him with Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi.

22. See for examples, Manchaikallu pillar inscription of Siṁhavarman (Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 457) and Mayidavolu (*ibid.*, p. 458) and Hirahadagalli (*ibid.*, p. 462) plates of Śivaskandavarman.

23. In most of the Vākāṭaka inscriptions the kings are introduced as *Vākāṭakānām Mahārāja*, 'king of the Vākāṭakas'.

24. V.V. Mirashi, *The History and Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas.* Part I, p. 7.

25. It is now generally held that the hoard does not contain coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi though Mirashi, who published the hoard , attributed a good number of coins to him. For the hoard, see V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, iii, pp. 34-48.

the last member of his dynasty named in the Purāṇas. The irresistible conclusion forced upon us therefore is that the Sātavāhanas or a branch thereof continued to rule in Vidarbha for a few decades after the Sātavāhana rule had been wiped out from other territories under them not excluding Andhra. They continued to hold their own in this region till they were supplanted by Vākāṭakas sometime about the close of the third century AD.[26]

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26. Ajay Mitra Shastri. "Closing Phase of the Sātavāḥana Power and Allied Issues", *Recent Studies in Sanskrit and Indology,* (Prof. J.N. Agrawal Felicitation Volume) ed. D.K. Gupta, pp. 185-94.

IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS IN THE WESTERN DECCAN AND THEIR CHRONOLOGY

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Despite the controversial point about the chronology of the Sātavāhanas a broad outline of the history of this earliest major ruling dynasty from the Deccan has been brought; thanks to the persistent efforts of Indologists. According to the Purāṇas ten Ābhira kings ruled in the Deccan following the extinction of the Sātavāhana empire[1]. Their names have not been recorded. The duration of the Ābhira rule is also not certain, because in most of the Purāṇas it is given as sixtyseven years; whereas in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* it is mentioned as one hundred sixty seven years. Considering the number of rulers, there should not be any hesitation in accepting the latter figure as suggested by Dr. V.V. Mirashi[2]. It is rather unfortunate that very little is known about these immediate successors of the Sātavāhanas. In the present paper an attempt is made to highlight the genealogy and chronology of the Ābhiras and their contemporary rulers of the Western Deccan.

THE ABHIRAS :

There is a general consensus among scholars about the end of the Sātavāhana epoch, which is placed at the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. It appears from the epigraphical and numismatical evidences that though the Sātavāhana rule lingered in Andhra Pradesh and Vidarbha upto the third decade of the Third Century A.D., in western and central Maharashtra it ended with the death of the last prominent Sātavāhana king Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi, at about 203 A.D.[3]

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1. D.C. Sircar, (ed). *The Bharata War and Puranic genealogies,* Calcutta, 1969, p. 117.
2. V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indian History, Bombay,* 1984, p. 133, F.N. No. 3.
3. K.G. *Krishnan, Uttankita Sanskrit Vidyaranya Epigraphs,* Mysore 1989, Historical Perspective, p. XVII.

Since the Ābhiras were the immediate successors of the Sātavāhanas, their ruling period can be fixed from 203 to 370 A.D.

Inscriptions from Gujarat mention the names of a few Ābhira Chiefs, but they were the subordinates of the Western Kshatrapas.[4] The Nasik cave inscription of Māṭhariputra Iśvarasena is so far the earliest epigraph mentioning the name of an independent Ābhira king. The inscription describes him as the son of Ābhira Śivadatta and mentions year 9 which is obviously his reginal year.[5] According to V.V. Mirashi Ābhira Iśvarasena founded the Ābhira kingdom at the middle of the Third Century A.D. and started an era in 248-249 A.D. which later on came to be known as the Chedi-Kalachuri Era.[6]

Though followed by some historians Mirashi's theory about the authorship and chronology of the Chedi-Kalachuri era has been challenged recently by quite a few scholars. Recent epigraphic and numismatical discoveries are also revealing such information which goes against this theory. In the light of these evidences Mirashi's theory about the Chedi-Kalachuri era needs a reappraisal.

Coins of an independent ruler named as Mahākshatrapa Iśvaradatta have been reported from Maharashtra, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh. The Indore coin of this ruler helps in fixing his exact date. The coin has on one side the figure 154 which is taken to be the Śaka year and on the other side his fourth reginal year is mentioned. It thus gives Śaka 151 or A.D. 229 as the date of the accession of Mahākshtrapa Iśvaradatta. Dr. Shobhana Gokhale thinks that this Mahākshtrapa Iśvaradatta is identical with Abhira Māṭhariputra Iśvarasena.[7] Dr. I.K. Sarma has endorsed this view.[8] Drs. E.J. Rapson and Bhagwanlal Indraji had also linked Mahākshatrapa Iśvaradatta with the Ābhira dynasty.[9] Dr. Mirashi has recognised him as the immediate successor of the Sātavāhanas, but

4. V.V. Mirashi, *The history and inscriptions of the Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas, Bombay,* 1981, Ins. Nos. 52, 54, 61, 63 and 65.

5. Burgers and Bühler, Archaeological Survey of Western India, 1883, Vol. IV, p. 103, No. 12. E.I. Vol. VIII P. 88.

6. V.V. Mirashi, *C.I.I.* Vol. IV, Introduction.

7. Shobhana Gokhale, *JNSI,* Vol. XL. PP. 37 ff.

8. I.K. Sarma, *Coinage of the Satavahana Empire,* Delhi, 1977, P. 138.

9. E.J. Rapson, *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra dynasty, Oxford* 1967, Traikutaka Coins.

according to him Iśvaradatta was not an Ābhira king. The absence of the family name Ābhira on his coins, the 'datta' suffix to his name and his title Mahākshatrapa have been put forward as the grounds by Mirashi in support of his argument.

So far as the question of 'Datta' suffix is concerned, it is in favour of treating Iśvaradatta as a scion of the Ābhira dynasty, because Ābhira Iśvarasena's father was named as Śivadatta. Absence of the family name can hardly be taken as a ground as it rarely occurs in coin legends. The title Mahākshatrapa is probably the result of the imitation of the coinage of the Western Kshatrapas. Kshatrapa or Mahākshatrapa title seems to have assumed equivalence with the titles of Rājā or Mahārajā in those days. This is indicated by some of the inscriptions of the Western Kshatrapas in which the names of certain rulers have been mentioned either with both the titles or simply as 'Raiyon'[10]. A Nagarjunakonda pillar inscription describes the Śaka king of Ujjain as Mahārāja[11]. Since the contemporary Indian ruling dynasties had adopted the 'Śaka' era married Śaka princesses and had 'Śaka' as the main content of personal names, the adoption of the Mahākshatrapa title by them is quite likely. This is further substantiated by the adopting of the title Mahākshatrapa by the early Maitraka kings of Valabhi[12]. Thus in all probabilities, Mahākshtrapa Iśvaradatta appears to have been a Ābhira king. Mirashi's contention about two successive revolutions following the extinction of the Sātavāhana rule, first led by Mahākshtrapa Iśvaradatta and the second by Māṭhariputra Iśvarasena appear to be untenable in the absence of concrete evidence in its support[13]. Mahākshtrapa Iśvaradatta therefore will have to be treated as identical with Ābhira king Māṭhariputra Iśvarasena. Names of the same king are mentioned with different suffixes on inscription and coins of this period. In the Pardi plates the name of the Traikuṭaka king is mentioned as Dahrasena[14] but on some of his coins it is mentioned as Dahragaṇa[15]. On the basis of this evidence there should not be any doubt in treating Iśvaradatta and Iśvarasena as the names of the same king.

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10. *Ibid.,* Ins. Nos. 46-50, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57 and 60.
11. K.G. Krishan *op-cit.,* Ins. No. 182.
12 A.V.V. Mirashi, *JNSI,* Vol. VI, PP. 14-18.
13. V.V. Mirashi, *The History and Inscriptions op. cit.,* P. (53).
14. V.V. Mirashi, C. III. Vol. IV. op. cit., Ins. No. 8.
15. V.V. Mirashi, *Samshodhan Muktāvali,* Sar 10, P. 134.

We have already seen that the Ābhira rule started about 203 A.D. following the end of Yajñaśri Sātakarni's reign and Ābhira Iśvarasena's accession took place in Śaka 151 or 229 A.D. There is thus a hiatus of 26 years between these two dates. This shows that Ābhira Iśvarasena was not the founder of the Ābhira kingdom. He must have been preceded by one or two rulers. Iśvarasean's father Ābhira Śivadatta was probably the founder of the Ābhira kingdom. It seems that like the Ābhira Senāpatis of the Western Kshatrapas mentioned in the Gunda[16] inscription, chaotic condition following Yajñaśri's death Śivadatta probably toppled the Sātavāhana government and assumed sovereignty in Western Deccan.

According to the Nasik inscription quoted above, Māṭhari was the wife of Śivadatta Ābhira and the mother of Iśvarasena Ābhira. Another king from this area claiming himself as the son of Māṭhari is Māṭhariputra Śakasena mentioned in two inscriptions from Kanheri in Thane district.[17] Mirashi has identified this king with Śaka Sātakarni, whose coins have been reported from Andhra Pradesh, and treated him as a Sātavāhana king and successor of Yajñaśri. Dr. K. Gopalachari however thinks that Śakasena was an Ābhira king.[18] Gopalachari's view seems to be nearer to the truth of the following gounds.

1) The name of Śaka Sātakarṇi does not occur in the Paurāṇik genealogies of the Āndhra-Sātavāhanas.

2)The traditional epithet 'Siri' which is found on most of the Sātavāhana coins is significantly absent in the case of this king.

3) Considering the dynastical rivalry between the Sātavāhanas and the Śaka Kshatrapas the naming of a Sātavāhana prince with 'Śaka' as its main content looks quite unlikely.

4) The Ābhira were in the service of the Śaka Kshatrapas. Inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Badami record the practice of naming their sons by their subordinates or feudatory chiefs after the names of their overlords.[19] The name

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16. V.V. Mirashi, The History and Inscriptions op-cit. Ins. No. 52.

17. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 30 and 31.

18. Comprehensive History of India, Vol. II. Calcutta, 1957, P. 324.

19. K.V. *Ramesh, Chalukyas of Vatapi,* P. 135.

of Śakasena was probably the result of this practice. Since Māṭhari was the name of his mother and that of the wife of Ābhira Śivadatta, the possibility of Śakasena having been the elder son of Śivadatta also cannot be ruled out. The 'Sena' suffix of his name also suggests his kinship with Ābhira Iśvarasena.

5) Śakasena has been treated as a Sātavāhana king only on the basis of the epithet 'Sātakarṇi' which occurs on his coins. On the contrary the names such as 'Sadakana Kaḷalāya Mahāraṭhi' and 'Chutukulānanda Sātakarṇi' clearly shows that this illustrious epithet had formed the part of the names of several chiefs of the Sātavāhana period who did not belong to their family.[20] This evidence further strengthens our earlier inference that Śakasena alias Śaka Ṣātakarṇi was the son of Ābhira Śivadatta. The latter probably a scion of Ābhira Rudrabhuti of the Gunda[21] inscription entered the service of Yajñaśri Sātakarṇi and after the extinction of the Sātavāhana rule occupied the throne or placed his own son Śakasena on the throne. Śakasena seems to have adopted the illustrious epithet of the Sātavāhana kings on his coins. Ābhira Śivadatta and Śakasena thus were the predecessors of Ābhira Māṭhariputra Iśvarasena alias Mahākshatrapa Iśvaradatta.Śakasena was probably the first great Abhira king. His inscriptions from Konkan and coins from Andhra Pradesh[22] suggest that he ruled over the major part of the earstwhile Sātavāhana empire. It follows that Ābhira Śivadatta founded the Ābhira kingdom after Yajñaśri in the Nasik-Konkan area and therefore the descendents of Yajñaśri had to shift to Andhra Pradesh where Vijaya Sātakarṇi founded a new capital Vijayapuri near Nagarjunakonda[23]. Śakasena who probably succeeded Śivadatta extended his sway in the eastern Deccan at the cost of the later Sātavahanas of Andhra Pradesh. The occupation of Andhra region by the Ābhiras has been further attested to by the Nagarjunakonda inscription of Ābhira Vasuṣeṇa[24].

Śivadatta, probably had a short reign from 203 to 208 A.D. Śakasena seems to have had a reign of at least two decades from 209 to 228 A.D. He was

20. V.V. Mirashi, *History and Inscriptions op. cit.* P. (46).

21. *Ibid.* Ins. No. 52.

22. *Ibid.* Page. (42).

23. *Ibid.* P. (43).

24. D.C. Sircar, *E.I.* Vol. XXXIV, P. 197.

probably followed by his younger brother Māṭhariputra Iśvarasena whose 9th regnal year is mentioned in the Nasik inscription referred to above. His ruling period can be fixed from 229 to 238 A.D. which is consistent with the date mentioned in his Indore coin[25].

Iśvarasena was probably succeeded by Ābhira Vasuṣeṇa mentioned in the Nagarjunakonda inscription. Drs. D.C. Sircar[26] and K.G. Krishnan[27] have rightly described him as the successor of Iśvarasena. Dr. V.V. Mirashi has questioned this view on the basis of the impossibility of the Abhira rule over Andhra Pradesh[28]. As stated above the Andhra region was already conquered by Śakasena so Vasuṣeṇa's jurisdiction over it is quite justified. The mention of the family name 'Ābhira' in the Nagarjunakonda inscription coupled with the materonymics Vāshishṭhiputra and the suffix 'Sena' further strengthen this conjecture. On the basis of the 30th regnal year mentioned in the said inscription, Vasuṣeṇa's reigning period can be fixed from 238 to 267 A.D. The Ābhira rule over the Andhra region was probably an interregnum between the fall of the later Sātavāhanas and the rise of the Ikshvākus. On the basis of these evidences the genealogy of the early Abhira kings can be worked out as under :

Abhira Śivadatta = Māṭhari (203 to 208 A.D.)

....

Māthariputra Śakasena Māṭhriputra Iśvarasena alias

(208 to 228 A.D.) Iśvaradatta = Vāshisṭhi (229 to 237 A.D.

Vāshisṭhiputra Vasuṣeṇa (238 to 267 A.D.)

Vasuṣeṇa seems to have been the last great king among the early Ābhira rulers. After him the Naṣik-Konkan region seems to have witnessed the rise of the Traikuṭakas and in Andhra the Ikshvākas occupied Vijayapuri. Still the Ābhiras continued to hold the adjoining parts of the Khandesh region of Maharashtra and south-eastern Gujarat. In the western Deccan the later Ābhira

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25. Shobhana Gokhale, *JNSI,* op. cit.
26. D.C. Sircar, *E.I.* Vol. XXXIV, op. cit.
27. K.G. Krishnan op. cit. P. Lii-Liii.
28. V.V. Mirashi, *History and Inscriptions op-cit.* P. 46.

kings seem to have continued to rule simultaneously along with the Traikuṭakas as their Eastern neighbours, for another Century i.e. from 270 to 370 A.D. This is indicated by the following evidences :

1) According to the inscriptions of the Kadambas, Mayura-sharman undertook an expedition against the Ābhiras and Traikuṭakas in the first half of the 4th Century A.D.[29]

2) The Allahabad Prashasti mentions Ābhira territory among the early conquests made by Samudragupta. This Ābhira kingdom has not been probably identified so far;[30] but on the basis of the above evidence it can be equated with the adjacent parts of Khandesh and Gujarat. The Sanjeli plates of Huṇa king Toramāṇa provide an evidence of the inclusion of this part of the Deccan in the Gupta empire as the places mentioned in this epigraph such as Prakashe and Vadphalya are in Dhulia district of Maharashtra.[31]

3) There is a reference to an embassy deputed by an Ābhira king to the Sassanian king Narseh in the year 293 A.D.[32]

It is rather difficult to find out as to who were the successors of Ābhira Vasuṣeṇa. It is possible that some of the kings having the epithet 'Sātakarṇi' on their coins but not mentioned in the pauranic genealogy of the Āndhra-Sātavāhanas might be Ābhira kings even though they have been deemed as Sātavāhanas. In this respect the names of Kumbha and Karṇa Sātakarṇi are worth mentioning whose coins have been reported from Tarhala in Akola district of Maharashtra.[33] It is further interesting to note that this region is adjacent to Khandesh from where the later Ābhira kings ruled. Except the epithet of 'Sātakarṇi' there is no other indication of their kinship with the Sātavāhanas. On the basis of the principle applied to Śakasena, Kumbha and Karṇa Sātakarṇi also can be regarded as Ābhiras because following Yajñaśri Sātakarṇi there is no evid e of the continuation of the Sātavāhana rule in the Western Deccan. In

29. M.H. Krishna, *Mysore Archaeological Survey* 1929, P. 50.

30. Majumdar and Altekar, the Vakataka Gupta Age, Varanasi, 1967, P. 143.

31. K.V. Ramesh, E.I. Vol. XL. PP. 175-186.

32. Majumdar and Altekar op. cit. P. 51. A.N. 1.

33. V.V. Mirashi, *History and Inscriptions op. cit.* P. (274).

the Thalner plates of king Bhānuṣena from the same Dhulia district he is described as the scion of the Kumbhakarṇa ruling dynasty.[34] Was there any relation between this name and the names Kumbha and Karṇa referred to above?

A copper plate grant found in central Gujarat but issued from Prachhakāsha (Prakashe in Dhulia district of Khandeṣh) of Circa 4th Century A.D. records a village grant by a chief named Iśvararāṭa who describes himself as meditating at the feet of some 'Paramabhaṭṭāraka'[35]. According to Dr. V.V. Mirashi 'Paramabhaṭṭārka' was the reference to an Ābhira paramount king of whose Iśvararāṭa was a feudatory. There is no evidence available of the existence of any Ābhira paramount ruler during this period. On the contrary the name Iśvararāṭa reminds us of the name of Ābhira king Iśvarasena or Iśvaradatta. Iśvararāṭa therefore appears to have been the descendent of Ābhira Iśvarasena ruling over the adjoining parts of Khandesh and Gujarat. The reference to Paramabhaṭṭāraka was probably to the sovereign Gupta emperors. We have already referred to the conquest of the Ābhira territory by Samudragupta. The Later Ābhira chiefs seem to have continued to rule as the Vassals of the Guptas. Iśvararāṭa was one of these Ābhira chiefs. The Ābhiras continued to hold the territory right upto the Yādava period as indicated by contemporary inscriptions.[36]

In this way out of the ten Ābhira mentioned in the Purāṇas at least seven names can be traced. Out of these first four i.e. Śivadatta, Śakasena, Iśvarasena and Vasuṣeṇa were probably the paramount rulers of the Deccan whereas their successors were ordinary chiefs. The ruling period of the first four kings roughly corresponds to 67 years whereas the complete ruling period corresponds to 167. Is there any relation between these figures and the two different corresponding figures (67 and 167) given as the duration of the Ābhira rule in the Purāṇas?

THE TRAIKUTAKAS :

The rise of the Traikuṭakas in the coastal region of Maharashtra and southern Gujarat synchronised with the setback to the paramount position of the

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34. M.G. Dikshit, *E.I.* Vol. XXXVIII, PT. II, PP 69-75.

35. V.V. Mirashi, C.I.I. Vol. IV. Introduction, ? XXXVII.

36. Ajay Mitra Shastri, Early History of the Deccan Problems and Perspectives. PP. 82-98, E.I. Vol. XXV P. 203.

Ābhiras in the Deccan. The Pardi copper plate grant of Dahrasena is the earliest epigraph of this ruling dynasty[37]. It mentions year 207 of an unspecified era. On the coins of the same ruler year 190 is mentioned[38]. It shows that Dahrasena's accession took place in the year 190 of an era. According to Dr. Mirashi the dates mentioned on the coins and inscriptions of the Traikuṭakas like the Ābhiras are the reckonings of the Chedi-Kalachuri era. His contention is that between 250 A.D. and 620 A.D. the Śaka era was totally out of vogue in Maharashtra and Gujarat.[39] The futility of this contention will be revealed through the following facts :

1) Drs. R.L. Mehta and S.N. Chaudhary have contradicted Mirashi's statement referred to above and have indicated the prevalence of the Śaka era in Gujarat during the period stated above.[40]

2) The Wada inscription of Maurya Suketuvarman from the Thane district of Maharashtra dated Śaka 322 (400 A.D.)[41] and the Hisse-Borala inscription of Vākāṭaka Devasena dated Śaka 380 (458 A.D.) from the Akola district[42] of the same state conclusively establish the prevalence of the Śaka era in Maharashtra during this period.

3) Mirashi has attributed the authorship of the Chedi-Kalachuri era to Ābhira Iśvarasena and has renamed it as Ābhira era[43]. On the basis of this reckoning the latest known date of Ābhira Iśvarasena comes to 258 A.D. (249+9). By allowing 30 years to Vasuṣeṇa, the least date of the Ābhira paramountsy comes to about 288 A.D. According to the same calculation, the earliest known date of the Traikuṭakas comes to about 439 A.D. (190+249). There is thus a hiatus of at least 150 years between the latest date of the Ābhira paramountsy and the earliest known date of the Traikuṭakas which cannot be accounted for.

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37. V.V. Mirashi, *C.I.I.* Vol. IV, op. cit. Ins. No. 8.

38. E.J. Rapson, British Museum Catalogue, op. cit.

39. V.V. Mirashi, *Samshodhan Muktāvali,* Sar. 10. P. 144.

40. *Journal of the Oriental Institute,* Vol. XII, P. 174.

41. K.V. Ramesh, *E.I.* Vol. XL. Part II, P. 51-54.

42. Shobhana Gokhale, *E.I.* Vol. XXXVII, PP. 1-4.

43. V.V. Mirashi, *C.I.I.* Vol. IV Introduction op. cit.

4) Prof. Mirashi's theory regarding the Traikuṭaka chronology has been contradicted by Drs. B.D. Chattopadhyaya[44] and P.L. Gupta[45] on numismatical grounds. According to these scholars the Traikuṭakas were the contemporaries of the Western Kshatrapas and so the year mentioned on their coins and inscriptions will have to be treated as of Śaka era.

5) The Wada inscription of Maurya Suketuvarman from Thane district is dated Śaka 322 or 400 A.D.[46] It shows that North Konkan came under the rule of the Mauryas before 400 A.D.[47] Two more inscriptions of the later rulers of this dynasty belonging to the fifth and sixth Centuries A.D.[48] have been reported from Goa. This evidence as well as the mention of the Mauryas in the famous Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II[49] as the rulers of Konkan further shows that Konkan was continuously ruled over by the Mauryas from the last quarter of the 4th Century A.D. to its conquest by Pulakeśin II. It has been suggested that the Mauryas might have been the vassals of the Traikuṭakas and later on of the Kalachuris of Mahiṣmati; but this view is not correct because all the inscriptions of the Mauryas have been issued without any reference to sovereign. The Wada inscription quoted above was actually issued by Simhadatta Talavāra, a subordinate of Maurya Suketuvarman in which the latter has been eulogoised with the titles of Dharmamahārāja and Vallabha. The successors of Suketuvarman also have been described as overlords of feudatories in their grants. No inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Mahiṣmati have so far come to light indicating their sovereigny over North Konkan. It is therefore certain that the Mauryas of Konkan were the sovereign rulers of that region from the last quarter of the fourth Century A.D. to the first quarter of the seventh Century A.D. The Traikuṭakas ruled over the same territory, so they will have to be treated as the predecessors of the Mauryas of Konkan.

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44. B.D. Chatopadhyaya, *Numismatical Chronicle,* Vol. III, Part I, PP. 4-8. *Coins and Currency system in South India,* 1977, PP. 20-25.

45. P.L. *Gupta, Numismatical Digest,* Vol. III, P. 51.

46. K.V. Ramesh, *E.I.* Vol. XL. op. cit.

47. D.C. Sircar, *E.I.* Vol. XXIII, P. 294.

48. G.S. Gai *E.I.* Vol. XXIII, PP. 293-296.

49. *E.I.* Vol. VI, PP. 1-12.

6) In the Chandravalli inscription from Karnataka 'Trekuṭa' and 'Ābhira' have been mentioned among the conquests by Kadamba Mayuraśarman.[50] The conquest of Western Maharashtra by this Kadamba king has been attested to by the Talagunda inscription also which credits Mayuraśarman with the conquest of a territory extending from Aparārṇava to the river Preharā. Dr. D.C. Sircar has identified this river with Malaprabhā[51] but its equation with Pravarā or Peherā in the Ahmednagar district of Maharashtra seems more appropriate on phonetical grounds. Mayuraśarman flourished in the first half of the 4th Century A.D.[52] This evidence also shows that the Traikuṭakas flourished prior to 400 A.D.

7) Trikuṭa as a city or kingdom from Aparānta is mentioned in the *Raghuvaṃśa* by Kālidāsa, the contemporary of Chandragupta II (375 A.D. to 413 A.D.[53]). It is generally observed that the Sanskrit poets mention historical names in their themes when the latter had become the matter of the past. So the rule of the Traikuṭakas will have to be fixed prior to 400 A.D.

8) The Ajanta inscription of Vākāṭaka Hariṣeṇa refers to 'Trikuṭa' among the conquered kingdoms by this king.[54] On the basis of this evidence Mirashi has shown the contemporaneity between the Traikuṭakas and Hariṣeṇa who flourished at the end of the fifth century A.D.[55] But another evidence from the same inscription goes against this view. Besides, Trikuṭa the Ajanta inscription also mentions Lāṭa among the conquests by Hariṣeṇa. The inscriptions of the Traikuṭakas clearly point out that both Trikuṭa or Aparānta and Lāṭa (south Gujarat) formed the parts of their kingdom.[56] Separate mention of Trikuṭa and Lāṭa certainly shows that Hariṣeṇa's expedition to the west Coast took place when the Traikuṭaka dynasty had ceased to exist and when Trikuṭa was ruled over by the Mauryas and Lāṭa by the Gurjaras. So Trikuṭa of the Ajanta inscription will have to be treated as the name of a territory and not as the

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50. M.H. Krishna, op-cit. ?. 50.
51. D.C. *Sircar, Successors of the Satavahanas in the lower Deccan,* P. 239.
52. R.C. Majumdar (ed) *The Classical Age,* P. 273.
53. C.J. Dubrevil, *Ancient History of Deccan,* Delhi, 1979, P. 74.
54. Burgers and Indraji, *Inscriptions from the Cave temples of Western India,* 1881, P. 69, Ins. No. 3.
55. V.V. Mirashi, *C.I.I.* Vol. V 1963 PP. 101-111.
56. V.V. Mirashi, *C.I.I.* Vol. IV Introduction op. cit.

Traikuṭaka kingdom. Trikuṭa as a country name was in vogue right upto the 8th century A.D. as witnessed by its mention in the Anjaneri plates of Prithvichandra Bhogaśakti.[57]

9) The Chronology of the Traikuṭakas on the basis of the Chedi-Kalachuri era was mainly based on palaeographic considerations. The fickleness of this criterion for dating has been proved more than once. On the contrary the circumstancial evidence as gleaned through the records of the Traikuṭakas indicate that they were among the immediate successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Western Deccan. For example, the Kanheri Copperplate grant of the Traikuṭakas dated 245 was recovered from the debris of an old Stupa in front of the Chaitya Cave No. 3 at Kanheri in Thane district.[58] An inscription from the same Chaitya belonging to Yajñaśri Sātakarṇi records the excavation of the Chaitya by two merchant brothers Gajasena and Gajamitra from Datāmiti i.e. Demetrias or Patala in the Indus delta of Sindh.[59] Merchants and monks from Sindh paid regular visits to Nasik and Konkan during the second century A.D., when India's trade with the Roman empire was in full swing. Interestingly Buddharuchi, who has recorded the construction of stone-brick stupa in the copper plate referred to above was also from Sindhu Vishaya.[60] It shows that the Kanheri Copperplate of the Traikuṭakas belongs to that period when overseas commercial activities in Konkan were still going on though on a lesser scale. This phenomenon could be seen only upto the middle of the fourth century A.D.[61] If calculated on the basis of Śakạ era the Kanheri plate will be dated 323 A.D. This date is in keeping with the circumstancial evidence referred to above.

10) Eminent epigraphists like Dr. D.C. Sircar had expressed their doubts about the correctness of the chronology of the Ābhirs and Traikuṭakas as enunciated by Dr. Mirashi. Recently another notable epigraphist Dr. K.G. Krishnan has totally discarded this chronology.[62] This chronology has created

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57. Vatsa and Diskalkar, *E.I.* Vol. XXV, PP. 225-238.
58. V.V. Mirashi, *C.I.I.* Vol. IV, op. cit. Ins. No. 10.
59. *Archaeological Survey of Western India,* Vol. V P. 75.
60. H.S. Thosar, *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. XV, PP. 97-107.
61. *Ibid.*
62. K.G. Krishnan op. cit. PP. Lii-Liii.

more problems before the historians than it has solved. Besides the discrepancies such as the gap of 150 years between the Ābhira and Traikuṭaka rules and the overlapping of the rule of the Mauryas and Traikuṭakas over Konkan, this chronology has created another problem with the discovery of the Mankani Copperplate grant of a Kalachuri chief Taralasvāmin in the Baroda district of Gujarat.[63] The inscription is dated 346. As calculated on the basis of the Chedi-Kalachuri era it gives the date 595 A.D. According to the Abhona plates of Kalachuri Shankaragaṇa southern Gujarat was ruled over by him during the same period.[64] Historians were therefore at pains to explain the existence of two Kalachuri ruling families in that area at the same time.[65] As discussed in the following pages the problem could be solved if the date of the Mankani grant is taken to be the Śaka era.

The Traikuṭakas are generally regarded as the Collaterals of the Ābhiras.[66] Indradatta Traikuṭaka was probably the viceroy of the Ābhiras in the Western Coastal region of their kingdom and probably assumed sovereignty at the end of Vasuṣeṇa's reign. Indradatta is known from the coins of his son and successor Dahrasena who seems to have ascended the throne few years before Śaka 190 or 268 A.D. Dahrasena was the greatest king in the Traikūṭaka dynasty. He had performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice. The large area of the circulation of his coins covering Western Maharashtra and Gujarat corroborates his career of conquest. He seems to have enjoyed a long and prosperous reign. His earliest known date is 190 whereas the earliest known date of his successor Vyāghrasena is 241. His ruling period can thus be fixed from S. 190 to 240 or 268 to 318 A.D. The Pardi Copperplate is the only inscription of this ruler so far known which is dated S. 207.[67]

Vyāghrasena, the successor of Dahrasena is known from his Surat plates dated S. 241.[68] The Kanheri plates do not mention the name of the reigning king,

63. V.V. Mirashi, *C.I.I.* Vol, IV, op. cit. Ins. No. 12.
64. K.B. Pathak, *E.I.* Vol. IX, P. 296.
65. R.C. Majumdar (ed). *The Classical Age*, op. cit. P. 197.
66. A.M.T. Jackson, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, P. 57.
67. V.V. Mirashi, *C.I.I.* Vol. IV, op. cit. Ins. No. 8.
68. *Ibid.* Ins. No. 9.

but since it is dated S. 245, it can be ascribed to him[69] The inscription refers to the ever increasing power of the Traikuṭakas, which shows that he maintained the kingdom intact. An important incident of his reign was the transfer of the Traikuṭaka royal seat from Āmraka to Aniruddhapuri. He probably ruled for fifteen years.

The recently discovered two charters from Matvan in the Ratnagiri district of Maharashtra have introduced the names of two successors of Vyāghrasena viz. Madhyamasena and Vikramasena.[70] The inscription of the former mentions S. 256 and the latters S. 284. The ruling period of these two rulers can be fixed from S. 256 to S. 290. The invasion of the Traikuṭaka territory by Kadamba Mayuraśarman probably took place at the end of Madhyamasena's reign. In the Matvan grant referred to above the names of Vikramasena's two minor sons Narendra and Nārāyaṇa have been mentioned. Narendra probably succeeded Vikramasena at about S. 290 or A.D. 368. Exploiting the succession of a minor king ambitious subordinates probably put an end of the Traikuṭaka rule at about S. 292 or 370 A.D. and assumed the kingship in their respective administrative units. Sangamasiṁha of the Sunaokala Copperplate grants from Southern Gujarat seems to have beccome independent in that region as known from his inscription dated S. 292.[71] At the same time the Mauryas declared independence in North Konkan as indicated by the Wada inscription of Suketuvarman referred to above. The genealogy and chronology of the Traikuṭakas can be worked as under.

Indradatta - (S. 185-190 or 263 to 268 A.D.)
Dahrasena - (S. 190-240 or 268 to 318 A.D.)
Vyāghrasena - (S. 241-255 or 319 to 333 A.D.)
Madhyamasena - (S. 256-274 or 334 to 352 A.D.)
Vikramasena - (S. 275-290 or 353 to 368 A.D.)
Narendra - (S. 290-292 or 368 to 370 A.D.)

The decline of the Traikuṭakas thus resulted in the rise of the Mauryas in Konkan, the Rāshṭrakutas of Mānapura in the adjoining Gujarat. The

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69. *Ibid.* Ins. No. 10.
70. Shobhana Gokhale, *Maharashtratil Puratattva, Bombay,* 1976, PP. 154-160.
71. V.V. Mirashi, *C.I.I.* Vol. IV, op. cit. No. 11.

Kumbhakarṇa rulers who were probably the descendents of the Ābhiras continued to hold Khandesh in Subordinate capacity. Slightly earlier the Vākāṭakas occupied the Vidarbha-Marathwada regions of Maharashtra and adjacent parts of Andhra Pradesh and M.P. At the end of the 6th Century A.D. the Kalachuris of Mahiṣmati assumed the sovereignty of the Deccan and continued to rule over this region till they were overpowered by Pulakeśin II. In this way the reappraisal of the chronology enunciated by Dr. Mirashi settles the discrepancies and overlappings in the political history of the Deccan from the fall of the Sātavāhanas to the rise of the Chālukyas of Vātāpi.

Another point of controversy with regard to the genealogy of the Traikuṭakas is the ancestory of Vikramasena because out of the five inscriptions of this dynasty the family name Traikuṭaka is mentioned in four. But the Matvan charter of Vikramasena describes him as 'Kalachuriṇāmānvayaḥ', Dr. Shobhana Gokhale thinks that since the inscription in question is a ditto copy of the earlier Traikuṭaka grants, Vikramasena was in all probabilities the son and successor of Traikuṭaka Madhyamasena, but might have accepted the overlordship of Kalachuris and so the name Kalachuri occurs in this grant[72]. This view is untenable firstly, because the name 'Kalachuri' is not mentioned in the manner in which names of sovereigns are mentioned in inscriptions. Secondly even if we calculate the date of the Matvan charter on the basis of Chedi-Kalachuri era for the sake of argument, it gives the date 533 A.D. (284+249) which is about half a Century earlier than the probable date of Krishṇarāja, the first known ruler of this line. This fact further strengthens our stand about the chronology of the Traikuṭakas as discussed above.

Dr. V.V. Mirashi has accepted Vikramasena as the son and successor of Madhyamasena, but has explained the occurrence of the name Kalachuri as a result of forgery.[73] According to Dr. P.L. Gupta, Vikramasena belonged to the Traikuṭaka line, but was adopted by a Kalachuri chief.[74] However, the fact seems to be different from all these views. There can not be any doubt about the fact that Vikramasena was a Traikuṭaka prince. The occurrence of the name 'Kalachuri' can be explained with the help of such other inscriptions of the same

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72. Shobhana Gokhale, *Maharashtratil Puratattva,* op-cit.

73. V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indian History, op. cit.* P. 130.

74. P.L. Gupta, *Numismatical Digest,* op. cit.

period. The Wada inscription of Maurya Suketuvarman referred to above describes him as 'Bhojānām - Maurya - Dharmamahārājah'. Dr. K.V. Ramesh has interpreted 'Bhojānām' as the material family name of Suketuvarman.[75] An inscription from Karnataka describes Pallava king Gopāladeva as 'Kaikeya Vamshodbhava', because his mother was a Kaikeya princess.[76] The reference to 'Kalachurinām' in the Matvan plates of Vikramasena probably represents the same tradition.

Maternal family names were probably adopted by those kings who were either obliged by their maternal grandfathers or uncles or whose prestige was enhanced due to that relationship. Vikramasena's case probably belongs to the invasion of Traikuṭaka Kingdom by Mayuraśarman at the end of Madhyamasena's reign i.e. 334 A.D. In this calamity a Kalachuri chief who was probably related to Madhyamasena seems to have assisted his son and successor Vikramasena. As discussed above the Mankani Copperplate grant from South Gujarat has disclosed the existence of a Kalachuri ruling family in this area, which was different from the Kalachuris of Mahiṣmati.[77] It was probably related to the Traikuṭakas and ruled as their vassals.

As regards the royal seat of the Ābhiras and Traikuṭakas, following conjecture can be offered. The Pardi charter of Dahrasena which is the earliest royal charter of the Traikuṭakas was issued from Āmraka.[78] It was probably the seat of government under the early Ābhiras and their successors Traikuṭakas. The place still remains unidentified. Since the family name Traikuṭaka hints to Trikuṭa as the original home of this family, it will have to be located in the vicinity of Nasik. Interestingly the earliest inscriptions of the Ābhiras also are from Nasik-Kanheri area. In this respect the place name Tryambak near Nasik is worth-mentioning. Its original name was probably Āmraka or Ambaka and to distinguish it from its other namesakes the prefix 'Tri' came to be affixed to it which was indicative of either number three or a ramnent of the country name 'Trikuṭa'. Interestingly the Anjaneri grant of Bhogaśakti, comming from the same area mentions a similar place name 'Āḍhambaka' (SK. Ashṭāmraka) which still

75. K.V. Ramesh, *E.I.* XL. op. cit.

76. Haldipur grant, *E.I.* Vol. XXI, P. 173.

77. V.V. Mirashi, *C.I.I.* Vol. IV, op. cit. No. 12.

78. *Ibid.* Ins. No. 8.

exists by the present name 'AThambe' in the Kalwan taluka of Nasik district.[79] Tryambak is situated at the source of the Godavari and is the seat of God Tryambakeśvara, one of the 12 Jyotirliṅgas of Śiva.

The Traikuṭakas afterwards seem to have shifted their capital to Aniruddhapuri from where the Surat plates of Vyāghrasena and the two Matvan grants of his successors were issued. On the basis of the provenance of the Surat plates and its mention in the Bagumra plates of Nikumbha Allaśakti, V.V. Mirashi[80] and Shobhana Gokhale[81] expressed the possibility of the location of Aniruddhapuri somewhere in the Surat district of Gujarat. However no specific place has been pointed out in this area as the present equivalent of Aniruddhapuri. In the Bagumra grant Aniruddhapuri occurs as a residential place of a donee,[82] so this evidence does not help for the identification of the place in Gujarat.

If provenance of the inscription is to be taken as a base for the identification of the new Traikuṭaka capital, Konkan has got a better claim than Southern Gujarat; because out of the five published charters of the Traikuṭakas[83] three are from Konkan. Secondly in all their charters the Traikuṭakas are described as the rulers of 'Aparānta and other countries'. The present writer has therefore suggested the identification of Aniruddhapuri with Gharapuri of Elephanta near Bombay which later on continued to be the metropolis of North Konkan from the Mauryas to Silaharas. It was known by variant names such as Puri, Sripuri and Chandrapuri etc.[84]

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79. Vatsa and Diskalkar, *E.I.* Vol. XXV. op.cit.

80. V.V. Mirashi, *C.I.I.* Vol. IV, op. cit. Ins. No. 8.

81. Shobhana Gokhale, *Maharashtratil Puratattva,* op. cit.

82. Indian *Antiquary, Vol.* XVIII, PP. 654-55.

83. Following are the five published grants of the Traikuṭakas :
 1) Pardi plates of Dahrasena - *C.I.I.* Vol IV, Ins. NO. 8.
 2) Surat plates of Vyaghrasena - *Ibid* No. 9.
 3) Kanheri plates of the Traikuṭakas - *Ibid* NO. 10.
 4) Matvan plates of Madhyamasena - *Maharashtratil Puratattva op. cit.*
 5) Matvan plates of Vikramasena - *Ibid.*

84. H.S. Thosar, 'Puri the Metropolis of ancient Konkan' *Journal of the Elphinstone College Staff Academy,* 1989, Vol. I, PP. 49-54.

ORDER AND SOCIAL TABOOS IN THE VEDIC PERSPECTIVE

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Social taboos are not only endemic to the caste-ridden Indian society but have also been proclaimed as the essentials of Indian social order.[1] Based on the religious dichotomy of purity and pollution these taboos may be supposed to grow necessarily stronger as we go back to the historical past of Indian society and reach as far as the Vedic age. But the evidence at our disposal goes against such a conclusion and shows that these taboos did not historically form a part of the essentials of Indian society. Even though the Vedic age in the beginning of Indian history was increasingly religious and ritual-oriented, the distinction of purity and pollution was not absolute and was no longer productive of social taboos of the kind with which we are familiar in more recent years of her past.[2] This leads us to think that the distinction of purity and impurity as basic to all religions is to be distinguished from the considerations of purity and pollution secondarily produced by religions as a prophylactic device to safeguard a decadent social order holistic in outlook and hence at the same time a blend of religous, social, economic, anthropological and philosophical categories. Such a defensive mechanism is needed obviously in case of communities whose order is threatened on all sides and, not unoften, with utter political and military helplessness starting at their face and questioning their right to survive.[3] In case of virile communities breathing with life and power such protective devices are hardly needed, and to generalise about the latter on the

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1. C. Bougle, *ESRC*, P. 4; Dumont, L., *HH*, pp. 110f.
2. Om Prakash, "Concept of Hierarchy and power in the Ancient Indian Theory of Society and State", *PIHC*, XL Session, Waltair, 1979, p. 48.
3. *IESS*, Vol. XII, p. 340.

basis of the former is committing oneself to the fallacy of understanding the life of the vigourous child on the basis of the metamorphosis observable in cases of stunted and suspended growth. Primitivism at the beginning of history is certainly to be distinguished from primitivism resulting from the lack of proper growth and dwarfing, if we are to save ourselves from the folly of identifying the end-product of a cultural growth with the contents of its essentials.

The Vedic Idea of Order

The earliest form of Indian social order known from the early and later Vedic literature forms a part of a larger whole which, though not without differentiation itself, has undifferentiated notions about itself, that are hence simultaneously religious, social, economic, philosophical and anthropological in character. This social order can be understood only by comprehending the Vedic idea of order, otherwise the totality of the undifferentiated idea of the whole is very likely to be missed. This is why the picture of the early Vedic society consisting of the rival factions of Dāsas and Dasyus, on the one hand, and racially and militarily superior Aryans, on the other, with Aryans again divided into a number of *Janas* (tribes) and the three-fold order of Brahma, Kṣatra and Viśaḥ[4] is, in fact, an oversimplification of the phenomenon much too complex and complicated, as it misses the mythological, religious and other aspects of the blend altogether. This is why it always leaves some scholars wondering if the order of Dāsas and Dasyus has nothing to do with the demons, as the commentators traditionally initiated in the interpretation of Vedic passages uniformly believed.[5] But this is not all. The *Ṛgveda* also at the same time talks of the order of gods and demons, *ṛta* and *anṛta*, friends and enemies of sacrifice, light of knowledge and the darkness of ignorance, immortality and death, and so on. All these and many more not mentioned here do not separately denote so many orders but the different levels and constituents of a single lorger whole. Unless, therefore, this whole is not taken into account analysis of the parts alone will not suffice, for that some thing more will always be missed by which the whole excels the sum of the parts.

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4. This is a picture which is taken for granted in almost any and every work on early Vedic Society.

5. K. Chattopadhyaya, "Dasa and Dasyu in the Rgveda Samhita", in *SVIRL*, Vol. I, pp. 206-214.

The one and the only order with so many aspects of it has been conceived in the Vedic texts as an ever-expanding concern, being born mysteriously like a child and always needing the tender care and nurture for its proper growth and well-being. The myths of the golden germ[6], of the sacrifice of the primordial Puruṣa by gods[7] and of the sacrifice being performed through sacrifice by gods as the source of all the *dharmas*[8] only enshrine the idea of the mysterious birth of the order. Sacrifice is nothing but a symbol of this mysterious process of the birth of the order and is also at the same time identical with the emergent order. This no doubt offends our sense of the sequence of time and causality, as the cause which always precedes the emerging effect has been conceived here as the effect of the effect. But such anachronism is common to all such religious and philosophical beliefs which do not attach ultimacy to time and contemplate its conquest by reaching what is anterior to it and, therefore, beyond it.[9] The source of creation is thus beyond time and our sense of causation and is more a matter of principle rather than divinity and power. This is perhaps why there is no concept of God Almight in the whole of the Vedic religion. Instead of one Great God we have a number of them occupying their specific niches in the Cosmic order.[10] Their participation in the process of creation of the Cosmic order does not make them prior to it, as that part of their role belongs to the domain of the Ultimate, of timeless time and causeless cause and cannot be properly understood by common modes of comprehension. But once the order has been created, the gods are only a part of it, subject to its inexorable laws. The Vedic idea of order, therefore, underlines the ultimacy of Principle rather than that of a Devine Person or Personified Source of Absolute power. If any thing can be Absolute, it is principle and principle alone.

Though timeless and causeless in its ultimate principle, order is empirically undergoing a constant growth by virtue of viz. the orders of

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6. *RV,* X. 121; *AV,* IV, 27; *TS,* IV. 1.8.3; IV. 2.8.3; *TMB,* IX. 9.12.

7. *RV,* X. 90; *Av,* XIX, 6, 1; *TA,* III. 12.1.

8. *RV,* I. 164, 50; X. 90.16; *AV,* VII. 5.1; *TS,* 35, 11.5; *TA,* III. 2.7.

9. H. Aguilar, ., *SR,* p. 102.

10. *Ibid.,* p. 59. also Gonda, J., "Het Problem der continuiteit in de oudere Indische Geschiedenis" *MKNAW',* Afd. Lett. N.R. 26 (6), 1963, pp. 201-228; Coomarswamy, A.K., *NAV,* p. 53.

gods, manes, men, animals, vegetation, etc. All sorts of such orders are integrated to it through a relationship which is not exploitative in character. It is, on the other hand, based on the principles of mutual cooperation reaching to the extent of the sacrifice of the self-interest.[11] Temporarily, therefore, the mysterious act of sacrifice symbolises the essentials of the relationship which secures different aspects of the all-inclusive order to it.[12] As order, the sacrifice extends from the mysterious domain of the Absolute to the empirical world and is hence a synonym of the order itself, at the same time concrete as well as abstract. It is a demonstrable mode of providing nurture and care to the order and its expansion symbolises the extension of the order itself. It is at the same time available to gods, to manes and to men. "......And thus" says the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, "Whatsoever exists here on earth all that is admitted to sacrifice. And verily both gods and men and fathers drink together and this is their symposium; of old they drank together visibly, but now they do so unseen"[13]. The same source calls sacrifice "the food of the gods"[14] and liturgies of Agni in the *Ṛgveda,* besides characterising him as the mouth or tongue of all the gods also describe him as "the charioteer of the vast *ṛta*"[15]. This shows that the sacrifice embraced the human order, on one side, and the order of the gods and *ṛta*, on the other. The following passages from the *Ṛgveda* indicate the expansion of sacrifice in all directions: "Under the rule of the grown-up calf the seven seers have spread out the threads in order to weave"[16]. "The sacrifice which is extended in all directions by means of its threads, that weave these fathers. They sit in front of the weft and say :"Weave, unweave"[17]. The idea of temporal expansion of the sacrifice shows that the Vedic religion was an expanding creed which hoped to convert the dissenters to the Vedic way of life.

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11. *TU,* II. 6; *TMB,* XXI. 2. 1; R. Panikkar, *MM,* pp. 53 f.

12. A typical allegory of the integrative role of the sacrifice (Agniṣṭoma) is presented by the story of Bhṛgu, the son of Varuṇa, SB, XI. 6.1-13.

13. *Ibid.,* III. 6.2.26.

14. *Ibid.,* V. 5.5.2.

15. *Rv,* IV. 10.2.

16. *Ibid.,* I. 164. 5.

17. *Ibid.,* X. 130.1.

The non-exploitative relationship characterising the Vedic order finds a clear expression in a story of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. "Once upon a time so the story runs, "gods and *asuras* both of them sprung from Prajāpati, strove together. And the *asuras* even through arrogance, thinking "Unto whom, forsooth, should we make offerings?" went on offering into their own mouths. They came to naught, even through arrogance: wherefore let no one be arrogant, for verily arrogance is the cause of ruin"[18]. Potdar has quoted instances of those opposed to sacrifice from the *Ṛgveda*, who, ridiculing sacrifice, prepared the *puroḍāśa* and put the same into their own mouths, sometimes with the accompaniment of a Vedic *mantra* invoking some god[19]. He also refers to the cases of the Dāsas like Balbūtha, Tārukṣa, Tindara,Vasurociṣ and the Paṇi Bṛbu who were converted to the way of sacrifice[20]. According to Aguilar, "The hoarding, the monopoly, is the first capital sin in the eyes of the Vedas and not without reason, for it is the most opposed to the order of the ṛta yajña enforced by the Veda. Besides it cannot be excused as a human weakness (which the Vedas consider as an attenuating factor in various cases), since it derives from a hardening, a perversion of the heart,which makes man similar to real devil"[21]. The source of the Vedic order is not down below on earth but high above on the top of the world where *ṛta* resides and where the unseen results of the sacrifice lead to. In other words, the order is *ūrdhvamūla* instead of being *nimnamūla*[22].

It is very difficult to define the nature of the Vedic order and for the matter of that, that of the sacrifice, its earthly symbol. Our categories of characterisation of these phenomena, as pointed out by Panikkar, far from describing them, fall inadequate. "It is not proper, however to say", writes he, "that there is no moral order and that all is cosmic. It would be equally improper to affirm that there is no cosmic order and all is subsumed into the moral world-view. The fact is that this division does not apply and that the real order of the world is, if we still want to employ these terms, both moral

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18. *SB*, V. 1.1.1.
19. Potdar, *PSR*.
20. *Ibid.*, P. 71
21. *SR*, p. 96.
22. *RV*. I. 24. 7; *AV*, II. 7.3; *MU*, VI. 4.

and cosmic"[23]. Significantly enough, this conclusion also sums up the controversy regarding the nature of Vedic sacrifice. The categories of magic, supplication, thanks-giving, purificatory rites and ritualistic worship accompanied with moving liturgies into which a ritual act is usually classed and understood are inadequate characterisations of Vedic sacrifice[24]. Being a symbol of the Vedic order which is at the same time of cosmic as well as moral order, besides being something more, the Vedic sacrifice also presents, like a true image, a blend of so many characteristics that signify a ritual act in much specialised and differentiated terminology of modern anthropology and sociology. Bereft of the noble motive of self-sacrifice, it degenerates into. acts of magic as in the case of its performances by *asuras*[25]. Anybody can perform a sacrifice with essentially selfish ends to harm others and may turn it into magic. It also contains, at the same time, the elements of devotion, participation in the divine and cosmic struggle for the Ultimate Good and morality which differentiate from one another with the passage of time.

Attitude towards the dialectical opposite of order

We have seen that the Vedic idea of order attaches ultimacy to the principle of *ṛta* which is "the very energy of sacrifice" and that, therefore, *ṛta* is, at the same time, the sacrificial order. As a principle, *ṛta* should presuppose its dialectical opposite *anṛta* which no doubt figures in the Vedas and which must signify disorder or the principle thereof. The concept of pollution has been defined in the modern sociological literature as something that cannot be accomodated into order and is hence a synonym of disorder[26]. If, therefore, there was a principle of *anṛta* or disorder it should clearly signify the cosmic source of pollution as distinct from the source of purity, or the sacred. Logically it should be as absolute as *ṛta*, though religiously the ultimate triumph of *ṛta* over *anṛta* may be assumed as a matter of faith. The distinction of pure and impure may be thus shown as dating back to the very root of Vedic religion, if it is reduced to the matrix of a dualistic faith. If this is so, the Vedic order will have to be characterised as a

23. *MM,* p. 510.
24. E.O. James, *ERE,* Vol. XI, pp. 5-7; *PSR,* p. 280.
25. *Infra,* p. 13.
26. *IESS,* p. 341.

necessarily hierarchical order, for it is based on religious distinction of pure and impure, and sacrifice, like other rites in the worship of gods or the forces of good, would become a tool of redemption in hands of man. It may also be interpreted as a kind of magical performance with potency to ward off evil and impure from what is good and pure. Evil will always have the potentiality to harm or undo what is good and sacred and hence the latter will have to be saved from the influence of the former by powerful charms and acts.

·Howsoever universal may these generalisations from sociological and anthropological surveys appear to be, the pattern of religious developments of primitive people thus woven by them is a poor match to the richness of the religious theory and experience of the Vedic age. It, in fact, serves as a poor construct which is hardly more than a stait-jacket for Vedic religion. To Panikkar " the ultimate Principle of ṛta in the Vedas is based on the idea of Being ", which does not mean that "here Non bing has the primacy". It means that "Non being "is" not and thus cannot be handled if it were negative of being. To affirm that there is Nonbeing that there is Not - is a contradiction in terms.[27] It is significant to note that ṛta has been held even prior to the first born and thus the source of the first being"[28] The promotion of *ṛta* again is said to have been secured by *ṛta* itself[29] which in this aspect appears to be none other than sacrifice. In the comparatively early portions of the *Ṛgveda,* therefore, the principle of *ṛta* appears to have been conceived as a source of the first Being and, therefore, the principle of Being itself (for Being cannot come out of Nonbeing or nothing). It was later in the Nāsadīya Sūkta of the tenth Maṇḍala that a principle prior to both Being and Nonbeing has been conceived[30]. Prior to this Sūkta, though there is some talk of the abyss or abysmal region (*padam gabhīram*)[31], the idea of Nonbeing does not appear to have been crystallised as a principle. But even after its crystallisation, as pointed out by Panikkar, it is not possible to call it a principle of ontological or substantive reality, for it is not yet

27. MM,p.348 *R*

28 R*V,* I, 164. 37.

29. *Ibid.,* I, 23. 5.

30. *Ibid.,* X. 129.

31. *RV,* II. 29. 6; IV. 5. 5; VII. 104. 3, II. 24; IX. 73. 8; X. 87. 14; 20; X. 152. 2, 4; *AV,* II. 14. 13; V. 19. 3; XII. 4. 36; *YV,* I. 25 as listed by Panikkar, *MM,* pp. 626 -28.

sufficiently differentiated from its logically opposite category of dynamic reality, also known as the principle of becoming. Thus, though the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* identifies *ṛta* alone with *Parameṣṭhi* the supreme Being (?)[32], it is not possible to take it in a static sense. There is still some sort of mysterious adjustment etween the philosophical categories of changelessness and change and this defeats all attempts at discovering the dialectical opposite of Being either in Nonbeing or Becoming. This is why the utterences about *ṛta* are bewildering and contradictory, and can, at best, be understood as a "nonontological but nevertheless real principle of order and of activity"[33]. As a principle also of activity, *ṛta* becomes an order of conscious and purposeful motion rather than one of mechanical motion, for the very idea of activity presupposes a cosmic Faculty of understanding and control of Cosmic mind whose existence or non-existence depends on itself and not on anything external to it. It may need constant nurture to perpetuate itself and grow, it may assimilate or reduce to naught what is not itself, for that is not Absolute, but till it is there and till it does not face any dangers from within or is reduced to naught for want of constant nurture, its existence in no longer threatened by what is not itself, be it Nonbeing, the very existence of which, according to Panikkar, is an impossibility[34], or pollution, which, according to modern sociologists and anthropologists, is that which does not fit in the scheme of order[35]. There is no question, therefore, of the called dialectical opposite of order threatening or overcoming the World-order by its polluting influence against which that order should wage a ceaseless war to protect itself. Whatever else is left outside Vedic order, call it *ṛta* or the sacrificial order, is either soon converted into it or awaits conversion , for non-order can be only purely contingent and therefore, incapable of (permanent) existence without being part of the order. If non-order is not without existence and is contingent, order too is not absolutely without an element of contingency, and, therefore, not something metaphysical or ontological[36]. We note fluid state of philosophical speculation which transcends

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32. *TS,* I. 5.5.1.

33. *MM,* p. 350.

34. *Ibid.,* p. 384.

35. *Supra,* fn. 26.

36. The Contingency to which Order is exposed comes from within and not from any ultimate principle of Evil or Sin.

the strict requirements of logical necessity but always with a direction which, if looked into the totality of its context, is unmistakable.

The foregoing discussion leads us to the position that order, or existence is purposeful. There can be no existence without the ultimacy of purpose arising from a conscious Absolute capable of acting and, therefore, whatever is outside order is throughly contingent, without life sanctioned from above and, therefore, either bound to succumb to order or to end in naught. Being a purposeful activity of the conscious Absolute, the Vedic order is *ipso facto* harmonious and held together by the nobility of its mission and the non-exploitative character of interrelationships of its constituents. Sacrifice is an activity which is an embodiment of these two inside the order and a principle of power leading to the expansion and promotion of it at the cost of whatever is outside the order. Prior to the origin of order, sacrifice is an act which mysteriously brings forth into manifestation what was so long unmanifest and is, therefore, at the same time the immediate cause of the manifest order as well. Primordially, therefore, sacrifice is the energy of *ṛta* without which the unmanifest *ṛta* cannot be made manifest or created, within the created order of things it is the principle of purposeful harmonious activity leading to the expansion and nurture of the order and the symbol of the nobility of its and allotted from above. It is a powerful weapon of conquest and assimilation of what is uncreated,though manifest, and without its root in the unmanifest *ṛta* the one and only principle of Being, or Existence. Far from being amenable to pollution or non-order, it is something where the latter cannot simply survive. The sacrificial order of the Vedas is, therefore, well above the categories of purity and pollution which are sociologically attributed to all religious as a universal trait. In fact, the distinction has no place within the structure of Vedic religion, and is only a broad generalisation incapable of being applied to religious beginnings of such ancient communities as the Vedic.

Sacrifice and contamination

It may be argued against the foregoing conclusion that the vedic religion of sacrifice is quite conscious of the distinction of pure and impure, as can be shown by the following few illustrations. Thus the order of *asuras* as distinct from that of the *devas* presupposes a principle of evil or pollution of

which the *asuras* were clearly a manifestation. The *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* states : "Therefore the Śūdra is , it is true, rich in cattle, but excluded from sacrifice, for he has no deity, as no deity had come into existence after him"[37]. Śūdra's association with the principle of evil or pollution alone must have been responsible for the derogatory address prescribed for him in the *Śatapatha* and other *Brāhmaṇas*[38]. It is clearly stated in some of the Śrauta- Sūtras that the milk taken out by a Śūdra becomes unworthy of the *Agnihotra,* for he originated from *asat*[39]. One of the *Śrauta Sūtras* defines *pālāgala* as *anṛtadūta*[40]

But before answering this argument by bringing out the correct meaning of these passages put into their proper context, we would like to point to some such passages which present a blatant contradiction to the above. We have already quoted a passage of the *Śatapatha* saying that everything on earth has been admitted to sacrifice, including supra-terrestrial beings like gods and manes[41]. There is no reason as such why śūdras alone should be excluded from sacrifice. *Devas* and *asuras*, on the other hand, are depicted as brothers originating from the manifest creator, the Prajāpati. Both of them were taught the lesson of sacrifice, but, on account of their self-seeking propensities, the *asuras* began to pour oblations into their own mouths whereas gods poured the same into those of one another[42]. The *asuras* are, moreover, seen as taking resort to sacrifice to score victory over gods and even gods are shown as disturbing their sacrifice with a view to frustrating their purpose[43]. The epithet *asuratva* has also been applied to some of the gods[44]. The distinction between gods and the *asuras* is thus not based on the absolute dichotomy of good and evil, purity and pollution. The *Āpastamba* and the *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtras* sanction the participation of

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37. *PB,* VI. 1. 11.
38. *SB,* I. 1. 4; I. 2. 1.
39. *ASS,* VI. 1-29; *SSS,* II. 6-7.
40. *ASS,* XVIII. 10. 26.
41. *SB,* III. 6.2.26.
42. *Ibid.,* V. 1.1-2.
43. In all such instances of the Vedic age the use of impure things is hardly noticed. Sacrifices are often disturbed by sheer use of force. Casting of impurities in the sacrificial ground by the Rākṣasas, as it appears in the Epic-Purāṇic tradition, seems to be a later development.
44. Macdonell, VM, p. 156.

śūdras in the Aśvamedha sacrifice as armed guards of the sacrificial horse[45]. Pālāgalī, the messanger of evil, as the order to which she belonged has been called in the *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra*, figures as one of the recipients of the *ratnahavīnṣi* by virtue of her being a queen of the king, in the Rājasūya sacrifice, as recorded in the *śāṅkhāyana Srautasūtra*[46]. Even *cāṇḍāla*, the most abdominable man of the later days, has not been put outside the ambit of sacrifice, as he appears as a victim of the Puruṣamedha sacrifice in the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*[47]. The last example very clearly establishes the fact that nothing could contaminate the sacrifice. the potency of the pollution was much less than that of the sacrifice.

The above-cited contradictions clearly bring home the point that these are more apparent than real and have been made possible by the interpretation of the first set of passages after detaching them from their proper contexts. Restored to their contexts, as we shall presently show, the contradictions simply vanish. Thus the Pañ*caviṁśa* passage is found in the context of the origin of sacrifice from Prajāpati. "He (Prajāpati) wished : 'may I create the sacrifice'". Then follows the limb-wise origin of different orders of things which constitute the very being of the sacrifice[48]. The exclusion of śūdras from the order of sacrifice is, therefore, out of the question. Such exclusions only denote a restricted degree of their participation in the act, and that too in a comparative sense. The derogatory address applied to the śūdra in the *Śatapatha* and other *Brāhamaṇas* in the context of the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice does not have any reference whatsoever to their inborn pollution or impurity. It may be made to yield that sense only when it is detached from its specific context and interpreted in isolation. The full form of the address, as found in the *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* is "*haviṣkṛta ādhāva*" which means "Run O Sacrificer".[49] There is hardly any doubt that the śūdra has here been given the status of a

45. *ASS,* XX. 5. 13; *KSS,* XX. 50.

46. *ASS,* XVII, 10. 26; *SSS,* XVI. 4. 4.

47. *VS,* XXX. 21; *TB,* III. 4. 1-17.

48. *PB,* VI. 6-10.

49. *ASS,* I, 19-23 CF.*SK,* Vol, I, trans. p. 279. The original of the SB, I.1.4; I.2.1 passages hardly leave any room for doubt that all the addresses apply to *haviṣkṛt,* i.e. sacrificer who belonged to all the four *varṇas.* The exclusion of the śūdras from sacrifice had become such a patent fact in later times that the commentator of ASS tries to dilute the contradiction between the earlier and later traditions by taking Śūdra in the sense of a *rathakāra* or *niṣāda.*

Sacrificer and hence there is no question of his contaminating the sacrifice, this derogatory address notwithstanding. So far as the disqualification of the śūdra from milching the cow for Agnihotra because of his impure origin, is concerned, it may be pointed out that the same śūdra has been permitted to milch the cow for the same purpose in a different situation when either the householder is no more or he has gone out and the Agnihotra is to be performed by somebody else[50]. Obviously, the restriction has been made for reasons other than the consideration of saving the Agnihotra from the contamination of it from the pollution of which the śūdra is supposedly the embodiment. As a sociological notion the categories of pure and impure are permanent and do not change from situation to situation. Rituals of modern tribes may have around them the protective ring of taboos to ward off polluting influences likely to defile them, but the Vedic religion of sacrifice, as shown above, did not need such a safeguard against pollution.

Labouring under the unconscious influence of Christianity in which the elements of dualism are quite strong inspite of its professedly monotheistic character, the Western interpreters of the Vedic religion of sacrifice tended to accentuate and absolutise the relatively antagonistic orders of gods and demons, pure and impure, and so on. In fact, such expressions of the so called antagonistic aspects of the Vedic order of sacrifice do not rise above the level of verbal epithets and hence the idea of evils conveyed by them falls much short of the philosophical height of an absolute or nearly principle. Though terms like *anṛta, asat, tamas,* etc., occur in the Vedic literature yet they are nothing more than the crude abstractions derived from the adjectival usage of their derivatives. Without fear of contradiction one can safely conclude that the principle of *asat, anṛta* or Evil, if any, did not achieve as much philosophical development in the Vedas and the literature of the later Vedic period as *ṛta*, or the principle of Being,the largely undifferentiated order. Its dialectical opposite, the order of Nonbeing as a source of all Evil and pollution, is, therefore, as shown above, an impossibility, also on the existential plane.

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50. *AP,* II. 8 Cf. *SK,* Vol. II, trans., p. 1131. The *ASS,* VI. 1-22 says, "A Sudra should not milk the cow, because he is indeed, born from untruth. Or he may milk when one puts the milk over the *gārhapatya* fire, it purifies". *SK,* Vol. I, trans., P. 110. The *ASS,* I. 11-14; IV. 4 lays down, "A Sudra should not milk (the cow). Or he may her. The milker should milk the cow in a wooden pot". *SK,* Vol. I, trans., p. 249.

One would like to conclude this section by extending the following statement of R.S. Sharma made in respect of the collections of the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharva Veda* to the whole of the period. "There is nothing to show that the dāsas and śūdras were considered impure, or that their touch imparted pollution to the food or the body of the members of the higher varṇas"[51].His conclusion that the restrictions emerging in the later Vedic period were calculated to protect sacrifice from the polluting influence of the lowly is obviously unteneable in view of the foregoing discussion. The sacrifice hardly needed any protection from pollution, for it was more powerful than pollution. Though appearing in the context of religion, these restrictions do not seem to be of religious origin. At least the structure of the Vedic religion outlined above does not allow any room for them.

This conclusion is further supported by the following observation of K.S. Macdonald : "The word sin and its equivalent are very rarely found in the Brāhmaṇas. Arya priests and Rishis were not much troubled with either sin or crime as committed by themselves. Enemies in flesh and blood, poverty, want of food and such like earthly considerations troubled man much more than sin"[52]. But Macdonald later assails his own position in his anxiety to prove that Rishis were no less sinners in actual life and tends to apply De uincey's remarks about Hebrew idolatory to all sins[53]. This absolutises the concept of Sin as a dialectical opposite of what is holy and pious. In support of this modified stand he cites some passages from the *Śatapatha* and other *Brāhmaṇas* which we may examine afresh in order to see if they really bear out the final conclusion of Macdonald, or he has slipped into his unconscious prediliction for Christian dualism. In the first place he quotes the passage in which it is told how the gods decided to throw away the ashes from the pan of the *Agnicayana* thinking that 'if we make this, such as it is, part of our self, we shall become mortal carcasses, not freed from sin (*martyāḥ, kuṇapā anapahatapāpmāno bhaviṣyāmaḥ*)[54]. He tries to infer from this the sindister effects of sin symbolised in the form of ashes

51. Sharma, R.S., *SAI,* p. 45.

52. Macdonald, K.S., *BV,* pp. 187 f.

53. *Ibid.*

54. *SB,* VI, 8.2.1.

from which even the gods are afraid and want to keep away from its polluting influence[55]. But this is not the case. The ashes here symbolise the transient phase of Agni's earthly manifestation from which the immortal Agni is not altogether absent. The passage next to it makes this point amply clear. "While meditating", so the passage runs, they saw this", - "Let us take it down to the water; for water is the Foundation of this universe, we shall reproduce from out of water what there is of Agni's nature in this (heap of ashes)"[56]. Though despicable as a symbol of death, the ashes still hold the unmanifest Agni into them, and, therefore, there is no question of its being the dialectical opposite of the holy. In fact, it is the seed deposited safely into water, the foundation of the universe, to be brought back into manifestation as and when needed. The state of unmanifestation is despicable not because it is polluting but because it is unknown and, therefore, horrible. What the gods are afraid of is not pollution but the fear of the unknown.

Secondly, he brings to our notice a passage from the same source which prescribe the burning of seven balls of the dung of horse in a horse sacrifice with a view to warding off injury to the horse and other cattle[57]. He at once identifies this ritual formula with the practice of fumigation as a device to ward off evil and expresses his surprise over the use of horse dung instead of some fragrant material[58]. However, this is nothing but reading a patent idea into something which has only some remote similarities with it. The express purpose of fumigation stated in the passage itself is not warding off evil, it is on the contrary, to save the horse and other cattle from injury arising out of fire by offering the useless part of the horse to it. Those seven balls are again taken to symbolise the seven *yajūṃṣi*, the seven gods, the seven headed *prāṇa*[59]. Another passage immediately preceding the one quoted by Macdonald makes the whole thing quite clear. In Eggling's translation it reads, "He (the Adhvaryu) now fumigates it (the fire pan) just for the sake of

55. *BV*, pp. 188 f.

56. *SB*, VI. 8.2.2, trans., Eggling, J., *SBE*, XLI, p. 293.

57. *SB*, VI. 5.3. 9-11.

58. *BV*, p. 189.

59. *SB*, VI. 5.3.11.

strength or to mark the progress of the work. And again as to why he fumigates, that fire pan is the head of the sacrifice, and the smoke its breath : he thus puts breath into the head"[60]. The ritual obviously symbolised *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* in the altar and had nothing to do with the warding off the evil.

In the third passage quoted by him removal of evil in the form of evil intention has been declared to be its meaning[61]. Commenting on the crucial terms *anirā* and *amīvāḥ* in the passage Sāyaṇa points out that *irā* pertains to crops (*annanam*). Therefore, *anirā* means (natural) factors like drought (anāvṛṣṭyādinā) which obstruct crops. *Amīvāḥ* he interprets as diseases the affliction of which is brought about by our own bad intentions (*durmatim*). It is clear from this that for Sāyaṇa *durmati* was not a form of the principle of evil in the abstract[62]. It was on the other hand a creature of human lapses for which no external agency like Devil or the dialectical opposite of good is responsible. These ethical lapses in human mind are, however, assumed to be the cause of external visitations, for they patently offend the order.

In the fourth passage, according to him, sacrifice has been shown as spreading "in a place free from danger and devilry"[63]. To be fair to Macdonald it may be pointed out that this expression in translating the original passage *nānṣṭratva' bhaye' nāṣṭra' etam yajñamatanvata*, has not been employed by him. He was simply following Eggling's translation. It is interesting to find devilry without the concept of Devil in the whole range of Vedic thought. The same word *nāṣṭrā* has been translated by Eggling elsewhere as 'fiend' which again presupposes an absolutised agency of wickedness. It is clear from Sāyaṇa's commentary that *nāṣṭrā* has not been used in the sense of the agent of some supreme principle of evil but has been viewed as creatures (*prajā*) given to destructive disposition[64] and thus has been an expression of purely existential plane. Moreover, destruction is not necessarily equatable to contamination and pollution which the expressions like fiend and devilry essentially convey.

60. *Ibid.,* VI. 5.3.8; Eggling, *op.cit.,* p. 240.

61. *Ibid.,* VI. 4.4.17.

62. Sāyaṇa on above.

63. *SB,* VII. 2.5, Eggling, *op.cit.,* p. 375.

64. Sāyaṇa on above.

The next passage from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* recommends presenting of blood offerings to the evil spirits, viz. *rākṣasas, asuras,* etc., and justifies this by saying that they (offerings) are to be offered not to allot these spirits any share in the sacrifice. Alternatively, the passage also gives the justifications that these offerings are to be given with an appropriate address to them, for if one deprives them of their rightful share he will receive the punishment either himself or the same will be received by his son or grandson[65]. Macdonald is immediately reminded of the second commandment and the 'Christian heredity or imputation of sin' and interprets the whole passage accordingly[66]. But this interpretation misses the mark, for instead of sin being drastically punished by the Divine upholder of order, as in the case of Ten Commandments or in the case of the concept of the original sin, the so called evil spirits are here accomodated within the framework of the sacrificial order at least by one opinion. Even those who do not allow proper share in the sacrifice to these spirits recommend their prior satisfaction without a proper address. These spirits are by no means the untouchables and polluting agents strictly to be warded off from the sacred sacrifice. The contemplated punishment does not emanate from the wrath of these evil spirits but from the ethical wrong of depriving them of their rightful share which offends the order of *ṛta*.

Citing a passage from the piling up of altar for Nirṛti as laid down in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Macdonald concludes by saying, "While the supernatural is generally addressed as beneficient and naturally friendly to the Aryan sacrificers, there are undoubted instances, as we see above, in which the supernatural is represented as naturally and essentially evil"[67]. In fact, Macdonald has read later traditions about Nirṛti, represented as wife of *Adharma*, into the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* theme[68]. There is nothing in the passage itself which can justify this conclusion. The purpose of piling up the altar by Nirṛti bricks has been declared in the same passage as despelling darkness, evil and corruption. It is true that Nirṛti is described as 'evil,

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65. *AB,* II. 6.
66. *BV,* p. 190.
67. *SB,* VII. 2.1.
68. *BV,* pp. 193 f.

corruption' but she is also called 'this earth'[69]. The following statement describing Nirṛti bricks is characteristic of the ontological position of evil in the Vedic tradition. "They are unmarked because whatever is not, that is unmarked by characteristics : he thus makes evil, corruption to be non-existent"[70].

Ontologically evil is non-existent, its perception is purely a contingent phenomenon and belongs to existential plane. That is why all other passages quoted by Macdonald in support of his thesis either bring out the point of ultimate non-discrimination against what is evil and admit it to sacrifice without any hitch, or proclaim the potency of sacrifice which is the symbol of existence and Being against what is evil and, therefore, simply non-existent in spite of its phenomenal appearance before the empirical agencies of perception. The story of Manu in the *Kāṭhaka Brāhmaṇa Saṅkalana* tells us how the *asura* priests Triṣṭha and Varuti go to Manu as guests and proposed to sacrifice his wife for him and how ultimately Indra came to his rescue and killed the priests in the process of attempting a flight by the water for consecration. The potency of sacrifice is also at the same time proclaimed through the power of the water which is able to kill only on account of its association with the sacrifice[71]. But the story leaves no room for doubt that both Manu and the *asuras* were followers of the cult of sacrifice with the only difference that while Manu followed it in the right earnest the *asuras* followed it with an evil design. All talks of sin or evil in the Vedic tradition is therefore, limited to the existential level of human and theological worlds. Sin or the principle of sin, if any, is not coeval with sacrifice either in origin or in power . Before it, the sin is simply non-existent and an appearance of non-Being and therefore, the question of the contamination of sacrifice by sin or evil does not arise.

Sacrifice and its power of purification

Potdar has quoted several passages from the *Ṛgveda* to show that one of the purposes of sacrifice was the protection[72] from and expiation of sin[73].

69. *SB,* VII. 2.1.
70. *Ibid.*
71. *KB,* II, 50. 1.
72. *RV,* I. 136. 5; II. 26. 4; X. 63. 6; *PSR,* p. 281.
73. *RV,* I. 185. 8; I. 114. 4; VII. 51. 1; *PSR,* p. 281.

But the Mīmānsakas later held out a generalisation to the effect that the *prāyaścittas* or expiations are of two kinds, viz. *krattavartha* and *puruṣārtha*[74]. Of these, the second kind pertained to sin whereas the first dealt with the lapses in the course of performing a sacrifice. Expiation of the second variety gained prominence only in the Dharmaśāstra tradition whereas the first occupied a position of preeminence in the age of the *Atharvaveda* and *Brāhmaṇas*[75]. Seen in the light of this later tradition, sacrifice appears to have nothing to do with the *puruṣārtha* type of *prāyaścittas* and hence with sins of a moral kind and their expiation. Prāyaścitta which carries inter alia the meaning of atonement or purification from sin as the result of it, or expiation, denotes in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the Vedic tradition of sacrific only rectification of certain errors. Protection from sin should, therefore, be construed to mean protection from the consequences of the lapses which may or may not include moral ones. As seen above, these undesirable consequences do not proceed from some absolutised source of Evil or sin but from the offence they cause to the order of *ṛta*.

The Vedic notion of sin has got to be distinguished from the Christian notion of sin with which it is often confused on account of the terminology employed in the translations of the Vedic texts. The most fundamental difference between the two can be brought out by a comparison of the Vedic dialogue of Yama and Yamī[76] with the Biblical legend of Adam and Eve.Both Yama and Adam are exposed to temptation but whereas Adam succumbs to it and pays the price of the same by contaminating his whole race by the curse of the creator, the Original Sin, Yama rises above the temptation and reaches the divine height of a man-god. The source of the Biblical temptation is the agent of Satan which is further strengthened by the persuations of Eve. But in the Vedic story of the temptation of the first man no absolutised agency of sin figures. It originates from his own twin sister and is successfully repudiated, and this repudiation alone is his title to supreme manhood. Man is not, therefore, necessarily a victim of an inevitable fall which only the grace of God can wipe out, but, according to the Vedic tradition, he is a creature of free will quite capable of

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74. Om Prakash, "King and Brāhmaṇas vis a vis Prāyaścitta and Daṇḍa" in *KCMV*, p. 107.

75. Kane, *HD*, Vol. IV. pp. 69 ff.

76. *RV*, X. 10.

rising above all temptations, and fall is not inevitable for him. What is peculiar to Vedic legends is the succumbing of Divinities like *Prajāpati* to the sin of committing incest with his own daughter in order to save the Creation from a prospective extinction[77]. But even this eventually did not compel Yama to agree to the ignoble proposals of Yamī. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* story Manu, no doubt, commits incest for the perpetuation of his race but he utilises for the purpose the divine instrument (his daughter produced by sacrifice), which was granted to him by the sacrifice itself[78]. The Vedic concept of sin, therefore, originates from the lapses of man which are not altogether unavoidable for him, though he commits them by way of error and is always apologetic for the same to gods who keep a watch over the order of *ṛta* and beseeches their mercy[79]. He is also, at the same time, ready to rectify his conduct, if rectification is, at all, possible. It is probably in this sense that the different words commonly translated as sin or its synonyms and derivatives[80] figure in the Vedic literature.

The foregoing discussion makes it amply clear that it is only secondarily that the notion of purity, or purification attaches to the Vedic idea of sin, and in that respect sacrifice can very well be ragarded as a source of purification. But understanding sin in terms of blot or impurity contaminating its bearer till it is washed away and cleansed does not appear to be very popular notion in the Vedic literature. Thus in the *Ṛgveda*[81] a strainer which purifies the soma juice has been called *pavitra*. Soma was unworthy of consumption till it is purified by the strainer. It is probably in this background that the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* calls Soma *kilviṣasprt*, i.e. one who touches the *kilviṣa* a term rendered as sin.[82] The sacrificer who has

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77. *RV,* X. 61. 5-71 *TBM,* II. 10; *JB,* III. 2. 61; *TB,* II. 3. 10.

78. *SB,* I. 8.1. 1-10.

79. *RV,* I. 97; X. 34. 12-14; VII. 89; *AV,* VI. 115; IV. 16, etc.

80. *MM,* p. 454-458.

81. *Ibid.,* p. 519.

82. *AB,* II. 3. The commentator Ṣaḍguruśiṣya quotes the following verse from an unknown source in order to explain the epithet *kilviṣa* employed for the sacrifice :
kilviṣāt pāpato bhīte yajamāno' tra kilviṣam
kilviṣam kilviṣamiti sadā kīrtanayogataḥ.
This shows that *kilviṣa* was the common form of address for the sacrificer.

been symbolically characterised as *kilviṣa* attains greatness (*śreṣṭhatāmaśnute*) as the result of his passing through the strainer which is the Soma sacrifice. Being touched by him at the time of its unloading from the cart, Soma becomes *kilviṣaspṛt*. From such a level of the most common and actual usage the idea of purification enters the domain of ritual symbolism in those passages occurring in the *Yajurveda*,[83] the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[84] and the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*[85] which stress the importance of bath and water as agents of purification not only from physical dirt but from the dirt of error in ones performance of the ritual act and in ones conduct towards gods and men. The themes of these passages are especially worthy of note. The ablution prayer which accompanies the ritual of bath at the end of the sacrifice (*avabhṛtha*) is intended to remove the sins of the sacrificer against gods with the help of gods and those committed against mortals with the help of mortals.[86] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* passage,while repeating it, substitutes men for mortals.[87] The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* passage wants to absolve the performer of the consequence of taking food in the house of the wicked, receiving gift at the hands of the crafty, eating or drinking in excess, consorting with the people of various ways and of committing sins of thought, speech or action. The deity invoked is the 'Lord of water of golden appearance; besides Bṛhaspati, Sūrya and Varuṇa.[88] The most interesting simile employed to describe the getting out of the sin after the bath is the sloughing off the skin by the snake.[89] This theme also occurs in the *Praśna Upaniṣad*.[90] The purifying efficacy of the bath has to be interpreted in the general context of the sacrifice. Thus the purpose of the ablution at the beginning of the Soma sacrifice does not appear to be purification at all. The *Aitareya Brāhamaṇa* clearly says that water here symbolises *retas* (semen) and

83. *YV*, III. 48.
84. *SB*, IV. 4. 5. 22-23.
85. *TA*, X. 1. 12-13.
86. *MM*, p. 520.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 521.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 521.
89. Besides the *TA* passage this theme also figures in the *PB*, X. B though in a different context.
90. *PU*, V. 5.

the ablution of the *dīkṣita* means his *garbhādhāna* (impregnation) before being kept in the womb which is the altar.[91] Obviously its purpose is not purification. Purification does take place secondarily at the time of his induction to the altar and is performed by twenty-one blades of *kuśa* (a grass).[92] The *avabhṛtha* ablution at the end of the sacrifice has very much to do with purification.[93] It purifies the sacrificer who is called *kilviṣa* even though he is not allowed to bathe during the course of sacrifice. He is not permitted to move outside the altar area and supposed to lie there for the period of the sacrifice as a foetus lies for the period of gestation in his mother's womb. In fact, it is the rebirth of the sacrificer through the sacrifice, and the *avabhṛtha* bath signifies his ablution immediately after his divine rebirth.[94] The purifying efficacy of this bath has been conceived on the analogy of the physical birth of the newly born baby still carrying with itself the impurities of its antecedent situation inside the womb. The sin which this bath is supposed to wash away has, therefore, no metaphysical basis, and carried with it the idea of outgrowing the utility of the formations inside the womb which attached to the infant as a sustaining device. The sloughing of serpent's skin, an idea figuring in one of the passages quoted earlier, describes the concept very exactly. Like the dead skin of the serpent, the sin is no external imposition on man, it is rather a part of his being and should be ridden off because of its spent up utility. Another significant idea figuring in the passages cited above is that sins against gods are to be removed with the help of gods and those against men with the help of men.This again shows the purely accidental character of sin as conceived in the Vedic tradition and the anxiety to get rid of it simply denotes the desire to remove the resultant blemish or the undesirable consequences. There is no question of guilt attaching to the mind of the sinner as he has already outgrown that state of his mind which was the cause of his misconduct, or the consequence of his earlier situation. For misconduct and lapses he pleads for the mercy of the gods which he is more or less sure to get, for the hardened offender there is the bottomless abyss (*padam gabhīram*) into which he is thrown by gods with no hope of redemption. But this

91. *AB,* I. 3.
92. *Ibid.*
93. *ASED,* p. 101.
94. *AB,* I. 3 Cf. *TS,* VI. 1. 3; VI. 2. 4,

divine unishment falls on him not because he has given himself up to the Devil but because he is creating persistent obstruction in the functioning of the order of *ṛta*.

"Hardened sinners are these the obtrusive young women
of evil conduct who deceive their husbands.
In their hearts no truth or faithfulness is found.
It is they who have produced this abysmal region".[95]
"Into the abyss Indra and Soma plunge
the wicked : Into bottomless darkness fling them,
so that not one of them may ever return :
May your fierce power prevail and subdue them."[96]

The Problem of Purity and Pollution as the basis of Social Discrimination

Approaching the Vedic order as a social phenomenon necessarily presupposes a differentiation of the category social from religious, economic, philosophical and anthropological, whereas in the framework of the Vedic notion of the same, these categories were inseparably mingled to form an undifferentiated whole. In spite of this holistic idea of order, the Vedic order was undoubtedly differentiated in its own way, for no order is without some kind of differentiation. To understand the Vedic order with these preconceived differentiated categories in mind amounts to imposing our own framework of the notion of society and order on it without caring to think how people of the time expressed their idea or awareness of it. What follows is an attempt to understand the Vedic order as it impinged upon the consciousness of its bearers as a whole with special reference to the structuring and integration of human orders *qua* the whole as also *qua* each other as constituents of the whole.

The hallmark of the differentiation of the Vedic order is its division into the orders of gods, manes, men and animals. Besides these orders of beings, is the order of vegetation and then of space, landform, skies, waters,

95. *RV,* IV. 5. 5.
96. *Ibid.,* VII. 104.

and so on. All these orders have their respective identities and roles and through them serve the purposeful activity of sacrifice which is nothing but an expression of the order of *ṛta.* The harmonious unity of the different identities and functions is integrated on the basis of non-exploitative interrelationship epitomised in sacrifice symbolic of selfsacrificing action for others.[97] This is why the order of vegetation provides at the cost of its own life sustenence and nurture to the human and animal worlds, the animal order similarly sacrifices itself for the sake of gods and gods for the sake of *ṛta.*[98] Doing for others, sacrificing in one anothers mouth is, therefore, the central purpose to which the entire energy or constituents of *ṛta* , or the Vedic order, is geared to. Human world being a part and parcel of this vast whole has been modelled on the analogy of this order in general.[99] In fact, the same principle of integrating different roles and identities around central selfless action also necessarily informs it. The order of the three or four *varṇas* into which the human world has been divided represents the

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97. The following verse of the *RV,* I. 187. 5 makes the point emphatically clear :
"Those who share your (foods') sweetness,
with others are truly your friends",
"Those who keep fine taste to themselves,
are stiff-necked wretches".
Verse II of the same Sūkta also underlines the common partaking of food by gods and men. Panikkar sums up the portion even more clearly :
"To perform sacrifice is not to participate in a good act or to do good to the Gods, to mankind, or to oneself : it is to live, to "Make" ones own survival and that of the whole universe. It is the act by which the universe itself continues". *MM,* p. 353.

98. As the legend of Bhīṣma-loka in *SB,* XI. 6. 1-3 shows, one wins his right of consuming trees, cattle, herbs and their products only through sacrifice and there exists a sort of reciprocity, for the roles are supposed to change. Sacrifice of even *puruṣa* (God) for the sake of creating different orders for sacrifice is enshrined in the famous Puruṣa Sūkta of the *RV,* X. 90. Self-sacrifice of the Prajāpati is a well known theme in a number of legends in the *Brāhmaṇas.* The *BU,* I. 5. 1-3 philosophises the whole thing when it says : "How is it then that these do not dwindle when they are constantly eaten up?" This means that the person is permanent, for it is he who again and again produces food".

99. The statement that *Viśaḥ* is the food for all does not, therefore, mean that he is to be eaten up or oppressed. This simply denotes his key position in the vast cycle of production and consumption in which all other orders also participate in their own way and offer a similar sacrifice. For sacrifice of gods see *SR,* p. 68. 71.

differentiation of roles and identities of human groups with a view to facilitating sacrifice on earth. This differentiation has got to be distinguished from the modern notion of social classes, estates and castes, on the one hand, and an exploitative grouping for the sake of social discrimination, on the other.

Social classes or class structure of society as it is understood today, implies different things in different contexts. Sometimes they are taken to denote "a real phenomenon that exists independently of the activity of research workers : actually or metaphorically we may hold that a social class is an entity that thinks and feels and acts" and is, therefore virtually" a psychological corporation."[100] They also appear, at times, as categories formed by the researchers and hence are hardly more than "pale abstractions". For Marxists, "the social classes of sociology are *ipso facto* the categories of economic theory : on the other hand, the categories of economic theory are *ipso facto* the social classes."[101] Any attempt to detach the two amounts, according to a phrase current among the Marxists, to 'rob economic theory of its social contents; Classes are distinguished on the basis of income, property, authority, power and 'control over persons;[102] In Marxist scheme of things these factors are determined in turn by the relations of production which, therefore, are the ultimate determinants and bases of social classes.[103] If one identifies Vedic *varṇa* with social classes he unnecessarily supplies economic and sociological contents, largely of ones own making to them, and which originally they did not contain. He also, at the same time, makes them self-conscious psychological corporations based primarily on the relations of production and working for the fulfilment of their best economic interest and struggling with each other for the possession of more and more power and influence with a view to facilitating the attainment of an exploitative advantage over others. It further reduces the historical social reality of the Vedic age to an ideological hypocrisy of the upper class, the priests, who had enunciated the whole thing with a deliberate

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100. J.A. Schumpeter, *AHEA,* p. 550.

101. *Ibid.,* p. 551.

102. R. Duhrendorf, *CCCIS,* p. 205; also *CAC,* as cited by Beteille, A., in *EHE,* p. 212.

103. A. Swinzwood, *MMST,* p. 120.

design to bag the maximum economic advantage for their class and put the whole thing in grandiloquent scheme of religious beliefs in order to make them look authoritative. The non-exploitative character of interrelationship of the Vedic order stands abrogated and its place is taken by its opposite. *Varṇas* are, therefore, to be linked with whatever evidence of the Vedic concept of order is there in the texts rather than with the socio-economic notion of classes or class structure of society - a nineteenth century model.

Varṇas are again to be distinguished from estates and castes. Social differentiation in terms of estates is a feature characteristic of feudal complex in which land-relations occupy a central position.[104] The Vedic age was, on the other hand, non-feudal and the *varṇa* order was not based on landrelations. Of the three estates of European feudal complex, Clergy and nobility were land owners, clergy owning it in the name of church and enjoying the benefits of ownership of their individual shares individually while members of nobility both owned and enjoyed it individually and got it worked by the serf population attached to it. The serfs were landless people attached to the landed estates belonging either to the members of nobility or to church and assigned to the members of cleargy individually.[105] It is true that the *varṇas*, like the estates, were not so rigidly hereditary as castes and were characterised by a close cooperation and mutual dependence, but in the absence of the essential of the land-relations, central to the concept, it is not possible to identify *varṇas* with estates.

Though caste is generally supposed to be a development of *varṇas* society, *varṇas* were not castes. Unlike caste groups, they were not rigidly hereditary of strictly endogamous; nor were they known for their mutual and hierarchical repulsion commonly understood to be a feature of the caste.[106] *Varṇas* thus do not fit in any of the known sociological categories and were a unique social phenomenon and must be studied as such in their own particular context. As status groups too, *varṇas* cannot be understood on the basis of any single definition of status and represent a blend of both ritual and secular rankings. So far as their Vedic conception goes, it may be analysed in the following manner.

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104. J.S. Roucek, *SC*, p. 150.

105. *Ibid.*

106. *Ibid.*, pp. 149 ff.

The orders of the vedic world, viz., gods, manes, men and animals are not mutually exclusive. If men like Yama can attain godhood by overcoming earthly temptations, gods also participate with men in the act of sacrifice and descend on earth to help them as in the case of Indra who came in the form of a Brāhamaṇa to save Manu from being duped by the *asuras.*[107] Between men and manes there is a regular traffic and manes act as seeds of future creations.[108] The identity of these orders is, therefore, decided by the roles they play in the cosmic drama of sacrifice which is, at the same time, noble and constructive. Modelled on the analogy of these orders and created divinely from the same source from which all other orders had their origin, the *varṇas* were also not mutually exclusive and their identity was determined in accordance with their allotted roles. *Varṇas* were not peculiar to human order only. There are talks of *varṇas* even among gods.[109] This distinction is also there among the animal and plant orders.[110] These are not distinguished from one another by a reference to wealth or power but by the amount of their participation in sacrifice. Thus the Brāhmaṇas, by virtue of their dedication to the traditional lore of the sacrifice, were virtually gods among men and could partake the offerings made over to the gods.[111] They were the highest because they preferred to renounce what was seen and this worldly in their life to the unseen and other-worldly and were, therefore, the foremost earthly servants of *ṛta.* Next to them came the Rājanyas who were the patrons of sacrifice and upholders of the law, besides being the mainstay of worldly power.[112] Their amount of participation in the act of sacrifice was second only to that of the Brāhmaṇas in as much as they had no right to partake the sacrificial food. Though ready to lay down their life

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107. *RV,* X. 14. 1-2, supra fn. 71, *SB,* I. 5. 1. 6 states, "the gods attached to their divine status and glory by performing sacrifice " while *AB,* I. 5. 2 tells us that "the sacrifice imparts immortality to the sacrificer through his union with the gods". For the idea of a two-way traffic between the world of men and the world of gods see *MM,* p. 557 and the passages of the *RV* and *TS* referred to there.

108. This idea matures later in the Upaniṣads, see *MM,* pp. 557.

109. *SB,* XIV. 4.2. 23-25.

110. *AB,* VI. 4. 4. 12-15; *SB,* I. 1. 1. 4; *AB,* VII. 3. 4. For *varṇa* division even among the Vedic metres see *AB,* V. 1.

111. *SB,* IV. 3. 4. 4.

112. *AB,* VIII. 17; *SB,* XIII. 1. 5. 6.

for the sake of perpetuating and propagating the cult of sacrifice, the Rājanyas could not sacrifice their worldly comforts for the unseen ones and, therefore, were rated inferior to the Brāhmaṇas. The third place of the Vaiśyas was owing to fact that they were very much immersed in the production of worldly things and had very little time to devote to service of the other-worldly except their contribution in terms of worldly wealth and material. They suffered to be eaten away by others and this was their sacrifice.[113] The participation of the Śūdras was so limited that they were often proclaimed as excluded from the sacrifice, though as shown above, their total exclusion was never a fact in the whole of the Vedic period. The restricted amount of their participation in sacrifice appears to be due to the fact of their inability to lead an other-worldly and an ostensibly selfless life. They could not also probably distinguish their contribution to the cause of sacrifice in the manner in which the equally worldly Rājanyas and Vaiśyas distinguished theirs in terms of prowess and wealth respectively. Proportionate restrictions in the participation in sacrifice was not on account of the stigma of impurity or pollution attaching to these orders but, owing to their respective roles in the perpetuation and propagation of sacrifice and upholding the order of *ṛta*. As is clear from some of the references on the point, these roles were not inherited by persons from their forefathers but were dependent on the ability of individuals to perform them. *Varṇas* as they appear in the Vedic age were, therefore, neither self-conscious classes or estates nor fully closed hereditary occupational groups integrated more or less on the lines of modern castes. They were nothing but loose abstractions of certain leading roles and identities with regard to sacrifice.

In the context of all orders discrimination is always relative to the mode of differentiation. If in the Vedic order the amount of participation in sacrifice stands in inverse relation to the worldly pursuits of life, restricted participation in sacrifice does not, in any way, discriminate against an individual or group subjected to it. Just as in an egalitarian society such religious beliefs and practices as amount to the violation of the principle of equality would be interested with, similarly in an *ūrdhvamūla* order, like the Vedic, selfish pursuits of worldly belongings are always exposed to undue

113. *AB*, VII. 35. 29.

interference which may sometimes extend to the limit of being arbitrary, though it would not be called a discrimination. Discrimination is, therefore, the forceful denial of rights and privileges which are admissible to an individual or an order within the framework of the prevailing mode of differentiation. Many cases of social discrimination against the Śūdras and the Vaiśyas noted by scholars emerge from the error of reducing the Vedic order to the needs of an egalitarian prejudice unconsciously present in the mind of the researcher. Thus the oft-quoted *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[114] passage describing the Vaiśyas as *anyasya Valikṛt, anyasya ādyaḥ* and *yathākāmajyeyo* and Śūdras as *anyasya preṣyaḥ, kamotthapyo* and *yathākāmvadhyo* is taken to show the discrimination which these lower orders were put to by the upper ones. But neither the upshot of the whole story in the context of which this passage figures is ever shown nor the fact that the Brāhmaṇas too have been described in the same passage as *yathākāmaprayāpyo*[115] which Sāyaṇa understands as one who can be expelled at will from his house or village on account of his being weak and without courage (*śaurya*) or wealth (*dhanādi*) qualities characteristic of the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas, respectively.[116] The story in which this passage occurs shows how king Viśvantara turned out his priest and how in protest a number of Brāhmaṇas belonging to that section of priesthood assembled at the altar. When they were ordered to be forcefully removed, one of them, called Rāma Mārgaveya, warns him, on the basis of his superior knowledge, of the risk of choosing an improper sacrificial food for the royal sacrificer by inexpert persons elevated to preisthood[117]. He says that if Soma is offered as the sacrificial food to the Kṣatriya sacrificer his progeny will become Brāhmaṇa-like with all its good and bad points noted above because Soma is the sacrificial food of the Brāhmaṇas. Similarly, if curd which the sacrificial food of the Vaiśyas is chosen, the royal sacrificer will certainly produce a son or grand son given to the disposition of the Vaiśyas with all its qualities and disabilities. The story further tells us that the consequence of offering water which is the sacrificial food of the Śūdras will

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114. *Ibid.*

115. *Ibid.*

116. Sāyaṇa on above.

117. *AB,* VII. 35. 3. 27.

be the birth of a Śūdra son in a generation or two. With all the qualities and disabilities of a Śūdra this son will form a part of his own order in spite of his royal birth[118]. There is hardly any doubt that the story wants to emphasise the open character of the *Varṇa* orders which went strictly by the intrinsic qualities of the persons and the roles allotted to them accordingly. If one bears the disabilities by virtue of his intrinsic qualities irrespective of his birth and heredity, there is hardly any case for social discrimination. It is further important to note that like the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras had their own sacrificial food which shows that the Śūdras were not excluded from sacrifice, a discrimination very often imposed on them by the modern researcher.

Though free from discriminations, the Śūdras were subjected to certain restrictions on their participation in sacrifice which are usually interpreted as points of social discrimination against them. In order to find out their true implication we shall analyse the nature of these ritual restrictions and work out their bearing, if any, on considerations of purity and pollution. Thus a passage in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā, Tāṇḍya* and *Jaiminīya* Brāhmaṇas points out that both the horse and the Śūdra cause the world to go and that is why both of them are unfit for sacrifice[119]. Contact with Śūdras, women, dogs, and crows is forbidden for one who is undergoing a certain *vrata*. He is also advised not to give his leavings to his Śūdra or Śūdras[120]. A *dīkṣita* is likewise, not allowed to talk to Śūdra and a woman during the course of a sacrifice unless it is unavoidable[121]. A Śūdra, as noted above, was not allowed to milch the cow for Agnihotra and Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifices[122]. Defilement of fuel occurs when it comes into contact with a dog, a *cāṇḍala,* a Śūdra, a crow, a sinner, a donkey, or a woman in her courses[123]. A sacred fire is to be renewed if it comes into contact with the twelve impurities of the body or with a Śūdra[124]. Touch of

118. *Śūdratāmanabhyupaitoḥ śūdratayā jijyuṣitāḥ.*

119. *TS,* VII. 1. 1-2; *TB,* VI. 1-3; *JB,* I. 66. 70.

120. *SB,* XIV. 1.1.

121. *Ibid.,* III. 1.1.9-10 cf. *BSS,* IX, 19-20.

122. *TB,* III. 2. 3; *ASS,* I. 11-14; VI. 1-29; *KSS,* 4. 2.

123. *BSS,* XXVII. 8.

124. *VSS,* XX. 18.

eight things, viz. faeces, a dog, a *cāṇḍāla* , a Śūdra, a crow, a *patita*, a donkey, and a woman in her courses during the Agnihotra causes the ruin of forest[125]. A particular rite wards off the possibility of his being born among the Śūdras and to die without offspring[126]. These passages hardly leave any room for doubt that even though words like defilement or impure or *anṛta* are used, impurity was not perhaps so much the prime consideration behind these restrictions as it was the fear of evil consequences (emanating from the offended potency of sacrifice) that are supposed to follow and for which appropriate *prāyaścittas* are laid down. They are, therefore, not of the nature of even ritual taboos, for they are amenable to correction.

These passages are, moreover, matched by another set of passages showing concern and regard for the Śūdras, besides permitting to them a share in the sacrifice. Thus a passage in the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* tells us how, in the source of a sacrifice, king Soma is taken out from his nest and is first given a seat. The king is followed by the sacrificer and the sacrificer by a Śūdra with a water pot. Then after lighting fire the Brāhmaṇa consecrates (the king) and the Śūdra washes[127]. Similarly, another passage in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* and the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* prescribes a *prāyaścitta* for the accident of *pṛṣadājya* being touched by a crow or a dog or if it is spilt out by the sacrificer himself. The expiation has been laid down to ward off the dangerous consequences of the three accidents. In the case of the first, the Śūdras become liable to destruction, in the second the cattle and in the third the sacrificer himself[128]. It is important to note here, once again, the horror of the consequence of the offence caused to sacrifice rather than considerations of purity and impurity as the cause of such prescriptions. The concern for the Śūdras is again noteworthy. The *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* further records the opinion of some teachers according to whom persons belonging to even the fourth *varṇa* may set up the sacred fires[129]. The *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* allows one who being desirous of prosperity wants to

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125. *BSS,* XXVII. 8.
126. *BSS,* III.
127. *BSS,* VI. 16-18.
128. *TS,* III. 2. 6; *BSS,* XIV. 9.
129. *BSS,* I. 10. 2.

set up the sacred fire to do so by procuring fire either from the house of a Brāhmaṇa or that of a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya or a Śūdra rich like an *asura*[130]. The source further permits the Śūdras to milch the cow for Agnihotra with the additional prescriptions that either the milk be put on the *gārhapatya* fire[131] or it should be milched in a wooden pot[132]. "With '*adabhena vaścakṣuṣā vekṣe*' says another passage from the same treatise describing a ritual act", he (the sacrificer) should gaze on the flour which has fallen out on the ground. The maid should crush the rice grains. Or the sacrificer's wife should do so. Or she should pound the grains, and a Śūdra woman should crush the rice grains[133]. Two extracts from the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* point to the richness and glory (which is prayed) for the Śūdras[134]. It is significant to note that among the long list of *havirdoṣas* enumerated in the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* Śūdra does not figure at all[135].

The foregoing discussion clearly shows that restrictions on the participation of the Śūdras in sacrifice were of an ambivalent nature, and this attitude towards them emerged from the fact of their belonging to the lowest of the three orders given to worldly pursuits. Partly responsible for this confusion was also their being divided into two perceptible sections, one rich and prosperous and, therefore, indistinct from the order of the Vaiśyas with their power to contribute to sacrifice in terms of wealth and the other poor and servile who had nothing to contribute to the sacrifice except their labour. The second section might have been suffering a loss of respectability on account of their feeding on the leavings of their masters and were automatically excluded from sacrifice because of their preoccupation with the service of their masters. Their position does not appear to have been materially different from that of a wife who did not constitute a separate person in matters of sacrifice and was always tied to the sacrificer. Prohibitions on the contact with the Śūdras in the ritual context unless absolutely necessary, ambivalence about their milching the cow for

130. *ASS,* V. 11-18; *asura iva niḥśriyaḥ bahupuṣṭo bahudhano.*

131. *ASS,* VI. 1-29.

132. *Ibid.,* I. 11-14, IV. 4.

133. *ASS,* I. 19-23 Cf. *SK,* Vol. II, p. 280.

134. *MS,* IV. 2. 7. 10, III. 4. 8. 14.

135. *BSS,* XXVII. 9.

Agnihotra and allowing the Śūdra woman to pound the rice to the accompaniment of the a Vedic *mantra* in a ritual act presuppose intimate contact with them as domestic servants, next only to that of the wife in non-ritual contexts. There was, as such, no question of any discrimination against them on the level of social mixing and especially in respect of food and drink. That pollution was not at all the reason for these restrictions is shown by the fact that his name does not appear among the things that spoil the *haviṣa* and his welfare is sought to be secured by rectifying the accidents in ritual acts and materials supposed to be detrimental to him. Ritual restrictions upon the Śūdras appear to have been a reflection of the actual condition of none too numerous a section of them, who, on account of their subservience to their employers, had become virtual *persona non grata,* ritually speaking. The semblance of purity and pollution perceptible at times on the level of verbal expression in the texts actually originates in the attempt of our authors to invent lame justification for a *fait accompai.* But all this should be borne in mind with the necessary condition that the Śūdras were still far from being a purely hereditary group. They and especially those in the second category were perhaps a sort of working population to which individuals from all the *varṇas* found their way, pressed by a number of circumstances. The fluidity of the situation must be clearly visualised, and this was probably what still gave credence to the ideal position that the *varṇa* groupings originate from the intrinsic qualities of the individuals which make them fit for certain recognised roles in the Vedic order.

The *Taittirīya saṁhitā*[136] has a passage which in Keith's translation runs as follows : "On a place of sacrifice which is distinctly marked should he cause him to sacrifice regarding whom they have doubts as to (admitting him to) common meals or marriage. It should be sloping east of the Āhvanīya and west of the Gārhpatya. That is a place of sacrifice which is distinctly marked, he is distinguished from his evil foe, they doubt not of him for common meals or wedding"[137]. The crucial words which have been rendered as 'common meals' and 'marriage' are '*Pātre*' and '*talpe*' respectively. The *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*[138] and the *Kapiṣṭhala Kaṭha*

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136. *TS,* VI. 2.6.3.

137. Keith's translation of the above.

138. *PB,* XIII. 4. 2.

Saṁhitā[139] have '*udake vā pātre vā vivāhe vā*'. The *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*[140] also has '*talpe*' and '*pātre*' like the *Taittirīya*. Indicating the significance of the passage Keith adds : "This passage is of great interest as an early proof of social distinctions regarding food and marriage. The distinction between *talpa* and *vivāha* (P.B. XIII. 4.2.) is difficult and very possibly merely secondary"[141]. The *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* passage referred to by Keith reads in Caland's translation, "These (days, i.e. this fourteen day rite) should be undertaken by those regarding whom they have doubts as to (admitting them to) bed, water or marriage". Caland also adds a note saying, "The exact meaning of these three words, thus combined, is doubtful; 'bed' and marriage ' seem to be synonymous. Elsewhere (*Kath.* XXV. 3) we find: *undake vā pātre vā vivāhe vā*....... It is, to me at least, even uncertain that 'water' means the pouring out of water for the deceased : Sāyaṇa : *abhiṣekārtham*"[142].

If Keith's interpretation of the passage occurring in these texts is accepted,we will have to believe that in the later Vedic society social distinctions on account of food and marriage were already prevalent for which, as we have seen above, there is no other evidence. It is necessary, therefore, to review Keith's translation of the passage in the light of its context and meaning. The full passage in original reads :

"Vyāvṛtte devayajane yājayet vyāvṛtkāmam yam pātre vā talpe vā mīmāṁseran prācīnamāhavanīyātpravaṇam syāt pratīcīnam gārhapatyād etad vyāvṛttam devayajanam vi pāpmanā bhrātṛvyena' vartate nainam pātre na talpe mīmāṁseran"[143].

It occurs in the context of choosing a *ṛtvik* (priest) and begging a plot of land for preparing sacrificial ground (*devayajanam*) for *Agniṣṭoma*. A close comparison with Keith's translation of the passage quoted above would show that he had left the word'*vyāvṛtkāmam*' untranslated. The meaning of this expression is 'one who has a desire to distinguish himself'. This passage is preceded by several such passages in which a particular type of sacrificial

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139. Caland's translation of the above, p. 588.

140. *AB,* VII. 35. 3. 29.

141. Sāyaṇa on above.

142. *ASED,* p. 144.

143. *AB,* VII. 81. 5.

ground has been recommended as for performers with particular desires who obtain the same if they are made to sacrifice on appropriate grounds. In this particular case the desire of his food and bed (and also water and marriage, according to other texts) is to distinguish himself. The latter portion of the passage makes it amply clear, even in Keith's translation, that he makes himself distinguished when people cease to doubt him in respect of food and bed, marriage and water as the result of his sacrifice on a ground of the *vyāvṛtta* type. While enumerating the qualities of the Brāhmaṇa *varṇa* the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[144] counts *inter alia* the qualities of his being *ādāyi* and *avasāyī* which Sāyaṇa associates with *pratigraha*, and *yācana* of food respectively[145]. The story of Uṣasti Cākrāyaṇa[146] shows that eminent Brāhmaṇas like him took extreme care not to take incriminating food and drink such as leavings of others or those begged after facing humiliation and loss of respect even in situations of dire need. If distinguished Brāhmaṇas were so meticulous in regard to food and drink, they must have been equally cautious also about their conduct and marriage. Any fuss about their food and drink, conduct and marriage would have cost them their position of eminence. The ritual on the *vyāvṛtta* type of sacrificial ground prescribes the means of getting back their lost eminence, of being distinguished Brāhmaṇas once again. The rite is thus of an expiatory nature which restores the loss of distinguished status on account of lapses in respect of food, drink, marriage and conduct. But discriminate behaviour of distinguished Brāhmaṇas in these matters as a self-imposed discipline does not amount to social discrimination, for it was of the nature of a safeguard against such personal lapses. As in the case of Uṣasti Cākrāyaṇa, the food and drink were objectionable not because they belonged to a person of low birth or impure origin, but because they were the remnant of a dish from which somebody was already eating and were, therefore, equivalent to his leavings[147] which a distinguished Brāhmaṇa like him was not expected to eat. Similarly, there might have been certain conditions in which a Brāhmaṇa was not expected to receive voluntarily offered gifts, to beg for food, to mix

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144. *Ibid.*

145. *Ibid.,* IV. 11. 4.

146. *CU,* I. 10.

147. *TPU,* P. 353. See explanation of I. 10. 2.

or to marry. Such lapses in his conduct must have meant a loss of his eminence and made him indistinguishable from others. The passage in question simply refers to this indistinguishable position of a Brāhmaṇa which has to be ridden off by sacrificing on the prescribed type of the sacrificial ground rather than to any of the social "distinctions regarding food and marriage".

Conclusion

The foregoing discussion leads to the overall conclusion that the Vedic concept of order was an undifferentiated whole, though the order itself was not without differentiation. Its concept was undifferentiated in the sense that the religious, social, economic, anthropological and philosophical aspects of it were not isolated from one another as is the case in the modern analysis of order. It was differentiated in the sense that the overall order was constituted by a number of orders such as those of gods, manes, men, animals, etc., which formed an integral part of it. The overall order was the order of *ṛta* symbolised in the form of sacrifice as purposeful activity non-exploitative in character and based on the ultimacy of principle. This order is *ūrdhvamūla,* as its source does not lie down on earth but is high above in the logically baffling mystery of the principle of Being which sustains and expands itself by its own intrinsic strength from within. The concept of the ultimate is still in a fluid state - without a dialectical opposite, on the one hand, and also not without an element of contingency in it, on the other. As a symbol of harmonious and purposeful action manifest in the form of an interrelationship not centred on self-seeking but on self-sacrifice, sacrifice is not amenable to sin, impurity or pollution. It is something more powerful than evil and hence beyond contamination. The notion of purification sometimes attaching to it does not transcend the idea of lapses and mistakes without any ultimate ontological agency of evil which as non-being represents the "*is not*" and is, therefore, a thoroughly contingent and accidental phenomenon. This shows that the dichotomy of purity and pollution was not primary to the overall Vedic order of *ṛta* or sacrifice, simply because it was conceived to be a vigourous and an ever-expanding concern - a true image of the war-like and self-aggandising Aryan communities of the Vedic age.

Descending on the plane of human order, we have seen that the distinction of the three or four *varṇas* was nothing more than a scheme of differentiation in regard to sacrifice and had nothing to do with the so-called basic distinction of pure and impure. In our analysis *varṇas* were not social classes either. They simply represented identities and roles integrated to the purposeful action of the overall order of *ṛta* manifest as sacrifice. As all schemes of social discrimination are necessarily relative to the prevailing mode and principle of differentiation, the inverse relation of participation of the *varṇas* in sacrifice to their worldly pursuits in the Vedic order made participation of the *varṇas* orders in sacrifice proportionate to their otherwordly efforts or service to the cause of sacrifice without, in the least, discriminating against them. The express attitude of the text towards the last *varṇa* order, the Śūdra is, however, characterised by an apparent ambivalence with regard to their participation in sacrifice, though, on deeper analysis, complete exclusion of them from the sacrifice is totally ruled out. The open character of the *varṇas,* including the Śūdra *varṇa* has been underlined and the *prāpyatā* of the Brāhmaṇa *varṇa* to the extent of his being ousted at will from his house or village has been highlighted. The role of the actual condition of the servile section of the Śūdras, however small in the later Vedic period, has been emphasised as a factor probably responsible for reducing such Śūdras to the status of a virtual *persona non grata*, ritually speaking. The ideas of the exclusion of the Śūdras from sacrifice might have been a mere reflection of this *falt accomplai*, for as whole-time servants of others, some members of this section of the Śūdras were automatically deprived of participation in sacrifice. Keith's interpretation of a passage occurring with some alterations in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā, Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā, Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā, Kāṭhaka Kapiṣṭhala Saṁhitā* and the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* as "an early proof of social distinctions regarding food and marriage" has been shown to be untenable. Its correct interpretation indicates only personal lapses in respect of food, drink, conduct and marriage as the result of which one would loose one's distinguished status among the Brāhmaṇas which would be restored by sacrificing on a particular type of sacrificial ground prescribed in these texts. We, therefore, conclude that even on the level of human order, including those of the *varṇas* and of the Śūdras among them, there is no trace of social distinction based on the sociological concepts of purity and pollution. These distinctions appear to be a

necessary corollary of a situation when an order starts declining from within and from without and has to preserve itself as a case of primitive survival in the back-waters of advancing humanity.

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.*
AHEA	*A History of Economic Analysis,* New York, 1963 J. A.Schumpeter.
AP	*Atharva Pariśiṣṭa.*
ASED	*A Sanskrit English Dictionary,* Delhi, 1979 by Monier Williams.
ASS	*Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra.*
AV	*Atharvaveda.*
BSS	*Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra.*
BU	*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.*
BV	*Brāhmaṇas of the Vedas,* Delhi, 1979 by K.S. Macdonald.
CAC	*Conflict after Class, New Perspective on the Theory of Social and Political Conflict, The Noel Buxton Lectures,* Essex, 1967 by R. Duhrendorf.
CU	*Chāndogya Upaniṣad.*
EHE	*Essays in the Honour of Engels, PPH,* 1970, by A. Beteille.
ERE	*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.*
ESRC	*Essais sur le Regime de Castes,* Paris, 1908 by C. Bougle.
HD	*History of Dharmasastra* by P.V. Kane.
HH	*Homo Hierarchicus,* London, 1970 by L. Dumont.
IESS	*International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences.*
JB	*Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa.*
KB	*Kāṭhaka Brāhmaṇa Saṅkalana* edited by Suryakant, Lahore, 1943.
KCMV	*K.C. Chattopadhyaya Memorial Volume,* Allahabad, 1975.
KSS	*Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra.*
MKNAW	*Modelingen de Koninklijke Netherlande Akademie van Wetenschappen Amsterdam.*
MM	*The Vedic Experience Mantramañjarī : An Anthology of the Vedas for Modern Man and Contemporary Celebration,* London, 1977 by R. Panikkar.
MMST	*Marx and Modern Social Theories,* Delhi, 1979 A.Swinzwood (used in Hindi translation).

MS	*Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā.*
NAV	*A New Approach to Vedas : An Essay in Translation and Exegesis,* London, 1933 by A.K. Coomarswamy.
PB	*Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, Calcutta, 1931.
PIHC	*Proceedings of Indian History Congress.*
PU	*Praśna Upaniṣad.*
RV	*Ṛgveda.*
SAI	*Śūdras in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1980 by R.S. Sharma.
SB	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*
SBE	*Sacred Books of the East.*
SC	*Social Control,* New Delhi, 1965 by J.S. Roucek.
SK	*Śrauta Kośa*, Poona, 1958 (also English translation of the same).
SR	*The Sacrifice in the Ṛgveda* , Bhartiya Vidya Prakashan, Delhi, Varanasi, 1976 by H. Aguilar.
SSS	*Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra.*
SVIRL	*Studies in the Vedic and the Indo-Iraninan Ṛeligion and Literature,* Varanasi, Delhi, 1976 - By K. Chattopadhyaya.
TA	*Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.*
TB	*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.*
TBM	*Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa.*
TPU	*The Principal Upaniṣada*, London, 1953 by S. Radhakrishnan.
TS	*Taittirīya Saṁhitā.*
TU	*Taittirīya Upaniṣad.*
VM	*Vedic Mythology*, Delhi, 1974 by A.K. Macdonell.
VS	*Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā.*
VSS	*Vaikhānasa Śrautasūtra.*
YV	*Yajurveda*

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AKBAR'S ATTEMPT TO INITIATE REFORMS IN ISLAM

V.S. BHATNAGAR

If a Muslim historian has to understand Akbar and his thought process, he has to forget, at least for the time he is writing about Akbar, the creed he himself professes. Much of the misunderstanding about Akbar's quest for truth can be traced to the writings of Muslim historians from Badaoni to the modern historians like Iqtidar Alam Khan, Zahir-ud-din Faruqi and even Athar Ali, to name only a few of them. By and large, they have failed to understand Akbar's mind which they would have surely achieved by sympathetic imagination and by being more objective in assessing him. But such is the iron hold of *sharā* that it becomes almost impossible for a Muslim historian to understand a very non-Muslim type person like Akbar.

There is not the least doubt that quite early in his age[1], Akbar had developed skepticism about some important aspects of Islam and found many of its tenets, injunctions, and practices as prescribed in *sharā* being far from rational, or convincing, and contrary to sound reason and understanding, besides lacking in universality and humanistic approach. How these ideas dawned upon his young mind and contributed to the change in his attitude towards other faiths and their followers has been examined by some scholars[2]. His ancestry, birth in the house of a Hindu ruler when his father was flying from place to place for his life, early contact with some liberal teachers, the character and outlook of his Hindu wives, contact with

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1. Abul Fazl, *Āīn-i-Akbari,* Vol. II (2nd edn tr. Jarret) p. 433 mentions an "inward change" in Akbar's outlook on the completion of his twentieth year. He calls the Emperor a seeker after truth and "zealous" in his quests. (Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nāmā*, tr. Beveridge, Vol II, p. 237). this is further borne out by many other incidents in his life.
2. These factors have been examined at length by M.L. Roychaudhary, *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*, Calcutta, 1941.

the Rajput rulers and revelation of their qualities, and also probably practical considerations which the instability of his father's rule and some unpleasant events during the early part of his reign[3] might have been contributory factors in influencing his views towards Islam.

At the same time, we can not overlook the advantage he had in not receiving any formal orthodox religious education in which *fiqah, hadis,* muslim jurisprudence etc. must have formed an important part[4]. Nor we can rule out the possibility of Akbar being one of those extraordinary persons who appear on the stage of history from time to time and who serve as catalysts of change.[5] Such persons have a remarkable courage of conviction and they carve out a new path unmindful of rabid criticism or frightening obstacles.[6]

Akbar, however, had to work under one serious limitation in his quest for truth and harmony viz. he was also the ruler of a large kingdom,

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3. That political expediency and the problem of nobility were the over-riding considerations in Akbar's liberal religious policy, and his quest for truth, justice, and attempt to bring a change in the outlook of the Muslims or as some say to bring "fusion among the men of various creeds" were, in fact, a veil to fulfil his political objectives, has been the main recurring theme of modern Muslim historians who rarely have a word of praise, and that too in tongue-in-check style, for Akbar's liberal and secular outlook. Thus see Iqtidar Alam Khan, "The Nobility Under Akbar and the Development of His Religious Policy, 1560-80, *J.R.A.S.*, 1968 No. 1, Athar Ali, Sulh-i-Kul and the Religious Ideas of Akbar, *Studies in History*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (1982); Zahiruddin Faruki, *Aurangzib and His Times,* Delhi 1972, etc.

4. Abul Fazl says (*A.N.,* Vol. I, pp. 316-17) that Akbar could never turn to 'external teaching' despite all attempts of his tutors. It ultimately proved a blessing in disguise since his mind was not prejudiced by religious education. This point has been alluded to by Athar Ali also in his paper Sulh-i-kul and Religious Ideas of Akbar, *Studies in History,* Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 27-28.

5. That Akbar was an extra-ordinary man can not be denied even by his detractors, and in history, we find many examples of such "outsize men" in diverse fields - social, political, religious, intellectual or even military, who gave a new direction and speeded up to process of change.

6. Akbar had to face strong opposition to his measures at various stages in his efforts to purge Islam of its aggressively hostile posture towards non-Muslims, but he did not deviate from his chosen path. Thus see *Akbar Nāmā,* Vol. II, pp. 203-204; Badaoni, *Muntakhab ut- Tawārikh* (tr. Ranking). p. 284 etc.

and that too a Muslim state with a history of Islamic rule going back to the 13th century, with orthodox traditions regulated by *sharā*, and having Muslim ruling class which could not defy the *Ulamā*, or in most cases would not even think of doing so[7]. Akbar was not a recluse or a philosopher who had left his home in search for truth and who could freely pronounce and preach his views[8]. Being the ruler of a large kingdom with a composite population, a vast majority of which did not subscribe to the Islamic faith[9], Akbar had to maintain a delicate balance between the creed which birth had given him and his growing disillusionment about many of its tenets and practices[10]. This is very clear from his early reforms viz. abolition of the pilgrim tax (1563 A.D.) charged from the Hindus at their holy places, and abolition of *Jiziyā* (1564 A.D.)[11] which was his way of announcing his rejection of the concept of *Zimmī*, one of the basic concepts in a state under a Muslim ruler. He saw no justification for levying this tax which was not only a heavy financial burden on the poorer sections of the Hindus but also made a distinction between subjects on the ground of

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7. This is on account of the fact that to question the *Shariat* is believed to tentamount to heresy and the *Ulama* continued to hold sway over the masses in the name of religion.

8. Such was the case with many saints, philosophers and even royal recluses whose names are too well known to be mentioned here.

9. In Akbar's time, the Hindus must have formed about 80% of the population. From Babar to the foreign travellers, all testify to the large population of the Hindus. The rural population has been computed to about 85% of the total population which in Akbar's tiem is said to be about 14-16 crores.

10. He obviously rejected the concepts of *Jihād* and *Zimmī*. For the former, see Surā 2. 193, 8.39, 9.41. Says *āyat* 5, *Surā* 9 "When the sacred months are over, slay the idol-worshippers wherever you find them. Arrest them, besiege them, and lie in ambush everywhere for them. If they repent and take to prayers and pay the alms-tax, let them go their way. Allah is forgiving and merciful." The concession in fact was a historical necessity.

11. Akbar abolished the pilgrim tax in 1563 and *Jiziya* the following year. Abul Fazl regards the remission of *Jiziya* as a "great gift". He writes "Who can estimate the amount thereof.....he paid great attention to the issuing of the edict which might be ragarded as the foundation of the agreement of mankind". He says (*A.N.* , II, p. 316) that Akbar took this step inspite of the disapproval of stateman, of the great revenue, and of much chatter on the part of the ignorant, this sublime decree was issued".

religion. He rejected the objection of the *Ulamā* that to levy *Jiziyā* was obligatory for a Muslim ruler[12]. Akbar was then about twenty-two years old only and it is a totally erroneous conclusion of some modern Muslim historians that he did so out of political expediency[13]. It is possible that some Hindu Raja might have advised him to do so, pointing out its irrationality[14] in the prevailing context, but it would be more appropriate to interpret Akbar's measure in the light of his subsequent actions.

How to separate Islam from such ideas which in his eyes were a blemish on it ? How to make the Muslims realise that no religion, including their own, was perfect and that all religions have some good points in them, including even Jainism and Zoroastrianism whose followers must not have numbered beyond a few lac in the case of the former and a few thousand, at the most, in the latter case, or Sikhism, the followers of which must have been even fewer at that time ? How to make the Muslims examine critically their own creed and dogmas, if other creeds could be a subject of open dissent and free discussion ? How to make them agree to place their own faith on the anvil of reason and scrutiny in the presence of the learned of other religious to arrive at the truth, be it be the question of Muhammad

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12. The economic burden of *Jiziyā* on the poor was very heavy and to levy it was considered "as per injunctions of Porphet Muhammad's religion till a non-believer (*Kāfir*) accepted Islam. In Firuz Tughbig's time it led to "very large groups of Hindus" coming to him to embrace Islam and the process continued unabated. See *Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi*, No. 21 and Afif's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 382-84.

13. To Iqtidar Alam Khan and Athar ali, "early measures of tolerance, and the abolition of pilgrimage tax and *Jiziyā* in the early 1560s were episodic and of little immediate significance." Adds Athar Ali, "Writing later, Abul Fazl probably exaggerates their importance." His views on *Ibādat Khāna, Mahzar* and other efforts of Akbar in the field of religion are significant examples of understatement and undervaluation, not expected of an objective historian. See M. Athar Ali, *loc. cit.,* p. 28-29. He is inclined to interpret all the efforts made by Akbar in the field of religion as an attempt to secure "an integrated ruling class" (p. 39).

There are many instances (besides the spirited letter written to Aurangzeb by Shivaji Maharaj) when the Hindu rulers protested against imposition of *Jiziyā*. Twice during 1712-22, they got it abolished by the then Emperors and when Farrukhsiyar re-imposed it for a short time in 1717, he was at pains to explain that he was doing so under compelling demands of the *sharā* and to fulfil a religious formality, the Sharif of Macca having sent a letter to him stating that the levying [illegible] *Jiziyā* was obligatory for a Muslim ruler. (Emperor's letter to Sawai Jai Singh, May [illegible], 1717, Rajasthan Archives, Bikaner).

being the last prophet or the *Quran* being not only the final revealation but also superseding other revealations like the *Avesta* and the *Bible* [15]? How to make Muslims learn to respect other faiths including Hinduism and Christianity and also to convince them about the wisdom in borrowing from them such ideas and practices which appeared noble and worth emulating to a rational mind ? In brief, how to bring about a change in the outlook of the followers of Islam, so that they may abstain from their attempt to convert the non-Muslims to their faith and destroying and desecrating their religious shrines ? How to make the Muslims realise that they had no higher moral right or freedom and wisdom than those who did not subscribe to the Islamic faith [16]?

The founding of the *Ibādat Khānā* (1575)[17] was a right step in this direction. Badaoni, who used to take part in the religious discussions, informs that among the questions discussed in the *Ibādat Khānā* were also those which were about the personal life and activities of Muhammad, the Holy Book of the Muslims as being final revealation etc.[18], questions which to discuss even today would be considered by the orthodox as blasphamous. But Akbar's view obviously was that if there could be discussions about other religions, such as the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation[19], how the religion of Prophet Muhammad could be treated as being on a superior pedestal, and outside the purview of enquiry and debate[20]. The fact that

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15. See Badaoni, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 316-17. He says that "every command and doctrine of Islam, whether special or general, as the prophethood, the harmony of Islam with reason, the doctrine of *Rūyat* (vision), *Taklif*, and *Takwan*, the details of the day of resurrection and judgement, all were doubted and ridiculed".

16. This fallacy was implied in the concept of *Zimmī* and general attitude towards the 'idolaters' and 'disbelievers'. Thus see *Surah* 9, *Ayat* 5, 4. 101, 8. 39).

17. See Badaoni, *op. cit.*, Vol. II PP. 200, 203-4, 262.

18. Badaoni, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 214-15. In the beginning, the discussions were open to Muslims only. Later it was opened to the adherents of other religions also so that, in Abul Fazl's words, the Emperor's court become "the home of the inquirers of the"seven climes" and the assemblage of the wise of every religion and sect" (*A.N.* , III, p. 366.) He mentions among others the presence of Christians, jews, Svetambara jains, Chārvāks etc.

19. Thus see Pierre Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits,* 1926, pp. 16, 20, 21, 29.

20. For Akbar, the guiding principle was that reason, not tradition, could be the basis of any religion (Badaoni, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 215).

Akbar adopted some of the practices of the Zoroastrians[21], and was deeply influenced by the Jain thought[22], or he began to show reverence to the Christ and to Lord Siva publicly, and also began to visit the Church and celebrating Hindu festivals, and paid great reverence to fire and sun[23], were all intended to make the Muslims realise and to make them learn not to despise other religions, some of which had a very small following, but to adopt good points from them, all religious being different paths to the same goal, the supreme being. By his own conduct and behaviour he wanted to teach the Muslims to respect other religions since by doing so they would not only benefit from the experience of other religions, much older than Islam, but would also create respect for their own religion.[24]

Akbar's declaration of *Mahzar* in 1579 should be seen in this light as it made him final interpreter of *sharā* or any religious question, though with the limitation that his interpretation should be inconsonance with some or the other verse of the *Quran*[25]. Now it is a fact that in the Holy Book of the Muslims, there are *ayats* eulogising *Jihad* or 'holy' war, while some, in a different *sura*, advocate a benign approach[26]. Similarly we find very diverse opinions about the treatment to be meted out to the *Zimmis*[27], and after *Mahzar*, it was possible for Akbar to choose such *ayats* which depicted the tolerant, liberal and humanistic aspect of Islam. In practice, no doubt, it gave Akbar immense powers and discretion to introduce reforms in his religion

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21. For Akbar's relations with the Parsees and Dastur Mehrjee Rana's influence upon him, see J.J. Modi, *The Parsees at the Court of Akbar, and Dastur Mehrjee Rana*, Bombay, 1903; Smith, *Akbar the Great,* pp. 116-118.

22. See Smith, *op. cit.,* pp. 119-20.

23. Badaoni, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 332.

24. Thus he publicly showed respect to Christ, Virgin Mary, to Sun, and fire, as well as by keeping awake on the Sivaratri in company of the *Jogis* etc. and by observing Hindu festivals such as *Dewali* or by allowing his sons to learn Portugese to understand Christianity better.

25. Badaoni, *op. cit.,* Vol. II p. 279; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* Vol. II, pp. 345-46.

26. Thus see *Surāh* 2, *āyat* 193, 47.4-15 and *Surā* 2. 186.

27. Cf. "The blood of the *Zimmi* is like the blood of the Muslim", Ali, the Caliph; and "Believers ! know that the idolators are unclean (9. 28) and "A believing slave girl is better than an idolatress..,, Nor shall you wed idolaters unless they embrace the faith (2. 221). "We renounce you (i.e. the idolaters) : enmity and hate shall reign between us until you believe in Allah only". (60. 4).

and curtail the influence of the *Ulama* as well as to change the outlook of his co-religionists[28].

Yet he conceived of another alternative, *Tauhid-i-Ilāhī* or Divine-Monotheism[29], popularly known as *Dīn-i-Ilāhi* (1582) which was like a sect (*Panth*) with a moral code of conduct, especially the ten virtues, hoping to wean away the Muslims from the agressive aspect of their religion, such as eflected in many ayats in *Quran*, through the philosophy of *Sulah-i-kul*, by initiating them in this sect, which he kept open for the followers of other religions also[30], making it possible for its followers to continue in their religions but regulating their conduct and values as propounded in the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*[31]. The experiment, however, did not attain the desired success due to Akbar's firm conviction that force should not have any place in matters of religion[32], and, for the Muslims, it was too unfamiliar and unconventional an approach. The force of conservative

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28. Badaoni, *op. cit.,* Vol. II p. 280. He writes "No sooner His Majestey obtained this legal document (signed by principal *Ulama*) then the road of deciding any religious question was open.... All orders regarding things which our law allows or disallows were abolished ....." There is no doubt that Akbar's attempt was to review and re-assess Islam in all its aspects, and there was great ferment at that time which could have led to some form of Reformation Movement in Islam, as took place in Europe. Badaoni speaks of Makhdum-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Abdun-Nabi that they doubted genuineness of the *Quran*, and spoke of impossibility of inspiration, and threw doubts on the authenticity of the prophets and Imams, integrity of the text of the *Quran* and its verbal authority, and existence of soul after the dissolution of the body, and reward and punishment other than by means of transmigration they deemed impossible". *Ain*, Vol. II. p. 438 gives the following saying of Akbar "It is strange that in the time of our prophet, no commentaries on the *Quran* were made, so that differences of interpretation might not afterwards arise", Athar Ali, Sulhkul and the Religious Ideas of Akbar, *Studies in History*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (1982) p. 29 considers *Mahzar* of 'marginal import only" and yet a novelty considered dangerous in its implications". See also Smith, (*Akbar The Great Mughal*, Delhi 1962, pp. 127-29 and A.L. Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, Vol. I, Agra, 1972, pp. 226-25. The latter says that it caused 'great dissatisfaction and unrest' among the orthodox Muslims.

29. Badaoni, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 335-36; Cf. S.R. Sharma, *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors,* 3rd edn., Bombay, 1972, p. 61.

30. Among the important members of the order was Birbal, but most of the members were Muslims.

31. This was implied in the concept of the four degrees of discipleship. See Badaoni, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 299.

32. Thus see Akbar's "happy sayings" in *Āīn, op. cit.,* Vol. II, pp. 439-40.

tradition, the hostility of the orthodox *Ulamā* towards Akbar, and total denial of permission of any disagreement with the *sharā* in Islam ultimately defeated Akbar's noble though imperfectly formulated attempt[33]. But the path he showed to his co-religionists and his entire effort to bring a basic change in the approach of Islam towards other religions, which may be epitomised in his concept of *Sulah kul*, will be considered, save by men of small minds and narrow approach, relevant even today specially by those who wish Islam to carve out an endearing place for itself in the hearts of those who profess other faiths.To look at all his efforts, public or personal, in the field of religion, as having born out of political objectives not only betrays poor historical understanding but also amounts to denying the possibility of any Muslim being ever rational and capaole of seeing beyond the narrow confines of *sharā*, and also to deny the historical context in which Islam was born and grew, influencing profoundly its methods and approach towards other religions, which ultimately became the most important cause of its unpopularity among those who do not profess it. Alberuni, while commenting upon the "Wonderful exploits" of Mahmud Ghaznavi,which made the Hindus, to quote him "like atoms of dust scattered in all directions", writes that "their scattered remains cherish the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims, "and they " declare us to be devil's breed and our doings as the very opposite of all that is good and proper"[34].

Akbar's attempt to bring about a reform movement in Islam and to improve its image tarnished by its approach towards those not professing it foundered on the rocks of traditional Islamic orthodoxy, and his own genuinely honest and cultured approach was not sufficient to bring about that change in Islam, as peacefully as possible, for which he tried all through his life.[35]

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33. Akbar's *Tauhīd-i-Ilāhī* , though having many virtues, appeared a curious blending of exalted principles and ambiguous formalities and rituals. Shorn of the latter and put in a simpler form, it would have been more successful in its purpose.

34. *Alberuni's India,* ed. Sachau, Vol. I (Delhi, 1989, Reprint), p. 22.

35. Yet there was a general feeling, as Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's letter "apparently written soon after Jahangir's accession" and the observations of the author of *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahahani* show that the Prophet's *Shariat* suffered during Akbar's later years. See Athar Ali, *loc. cit.,* pp. 36-37.

'DVAIRĀJYA SYSTEM' IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION OF ŚAKA - KUSHĀṆA PERIOD : AN EPIGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

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According to H.C. Raychoudhuri a remarkable feature of the Scythian Age was the wide prevalence of the system of Dvairājya or Diarchy in Northern and Western India. It is significant that in the present form of government, the sovereign's brother, son, grandson, or nephew had an important share in the administration as co-ruler or subordinate colleague. As regards instances, Raychoudhuri cites the cases of the following rulers of the pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa periods, Lysias and Antialkidas, Agathoklea and Strato I and Strato II, Spalirises and Azes, Hagana and Hagamasha, Condophernes and Cad, Condophernes and Abdagases, Chasṭana and Rudradāman, Kaniṣka II and Hiviṣka etc.[1] In almost all these cases Raychoudhuri has presented the picture exclusively on the basis of numismatic data. Coming to the epigraphic evidence on the point, as observed by Bhaskar Chattopadhyay,[2] the Kuṣāṇa records suggest the overlapping of two reigns at least in some cases. The dates of Brāhmī inscriptions mentioning Kaniṣka (I) range from year 2 to 23. The former date is mentioned in the Kosam Bodhisattva inscription, which records the erection of a Bodhisattva statue by the nun Buddhamitrā.[3] The latter date is available in as many as two inscriptions, viz., The Mathura (Māṭ) Bodhisattva inscription, which records the setting up of the Bodhisattva statue by Puṣyadattā[4] and The Sonkh Mound Buddhist Image inscription, which

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1. H.C. Raychoudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India,* 7th Edn., p. 458.
2. Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.,* pp. 97 ff.
3. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXIV, pp. 210-12.
4. *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,* 1924, p. 397 ff.

records the setting up of the Bodhisattva statue by Puṣyadattā, daughter of Matsyagupta who was lord of the Vihāra.[5] It is noteworthy the year 22 is available in the Sāñchi inscription of Rajan Vaskuṣāṇa (Vāśiṣka), which records the setting up of the image of Śākyamuni by Vidyā.[6] On the other hand Mathura Yūpa inscription, which records the setting up of a sacrificial post (Yūpa), after performing a dvādaśarātra sacrifice by Droṇala, it mentions the same king Vāśiṣka with high-sounding title Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Shāhi. It is dated in the year 24.[7] Here we have to take into account the titles applied to Vāśiṣka in the two inscriptions. The feudatory title Rājan applied to Vāśiṣka in the former inscription shows that uptil year 22 or 23 Vāśiṣka was associated with Kaniṣka in the capacity of a subordinate colleague. On the other hand the title Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra applied to the same king in the inscription dated in the year 24, shows that after the year 23, he was promoted to the status of supreme sovereign. Again, the Sāñchi Bodhisattva inscription of Vāśiṣka, which records the installation of the image of Bodhisattva by Madhurikā, daughter of Vīra is dated in the year 20. The title applied to Vāśiṣka in this record is Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra.[8] On the other hand the well-known Mathura Stone inscription of Huviṣka, which records the donations made by a Bakanapati is also dated in the year 28. The title Devaputra Shāhi applied to Huviṣka indicates his status as a supreme sovereign.[9] This shows that both these Kuṣāṇa rulers were associated with each other in administration till at least the year 28. In this connection Bhaskar Chattopadhyay has cited the evidence of the Sarnath Bodhisattva inscription of Kaniṣka (year 3). According to his observation, this inscription furnishes us with a positive evidence to establish that the joint-rule system used to be followed in the provincial government, Mahākṣatrape Kharapallāna and Kṣatrapa Vanaspara being the co-rulers in the eastern province of the Kusana empire.[10] It may be suggested that dual rulership

5. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXVIII, pp. 42-44.
6. B.N. Puri, *India under the Kushanas,* p. 248.
7. *Mathura Inscriptions,* pp. 125-126.
8. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. II, p. 39.
9. *Ibid.,* Vol. XXI, p. 55 ff.
10. Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, *Kushana State and Indian Society,* p. 98.

in the Kuṣāṇa provinces is not revealed by this epigraph which has, however, its bearing on another aspect of Kuṣāṇa polity. The title Mahākṣatrapa applied to Kharapallāna shows that he was overlord of Vanaspara, who has been called Kṣatrapa in the inscription quoted by Bhaskar Chattopadhyay. The latter person was expected to assist the former in the work of administration. Perhaps the surmise of R.S. Sharma conforms to the actual state of affairs that this was more in keeping with the hierarichal organization in the feudatory system than with the equal position of the two Ksatrapas.[11] Thus, it would not be very much safe to cite the evidence of the present epigraph for establishing dvairājya system in the Kuṣāṇa-polity, which however, brought out by other various epigraphs quoted above.

Bhaskar Chattopadhyay raises doubt about the conclusion drawn on the basis of the Sarnath inscription that the two Kṣatrapas, Vanaspara and Kharapallāna were ruling in the eastern most province of the Kuṣāṇa in the capacity of independent or semi-independent chiefs.[12] His objections to the above conclusion is the non-mention of these two Kṣatrapas in the Sahet-Mahet Bodhisattva Image inscription, which records, the setting up of a Bodhisattva Image with an umbrella and a shaft at Śrāvasti in the Kosambakuṭī by Friar Bala in the year (figure missing and mutilated) of Mahārāja Devaputra Kaniṣka.[13] It is significant that the Sahet-Mahet inscription is not the only inscription which stands at par with the Sarnath inscription in question. There are at least three inscriptions of the above category, to which Bhaskar Chattopadhyay has not paid any due attention. These are as under :

(1) Kosam Bodhisattva Image inscription, which commemorates the installation of a Bodhisattva image by the Buddhist nun Buddhamitrā in the year 2 of Maharaja Kaniṣka.[14] At present the image is housed in the Allahabad Museum. It was discovered an early as 1934.

(2) and (3) These two inscriptions are engraved on the pedestals of Bodhisattva Images housed in the Museum of Department of Ancient History,

11. R.S. Sharma, *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, p. 220.

12. Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

13. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 180.

14. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 210-212.

Culture and Archaeology, University of Allahabad. They record the installation of Bodhisattva images by the Buddhist nun Buddhamitrā in the Caṅkama of Lord Buddha in the year (figure damaged) of Kaniṣka.

It would be seen that in the Sarnath inscription, Friar Bala and nun Buddhamitrā are mentioned along with the two Kṣatrapas. In the Sahet-Mahet inscription only Friar Bala is mentioned. In the Kauśāmbī inscription mention has been made of the nun Buddhamitrā only. It is evident from all these inscriptions that their emphasis is only on the reference to the Buddhist monks and nuns or to the reigning monarch Kaniṣka. Hence even if we suppose that Vanaspara and Kharapallāna were looking after the administration of eastermost province of the Kuṣāṇa empire, it is not necessary that their names must occur in other inscriptions discovered from the eastern region, which included besides Varanasi, other cities like Kauśāmbī and Śravastī. Thus there does not seem to be any reason to cast doubt the possibility of Kṣatrapa rule in eastern reason, simply because the names of the Kṣatrapas figuring in the Sarnath inscription are not mentioned in other inscriptions.[15]

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15. J.S. Negi, *Some Indological Studies*, pp. 60-63.

THE PAÑJĪ - PRABANDHA AS A SOURCE OF MITHILA'S SOCIO - CULTURAL HISTORY: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

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Mithilā has a unique place in the history of Indian civilisation. Being surrounded on three sides by the three major rivers, Mithilā has had the geographical advantage of seclusion where learning and culture could flourish.[1] But due to this geographical seclusion the Maithilas came to prossess a spirit of independent indentity which is typically Maithila in outlook. Though this sense of seclusion no longer persists in modern times, yet during the ancient and medieval phases it was responsible for creating unique institutions and practices among the Maithilas, some of which continued down to the present times. Naturally, the early social history of Mithilā was deeply rooted in its local institutions and ideas. One such institution of the medieval period was the. Attempt has been made in the present study to evaluate the utility of the *Pañjīs* for the reconstruction of the socio-cultural history of Mithilā.

The social structure of medieval Mithilā, like the rest of contemporary India, was based on the feudal pattern. The spirit of localism, proliferation of castes, closed economy and social immobility characterised the caste villages, which were hardly affected by any change at the top. Stability was synonymous with an increasing hardening of the social structure. This naturally led to an insistence on the purity of lineage and thereby gave prominence to birth, accomplishments and character. The emergence of *Kulīnism* as a powerful social force can be properly understood in this light. For maintaining the purity of blood, it was enjoined that marriage relations

1. Md. Aquique, *Economic History of Mithila,* New Delhi, 1974, p.2.

should be established only within the territorial castes and at least the fifth and sixth descendants from the last common ancestor on the mother's and father's side respectively was to be avoided. This naturally created the need for a geneological chart of every family, known as the *pañjī* system.

It would be wrong to attribute the origin of the *pañjī* system to the mythical hero Ādisura (9th century A.D.)[2]. As a matter of fact, the custom of keeping geneologies goes back to the time of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (7th century A.D.). He mentions the term *samūha-lekhyānī* in the first chapter of his famous work, *Tantravārtika*, and refers to the ancient tradition of keeping geneological records (*samūha-lekhya*)[3] by the nobles of the society to protect their caste and purity of blood. This was, however, organised on sound lines in the time of Harisimhadeva of the Karṇāṭa dynasty (A.D. 1285-1324) and came to be known as the *Pañjī Prabandha*. These records were kept by both the Maithila brāhmaṇas and Karaṇa Kāyasthas as well as some other castes such as the *Suri* (*teli* or oilman) whose geneological records are still lying with one *suri Pañjikāra* of Madhepur.[4]

The *Pañjīs* in their present form are encyclopaedic in character and they can be utilised as a very important source for the reconstruction of the social history of medieval Mithilā. Even Grierson admitted that the Pañjī records are one of the most extra - ordinary series in existence.[5] But *Pañjī* literature, though enormous in size and content, is terribly intricate and complicated. The language used is awfully technical and the style so difficult, that it is not easy for a person, not well versed in *Pañjī* -terminology, to make out any purposeful meaning. The *Pañjī-Prabandha* is, therefore, some sort of a technical literature (inaccessible to the common man) directly connected with the social aspects of the Maithilas.

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2. R.K. Chaudhary, *The Mithila in the Age of Vidyapati,* Varanasi, 1976, p. III, Idem, 'Social Structure in Medieval Mithila (c. A.D. 1200-1600), *Indian Society : Historical Probings* (eds. R.S. Sharma & V.N. Jha), New Delhi, 1977, pp. 218-19.
Ādisura cannot be regarded as a real king of Mithilā, cf. U. Thakur, *The Indian Historical Review,* Vol. III, no. 2, p. 444.

3. *Tantravārtika*, Chapter, I, II. 2.

4. Cf. B.B. Verma, *Maithila Karana kayasthak Panjika Sarveksana*, p. 39.

5. *Indian Antiquary,* 1885 (July), p. 187.

The *Pañjīs* are the only literature of its kind in the world, which went on increasing with regular additions and alterations. It has many branches, each having hundreds of sections and sub-sections. There are one thousand branches of each *mūlas,* and at least two thousand and five hundred villages are mentioned in the *Pañjī* of which about one thousand villages were inhabited by the *Kulīnas.*[6] Along with every *Kula* also occurs the name of the village. About two hundred *mūlas* are enumerated along with their *Bījī puruṣa.* But about thousand villages are associated with the *mūlas* of persons whose geneologies are not in order. Probably these families (*Kulas*) were uprooted in course of time, or they migrated to places outside Mithilā, or they changed their caste. Thus, a proper study of this aspect of the *Pañjī-Prabandha* may provide information relating to the territorial as well as social mobility of the Maithilas.

Another interesting fact which emerges from the *Pañjīs* is the change of surnames in course of centuries. Vidyāpati's great grandfather was Karmāditya *Tripāti* (now Tripāthi), whereas he himself was a *Thākura.* Besides, a number of titles have been discarded by the brāhmaṇas of Mithilā; some of them are *Śuklā* (derived from Suari *mūla*), Dikṣita, Prasāda, Śarmā and Sarasvatī. So is the case with the *mūlas,* which have undergone many changes in course of years. A proper study of these changes might give some idea about the inter-mixing of castes. The problem of the origin of *bhumihāras,* which still remains a debatable point, may also get some help from the *Pañjī* literature.

The *Pañjīs* are a veritable mine of information relating to the history of different castes of Mithilā. The *Pañjīs* contain the genealogical lists of almost all the families of brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas of Mithilā. They also give information regarding the formation of various sub-castes. Mahārāja Harisiṃhadeva not only commanded the reorganisation of the *Pañjīs,* he also ordered that Maithila brāhmaṇas should be classified according to status. In the beginnings, the Maithila brāhmaṇas who performed the *Agnihotra* sacrifices and devoted their time to religious worship were given the first place and were called the *Śrotrīyas.* Hierarchically they were followed by the *Jogyas* and the *Jaibāras* respectively. They emerged as exclusive marital

6. R.N. Jha, *Mithila Bharati,* No. 2, pts. IV, pp. 114-15.

groups with even interdining restricted to ones own group. In course of time, two more social groups emerged due to marriage alliances between the *Jogyas* and the *Jaibāras*. These two groups, namely, the *Pañjībaddha* and the *Bansaja*, were treated as lower than the *Jogyas* and higher than the *Jaibāras*.[7] The Kāyasthas also suffered a somewhat similar fate.[8] Furthermore, the emergence of various exclusive endogamous groups within particular castes debased the institution of marriage and was responsible for the growth of a number of social evils. Thus, a proper analysis of the *Pañjīs* can give an idea of the increasing proliferation of castes and its social consequence in Mithilā.

Besides providing information about the history of particular castes, the genealogies preserved in the *Pañjī* records can help us in reconstructing a comprehensive history of the celebrated Maithila scholars and thinkers, such as Kumārila, Maṇḍana, Vāchaspati, Vidyāpati, etc., who have contributed to the enrichment of Indian culture in general, and that of Mithilā in particular. With the help of these records we can determine their time as well as achievements in different fields. This history will cover the events of more than one thousand years in the history of Mithilā.

The *Pañjīs* can also be profitably used for writing a comprehensive history of the different dynasties of the Maithila brāhmaṇa kings, such as Oinavāra, Khaṇḍavāla, Saurganā (Sauriya), Pavaulibāra (Phadakiā), Alaibāra (Banaili-Srinagara), Karmahayā (Rajaurā), etc., who ruled over different parts of Mithilā. As a matter of fact, there are two important categories of *Pañjī*- the *Mūla-Pañjī* and the *Śākhā-Pañjī*. The *Mūla Pañjī* is confined to a single stock or *Mūla* and records the names of sons as well as daughters with their marriage alliances and their offsprings, whereas the *Śākhā-Pañjī* starts with one family, the family of the Mahārāja of Darbhanga, and branches off into another family as soon as a matrimonial alliance is conducted. It contains, therefore, the geneologies of all important families because almost all of them are inter connected by marriage. Thus the *Śākhā-Pañjī* is helpful not only for the writing of the history of ruling dynasties, but it can also tell a lot about the ruling elite in general and their marriage alliances in particular.

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7. B. Saraswati, "The Institution of Panji Among Maithil Brahmans', *Man in India*, Vol. 42, no. 4, p. 271

8. R.K. Chaudhary, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

Yet another class of *Pañjī*, known as *Dūṣaṇa-Pañjī*, can throw interesting light on the Medieval Maithila society. After the composition of the *Pañjī-Prabandha*, a separate register detailing the demerits (*doṣa* or dūṣaṇa) of a particular sub-caste, *mūla* or *gotra* was also prepared, known as *Dūṣaṇa-Pañjī*, which was kept as a top secret document (the secrecy is still maintained) by the *Pañjīkāras*. It was to be shown only to the genuine *Pañjīkāras*. The historicity of this *Pañjī* is also corroborated by Kumārila's statement that the *Kulīnas* or *Mahākulīnas* always took into consideration the demerits of a particular section of the brāhmaṇa caste which usually found mention in the individual *samūha-lekhya* of the period at the time of negotiating marriages of their children. There were, however, no fixed rules to determine the virtues and vices of a *Kula*. It differed from man to man, family to family, *kula* to *kula* and caste to caste. All were not equals in the society. Person differed from person and *kula* from *kula* on the basis of *Guṇa-doṣa* (merit and demerit). High and low birth was measured in terms of virtues and vices, purity and impurity of blood or caste. Thus, it becomes clear that the medieval Maithila society was one of distinct groups and classes. That social tension must have been a natural outcome of such a system cannot be denied. The *Dūṣaṇa-Pañjī* can prove to be an indicator of such a situation. It can certainly help us in bringing out the different social divisions and the mutual attitude of those groups towards each other. This *Pañjī* records the demerits of different sections of the brāhmaṇas and it can, therefore, be properly utilised for a study of comparative social status of these sections in a historical perspective.

A proper analysis of the *Pañjī-Prabandha* can also help us in having a better perspective regarding the origin and growth of certain significant social institutions in medieval Mithilā. It gave rise to a new system of contracting marriages, i.e. the Sabhāgāchhi marriage, which was a peculiar aspect of Maithila social life having no parallel elsewhere. In fact, for centuries even after the enforcement of the *Pañjī-Prabandha* by Harisimhadeva, the negotiation and settlement of the marriage of all the five sub-castes of Maithila brāhmaṇas took place at their homes. But in course of time, when the genealogical tables became voluminous it was arranged that people of Mithilā should congregate at certain centres in order to negotiate matrimonial alliances in accordance with the *Pañjī-Prabandha*. Such *Sabhās*

are of comparatively recent origin and they were organised in different districts, such as Madhubani, Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Bhagalpur and Purnia. A scientific study of these social gatherings will remain a desideratum unless the *Pañjīs* are throughly utilised for this purpose.

The *Pañjī-Prabandha* also led to the emergence of two new professional groups - the *Pañjīkāras* and the *Ghaṭakas*. It was the *Pañjīkāras* who gave the certificate of non-relationship to the parties intending to contract matrimonial alliance. In course of time, a new functional group called the *Ghaṭakas*, who were professional marriage negotiators, also emerged. As the keeping of the *Pañjī* assumed gigantic proportions, both these functional groups successfully engaged in extorting money from the people in order to solemnise their matrimonial alliances. A proper study of the *Pañjīs* can throw important light on the tertiary group, the *Ghaṭakas*, who were real parasites of the society. The *Pañjī* can also help us in getting an idea about the transformation of *Pañjīkāras* from a purely functional and non-hereditary to a hereditary group.[9]

Thus any attempt at writing a social history of Mithilā or north-eastern India on the basis of a critical study of the geneologies and also a scientific analysis of surnames and place-names, can prove to be quite fruitful. The *Pañjī* literature is certainly a veritable mine of information bearing on the social history of Mithilā, and a careful study of this literature would certainly reveal the various trends and forces at work that really shaped and governed the Maithila social order.

The *Pañjī* literature also gives a glimpse of the growing importance of wealth in Medieval Maithila society. With the increasing social prestige attached to the institution of Kulīnism and dowry system, the age old social values received a rude set-back and underwent unprecedented and interesting changes. How the erstwhile "*Ayāchiṣ*" of Mithilā came to follow jealously gross materialistic both for gaining a respectable position in society, is a completely new chapter of Mithilā's early medieval economic history. The age old and widely acclaimed ideals of intellectual perfection among the Maithilas, symbolised by *Mahāmahopādhyāya* Bhavanatha Miśra *or*

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9. U. Thakur, *History of Mithila*, Darbhanga, 1956, pp. 363-64.

"*Ayāchi*" Miśra no longer enthusiased the people; instead an overwhelming majority of the scholarly Paṇḍitas and brāhmaṇas now developed an insatiable lust for material prosperity. This new development was noticed by contemporary literature and Harihara in his *Sūktimuktāvalī* elaborately discussed the methods of using riches in a right way and cited the example of Vateśvara, the maternal grandfather of Ayāchi, who was "one of the highest among the Maithila Brāhmaṇas (and) was renowned not only for his learning but riches also".[10] In fact, the brāhmaṇas of Mithilā came to monopolise both the intellect and wealth during this period.

Of the six professions approved for a brāhmaṇa, *dāna* or gift became as popular in post Harisimhadeva Mithilā as *yajña* had been in the later Vedic age. Various treatises relating to this subject indicate that *dāna* was the most important source of income for the brāhmaṇas and "the only means of acquiring riches for the more conscientious and orthodox among them."[11] In fact, the attraction of gaining wealth through *dāna* provided a great impetus to the moving band of scholars. The growing socio-economic compulsions for keeping the body and soul together forced even the unwilling scholars to move out in search of new patrons. With the passage of time it became an established practice with the Maithila *Paṇḍitas* to move out, at least once in a year, and return home with riches sufficient enough to make them free to devote themselves to the cultivation of knowledge and learning during rest of the period.[12]

There was yet another class of Maithila *Paṇḍitas* who were hardly satisfied with what they earned for their sustenance. Their lust for wealth took them to far off places in search of liberal patrons and also forced them to stay out for a longer period. Endowed with wit and learning, these *Paṇḍitas* commanded respect almost everywhere they went. Princes and chieftains accorded them unique distinctions and naturally wealth came in its train. Thus laden with immense riches and prestigious titles most of these scholars

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10. *Suktīmuktāvali* (ed. R.N. Jha), Introduction, p. 32.

11. *Ibid.,* p. 33.

12. Cf. U. Thakur, 'Sanskrit Learning in Mithilā under the Khaṇḍavala dynasty' *Journal of the Bihar Research Society,* (*Mahārāja Kameshwar Singh Commemoration Volume*), Pt. I, Section II, pp. 90-104.

returned back to lead their lives in comparative ease. They also received grants of land which their descendants still enjoy. But a majority of scholars belonging to this category left their homes permanently and settled down in those far-off regions. Their descendants still inhabit certain areas of Bengal, Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Rajputana, Kashmir, Uttara Pradesh and Nepal.[13] If a history of the Maithila brāhmaṇas of these regions is compiled it will be found that each one of them was established by some adventurous and ambitious *Paṇḍitas* who could please some prince and thus receive from him a lavish gift, perhaps the very *guruship* of royal family, content with which he gave up all ideas of returning home and settled down there.[14] Though these details are petty and names are mostly unidentified, yet if analysed with a historical perspective they may yield important information regarding the Maithilas living outside Mithilā.

The *Pañjīs* are equally important for a study of the history of Maithili language and literature. A study of literary elements found in the *Pañjīs* can prove to be highly rewarding in this context. The *Pañjī-Prabandha* of both the Maithila brāhmaṇas and the Karaṇa Kāyasthas contain several specimens of prose and poetry including poems in Brajabhāṣā, Maithili *dohā*, Sanskrit *ślokas*, Maithili *bhajanas*, specimens of contemporary Maithili prose, samples of contemporary correspondence, a few pages of *jyotiṣa* (astronomy), a few pages of the Maithili version of the *Bhāgavata* by Manabodha, *mantras* relating to witch-craft, etc. Furthermore, the gradual development of Maithili script and its form through different ages as well as subsequent changes in Tirhuta (Maithili) alphabets are some of the important topics of study which, if carried with the help of the Pañjī literature, would throw new light on the evolution and growth of Maithili language and literature since the time of Jyotirīśvara.

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13. U. Thakur, *op. cit.,*

14. *Sūktimuktāvali*, Introduction, p. 35.

गुप्तकालीन सामाजिक स्तरीकरण की प्रक्रिया के लौकिक घटक

डा० आदित्य प्रसाद ओझा

इलाहाबाद

सामाजिक स्तरीकरण एक समाजशास्त्रीय अवधारणा है। यह इस तथ्य की ओर इंगित करती है कि व्यक्तियों और व्यक्ति-समूहों दोनों को किसी विशिष्ट या सामान्य विशेषता या विशेषताओं की दृष्टि से विभेदीकृत उच्चतर और निम्नतर स्तर या वर्ग से सम्बद्ध माना जाता है[1]। सोरोकिन ने किसी जनसंख्या के अनुक्रम में एक दूसरे के ऊपर आधारित वर्गों के विभेदीकरण को सामाजिक स्तरीकरण बताया है[2]। ट्यूमिन का कथन है कि सामाजिक स्तरीकरण मुख्यतः किसी सामाजिक वर्ग या समाज की उन स्थितियों की अनुक्रम में व्यवस्था है जो शक्ति, सम्पत्ति, सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा और मनोवैज्ञानिक संतुष्टि के दृष्टिकोण से असमान होती है[3]। ट्यूमिन का यह विचार कि "सामाजिक स्तरीकरण" सामाजिक असमानता का पर्यायवाची है[4], समीचीन प्रतीत होता है।

प्राचीन भारतीय सामाजिक स्तरीकरण का आधार आनुष्ठानिक था, जिसे हम शास्त्रीय सामाजिक स्तरीकरण की संज्ञा देते हैं। शास्त्रीय अथवा आनुष्ठानिक सामाजिक स्तरीकरण की प्रक्रिया वैदिक काल[5] से ही प्रारम्भ हो चुकी थी जिसका आधार था वर्ण और जिसमें अवरोही क्रम से ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय, वैश्य एवं शूद्र वर्णों का स्थान था। मिश्रित जातियाँ और दास समुदाय भी शूद्रों के ही अन्तर्गत आते थे। परन्तु शास्त्रीय दृष्टिकोण मिश्रित जातियों को चतुर्वर्णों के बाद स्थान प्रदान करने का था। अपनी अत्यधिक पराधीनता के कारण दास समुदाय सामाजिक ढाँचे के सब से निम्न स्तर पर अवस्थित था। इनके अतिरिक्त कुछ अन्त्यज अथवा अस्पृश्य लोगों का भी उल्लेख मिलता है जो शास्त्रीय परंपरा के अनुसार वर्ण–व्यवस्था के सामाजिक ढाँचे के बाहर थे[6]।

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१. इण्टरनेशनल इन्साइक्लोपीडिया ऑफ सोशल साइन्सेज़, १५, पृ० २८८–८६।

२. पी० ए० सोरोकिन, सोशल एण्ड कल्चरल मोबिलिटी, लन्दन, १६५६, पृ० ११।

३. एम० एम० ट्यूमिन, सोशल स्ट्रेटीफिकेशन : द फार्म्स एण्ड फंक्शन्स ऑफ इन्इक्वलिटी, नई दिल्ली, १६७८, पृ० १२।

४. वही, पृ० १२।

५. राज भारती, प्राचीन भारत में सामाजिक गतिशीलता का अध्ययन (पूर्व वैदिक काल से लेकर तृतीय चतुर्थ शता० ई० तक) इलाहाबाद, १६८५, अध्याय २

६. आदित्य प्रसाद ओझा, सोशल स्ट्रेटीफिकेशन इन ऐन्शिएन्ट इंडिया फ्रॉम द फोर्थ टु द सिक्स्थ सेंचुरी ए० डी० (हिन्दी में) डी० फिल० उपाधि के लिए स्वीकृत शोध प्रबन्ध, इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय, १६८३ (सम्प्रति प्रेस में) अध्याय २।

लेकिन शास्त्रीय सामाजिक स्तरीकरण के साथ ही साथ एक दूसरे का सामाजिक स्तरीकरण भी प्राचीन भारत में प्रचलित था जिसका आधार आर्थिक–समृद्धि और राजनीतिक शक्ति थी जिसे लौकिक सामाजिक स्तरीकरण की प्रक्रिया कहा जा सकता है[७]। सोरोकिन ने भी सामाजिक स्तरीकरण के जो तीन प्रमुख आधार[८] बताए हैं वे लौकिक ही थे। परन्तु ध्यातव्य है कि प्राचीन भारतीय समाज में आर्थिक समृद्धि और राजनीतिक शक्ति पर आधारित लौकिक सामाजिक स्तरीकरण की प्रक्रिया अधिक महत्वपूर्ण नहीं थी। बलवती प्रवृत्ति शास्त्रीय अथवा आनुष्ठानिक आदर्शों पर आधारित सामाजिक स्तरीकरण की ही थी[६]। यह भी उल्लेखनीय है कि इस शास्त्रीय सामाजिक स्तरीकरण की प्रक्रिया का आधार भी प्रारम्भ में काफी हद तक लौकिक ही रहा होगा और बाद में उन्हीं लौकिक आधारों का समावेश शास्त्रीय परंपरा में कर लिया गया होगा।

किसी भी युग का समाज तत्कालीन राजनीतिक परिस्थिति से प्रभावित होता है। गुप्तकालीन समाज भी इसका अपवाद नहीं है। यवन, शक–कुषाण एवं हूण आदि विदेशी शासक भारतभूमि को क्रमशः आक्रान्त करते रहे। इन आक्रमणों के फलस्वरूप रूढ़िवादी चातुर्वर्ण्य–व्यवस्था को पर्याप्त धक्का लगा। यद्यपि इस आघात से सामाजिक व्यवस्था का पुराना ढाँचा तो बना रहा, लेकिन वर्ण–व्यवस्था एक बार डगमगा अवश्य गई[१०] उसमें व्यतिक्रम एवं शिथिलता उत्पन्न हो गयी जिसका स्पष्ट प्रमाण कलियुग–वर्णन के प्रसंग से उपलब्ध होता है। दूसरे शब्दों में यह भी कहा जा सकता है कि इस समय सामाजिक स्तरीकरण में जो राजनीतिक, आर्थिक और धार्मिक परिवर्तन आ रहे थे, कलियुग–वर्णन उसी का अति–रंजित विवरण है[११]।

गुप्तकालीन सामाजिक स्तरीकरण उस युग में होनेवाले आर्थिक विकास से भी प्रभावित हुआ जो कि कुषाण काल से ही प्रारंभ हो चुका था। यह विकास कृषि, उद्योग और व्यापार के क्षेत्र में देखने को मिलता है। यद्यपि छठीं शताब्दी के अन्त तक आते–आते अर्थव्यवस्था के ह्रास के कुछ चिह्न भी दिखाई पड़ने लगते हैं परन्तु उसका स्पष्ट स्वरूप पूर्वमध्यकाल में ही देखने को मिलता है[१२]।

सामाजार्थिक विकास के कारण सामाजिक स्तर के निर्धारण में अर्थ का महत्त्व पहले से ही बढ़ रहा था और गुप्तकाल में यह प्रवृत्ति विकसित रूप से दृष्टिगोचर होती है। मनु के समय

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७. शास्त्रीय और लौकिक सामाजिक स्तरीकरणों के विभाजन का आधार शंकराचार्य द्वारा **ब्रह्मसूत्र** (१. ३.६.३४.) पर लिखे गये भाष्य में प्रतिपादित शास्त्रीय सामथ्र्य और लौकिक सामथ्र्य का आदर्श है, द्रष्टव्य, ओझा, **वही**, प्राक्कथन एवं अध्याय ३।

८. आर्थिक असमानता, राजनीतिक शक्ति और व्यवसाय, सोरोकिन, पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ० १२।

६. आदित्य प्रसाद ओझा, **वही**, अध्याय ३।

१०. यह प्रक्रिया शक–कुषाण काल से ही प्रारम्भ हो गई थी (बी० एन० एस० यादव, **सम आस्पेक्ट्स आफ द चेंजिंग आर्डर इन इंडिया ड्यूरिंग द शक-कुषाण एज** , जी० आर० शर्मा, **कुषाण स्टडीज़**, इलाहाबाद १६६८, पृ० ७५–७६)। गुप्तकाल में यह और उभरकर सामने आती है।

११. आदित्य प्रसाद ओझा, पूर्वोद्धृत, अध्याय ३।

१२. वही, अध्याय ३।

में ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय और वैश्य के लिए सामाजिक श्रेष्ठता के निर्धारक तत्त्वों में आरोही क्रम से वित्त, बन्धु,आयु, कर्म और विद्या को महत्त्व दिया गया है[१३]। इस प्रकार विद्या का महत्त्व सबसे अधिक था। द्विजाति और शूद्र वर्ण में शूद्र इन सब के साथ यदि आयु में भी बड़ा हो तभी मनु ने उसे सम्मान का अधिकारी माना है[१४]। परन्तु गुप्तयुग में सामाजिक श्रेष्ठता निर्धारित करने वाले इन पाँचों तत्त्वों की मान्यता अवरोही क्रम में स्वीकार की जाने लगी। याज्ञवल्क्य ने सामाजिक स्तर के निर्धारण में विद्या को सब से कम और वित्त को सबसे अधिक महत्त्व दिया है[१५]। सामाजिक स्तर के निर्धारण में अर्थ के महत्त्व में वृद्धि के सन्दर्भ में नवीं शताब्दी ई० के मनु के भाष्यकार मेधातिथि भी यही विचार व्यक्त करते हैं। मनु के उपर्युक्त कथन की व्याख्या करते हुए मेधातिथि (६वीं शताब्दी ई०) कहते हैं कि यदि ब्राह्मण इन गुणों से हीन होगा तो जाति में उत्कृष्ट होते हुऐ भी इन पाँचों गुणों धन, बन्धु, वय, कर्म और विद्या से युक्त क्षत्रिय उसके लिए पूजनीय होगा। इसी प्रकार गुणवान् वैश्य गुणहीन क्षत्रिय के लिए जाति में निम्न होते हुए भी पूज्य होगा[१६]। अतएव स्पष्ट है कि सामाजिक स्तर के निर्धारण में वर्ण का महत्त्व घट रहा था। मनु का यह सामान्य नियम[१७] कि विद्या के आधार पर ब्राह्मणों, बल के आधार पर क्षत्रियों, धन के आधार पर वैश्यों और आयु के आधार पर शूद्रों का सामाजिक स्तर निर्धारित होना चाहिए, याज्ञवल्क्य द्वारा संशोधित किया गया। यही प्रवृत्ति हमें कालान्तर में मेधातिथि के भाष्य में भी मिलती है जिसमें मनु के इस कथन को अर्थवाद कहा गया है[१८]। **महाभारत** के अनुशासन पर्व में भूमिदान संबंधी जो प्रशंसा मिलती है[१९] वह भी सामाजिक स्तर के निर्धारण में धन–सम्पत्ति के बढ़ते हुए महत्त्व की ओर ही संकेत करती है। **विष्णु पुराण** में कहा गया है कि जिसके पास हाथी, घोड़ा और रथ होगा, कलियुग में वही राजा होगा[२०]। जो जिसको विपुल धन देगा वही उसका स्वामी होगा[२१]। अर्थ ही कुलीनता का हेतु होगा, विद्या, आचार आदि नहीं[२२]। कुलीनता और स्वामित्व में धनी और निर्धन का संबंध होगा[२३]। सभी धनाढ्य वर्ण और जाति के

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१३. वित्तं बन्धुर्वयः कर्म विद्या भवति पञ्चमी।
एतानि मान्यस्थानानि गरीयो यद्यदुत्तरम्।। **मनुस्मृति**, २, १३६।

१४. **मनुस्मृति** २, १३७।

१५. **याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति**, १, ११६।

१६. त्रिषु वर्णेषु ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्येषु। यद्येते गुणा भूयांसः प्रकृष्टाश्च क्षत्रियस्यापि भवन्ति तदा गुणहीनेन ब्राह्मणेन जात्युत्कृष्टेनापि क्षत्रियः पूज्यः। एवं क्षत्रियेण वैश्यः। **मेधातिथि, मनु०**, २,१३६–३७।

१७. विप्राणां ज्ञानतो ज्येष्ठ्यं क्षत्रियाणां तु वीर्यतः।
वैश्यानां धान्यधनतः शूद्राणामेव जन्मतः।। **मनुस्मृति**, २,१५५

१८. अयमप्यर्थवाद एव, **मेधातिथि**, **मनुस्मृति**, २, १५५ पर।

१९. **महाभारत**, १३, ६१, ६, ११, ४२, ५८।

२०. यो योऽश्वरथनागादयः स स राजा भविष्यति, **विष्णु पु०** वेंकटेश्वर प्रेस संस्करण, बम्बई, ६, १, ३५।

२१. यो यो ददाति बहुलं स स स्वामी तदा नृणाम्, **वही**, ६,१,१६।

२२. ततश्चार्थ एवाभिजन हेतुः ....., **वही**, ४, २४, २१।

२३. **वही**, ६, १, १६।

भेद–भाव के बिना स्वामी होंगे और सभी निर्धन परिचारक[२४]। यद्यपि यह वर्णन अतिरंजित प्रतीत होता है, परन्तु इसमें सत्य का अंश अवश्य निहित है। इस प्रकार लौकिक परिस्थितियों का प्रभाव शास्त्रीय दृष्टिकोण पर भी दृष्टिगोचर होता है।

गुप्तकालीन ज्योतिष ग्रंथों में भी सामाजिक स्तर के निर्धारण में अर्थ को ही महत्त्व दिया गया है। वराहमिहिर ने **बृहत्संहिता** में सार्थ के प्रधान में चुनाव के सन्दर्भ में अर्थ को ही सर्वोपरि मान्यता दी है। उनके अनुसार इस चुनाव में जाति, विद्या और वय केवल तभी निर्णायक होंगे जब प्रत्याशियों में धन की समानता हो। अन्यथा जो सर्वाधिक धनाढ्य होगा वही सार्थवाह होगा[२५]। स्पष्ट है कि यहाँ पर वराहमिहिर ने धन को प्रधान और जाति, विद्या, वय को गौण माना है। **बृहज्जातक**[२६] और **बृहत्संहिता**[२७] में भृत्यों को भी धन माना गया है जिससे सम्पन्न होना सामाजिक श्रेष्ठता का द्योतक है। **वृद्ध-यवन-जातक** में तो भृत्यों और पशुओं से वंचित होना दुर्भाग्य का सूचक बताया गया है[२८]। गुप्तकालीन अभिलेखों[२९] में भूमिदान करने पर स्वर्ग लाभ और उसके अपहृत करने पर नरक प्राप्ति का जो भय दिखाया गया है, वह भी धन–सम्पत्ति के महत्त्व का ही द्योतक है।

लौकिक दृष्टिकोण से सामाजिक स्तरीकरण का स्वरूप

शास्त्रीय सामर्थ्य पर आधारित सामाजिक स्तरीकरण के समानान्तर लौकिक सामर्थ्य पर आधारित सामाजिक स्तरीकरण की प्रवृत्ति गुप्तकाल के कुछ पहले से ही सामाजार्थिक इतिहास में एक नया आयाम जोड़ रही थी। यदि शास्त्रीय सामर्थ्य पर आधारित सामाजिक स्तरीकरण में वर्णों की आनुष्ठानिक स्थिति पर बल दिया गया था, तो लौकिक सामर्थ्य पर आधारित सामाजिक स्तरीकरण में आर्थिक समृद्धि और राजनीतिक शक्ति पर। यह भी उल्लेखनीय है कि जहाँ एक ओर वर्णों की आनुष्ठानिक स्थिति को ही ध्यान में रखकर सामाजिक अनुक्रम में उनके स्तर निर्धारण की प्रवृत्ति गुप्तकाल में धीरे–धीरे कमजोर पड़ती जा रही थी, वहीं दूसरी ओर आर्थिक[३०] समृद्धि और राजनीतिक शक्ति पर आधारित सामाजिक स्तरीकरण की प्रवृत्ति उत्तरोत्तर महत्त्वपूर्ण होती जा रही थी। प्रो० बी० एन० एस० यादव के

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२४. यश्च यश्चाबलः सर्वः स स भृत्यः कलौ युगे, **वही**, ६, १, ३५।

२५. दो जिल्दों में, (सम्पा०) सुधाकर द्विवेदी, बनारस १८६५–६७। **बृहत्संहिता**, ८५, ११।

२६. **बृहज्जातक**, (सम्पा०) सीताराम झा, बनारस, १६३४। १६,६।

२७. बहुभृत्यधनी, **बृहत्संहिता**, १००,६।

२८. **वृद्ध-यवन-जातक**, दो भागों में, (सम्पा०) डेविड पिन्ग्री, गायकवाड्स ओरिएण्टल सीरीज, संहया १६२, बड़ौदा, १६७६। ५१,१६

२९. बंगाल से प्राप्त धनैदह, दामोदरपुर, बैग्राम आदि ताम्र–पत्र लेखों में इसका विवेचन प्राप्त होता है। देखिए, आर० आर० मुखर्जी एवं एस० के० मैती, (संपादित) **कापर्स आंव बेंगाल इस्क्रिप्शंस**, कलकत्ता, १६६७, पृ० ४१–४२, ४५–४७।

३०. सामाजिक स्तरों के निर्धारण में आर्थिक आधार का संकेत डा० जयमल राय ने भी किया है, **द रूरल-अरबन इकॉनमी ऐण्ड सोशल चेंजेज़ इन ऐन्शिएण्ट इण्डिया**, वाराणसी, १६७४, पृ० ३२२–२३। बी० एन० एस० यादव, **द इंडियन हिस्टारिकल रिव्यू**, जिल्द ४, भाग २, पृ० ४२४।

मतानुसार कुछ सन्दर्भों में दोनों के परस्पराच्छादी स्वरूप का भी दिग्दर्शन होता है, क्योंकि सामाजिक स्तरीकरण के शास्त्रीय और लौकिक आधार दोनों एक ही सन्दर्भ में सदैव एक दूसरे से अलग नहीं रह सकते थे। ध्यातव्य है कि कुछ वैयक्तिक उपलब्धियों द्वारा आनुष्ठानिक स्तर–भेद को कुछ हद तक कम किये जाने के प्रमाण भी उपलब्ध हैं[३१]। लौकिक स्तरीकरण के स्वरूप को निम्नलिखित रूप से प्रस्तुत कर सकते हैं–

(१) शासक-समुदाय :– लौकिक सामाजिक स्तरीकरण के उच्चतम स्तर पर वह शासक–समुदाय विद्यमान था जो न केवल आर्थिक रूप से संपन्न ही था, अपितु जिसके हाथ में राजनीतिक और प्रशासनिक शक्ति भी थी। शासक–समुदाय आन्तरिक रूप से भी स्तरीकृत था जिसका स्वरूप इस प्रकार था–

(अ) राजा एवं राजतुल्य ब्राह्मण :– समृद्ध और सत्ताधारी शासक समुदाय के अन्तर्गत प्रथम स्थान था राजाओं (पृथ्वीपतीनाम्) का[३२]। गुप्तकाल में सामाजिक स्थिति के निर्धारक घटकों में धन–सम्पत्ति और राजनीतिक शक्ति के बढ़ते हुए महत्त्व के कारण राजाओं का एक ऐसा समुदाय तैयार हो गया था जिसमें कोई जरूरी नहीं कि वह क्षत्रिय ही हो, जबकि शास्त्रीय मान्यता के अनुसार राजत्व का अधिकार क्षत्रियों को ही था। इस परिवर्तन का स्पष्ट संकेत **वृद्ध-यवन-जातक** (चतुर्थ–पंचम शताब्दी ई०) में किया गया है। मीनराज अपने इस ज्योतिष ग्रंथ में ब्राह्मण, वैश्य और शूद्र वर्णो का उल्लेख तो करते हैं, लेकिन क्षत्रिय का नहीं, बल्कि क्षत्रिय के स्थान पर उन्हें पृथ्वीपति के नाम से सम्बोधित करते हैं[३३]। यदि मीनराज क्षत्रियों के समुदाय को ही पृथ्वीपतियों का समुदाय कहते तो उनकी बात गुप्तकाल के सन्दर्भ में गलत हो सकती थी, क्योंकि इस समय सभी राजा क्षत्रिय ही नहीं थे। क्षत्रियों के अतिरिक्त ब्राह्मण, वैश्य और शूद्र भी अब राजा होने लगे थे। कदम्बवंश का संस्थापक मयूरशर्मन् मानव्य गोत्रीय ब्राह्मण था[३४]। दक्षिण भारत का वाकाटक राजवंश भी विष्णुवृद्ध गोत्रीय ब्राह्मणवंश था[३५]। गुप्तों को अलग–अलग कई वर्णों से संबंधित करने की चेष्टा की गयी है। काशी प्रसाद जायसवाल उन्हें शूद्र मानते हैं[३६]। एलन, आयंकर और अल्तेकर यदि उन्हें वैश्य मानने के पक्ष में हैं[३७] तो गौरीशंकर हीराचन्द ओझा, सुधाकर चट्टोपाध्याय और रमेश चन्द्र मजूमदार

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३१. आदित्य प्रसाद ओझा, पूर्वोद्धृत, अध्याय ३।

३२. बृहज्जातक, ११,१३, २१, १, "पृथ्वीपतीनाम्" के लिए देखिए **वृद्ध-यवन-जातक**, २,२,१५।

३३. **वृद्ध-यवन-जातक**, २,२,१५।

३४. तालगुण्ड प्रशस्ति, **इपिग्राफ्रिया इण्डिका**, ८,३१, **सेलेक्ट इंस्क्रिप्शंस बियरिंग आन इण्डियन हिस्ट्री ऐन्ड सिविलाइजेशन**, प्रथम जिल्द, कल्कत्ता, १६६५, पृ० ४७५।

३५. बासिम, ताम्रपत्र लेख, इपि० इण्डि २५,१३७ **कार्पस इंस्क्रिप्शनम इण्डिकारम**, ५, ६६, वी० मिराशी वी० **वाकाटक राजवंश का इतिहास तथा उसके अभिलेख**, वाराणसी, १६६४, पृ० २४७।

३६. के. पी. जायसवाल **एनल्स आव भण्डारकर ओरिएण्टल रिसर्च इंस्टीट्यूट**, जिल्द १२; **जर्नल आव बिहार एण्ड ओरिसा रिसर्च सोसायटी**, जिल्द १६।

३७. द्रष्टव्य उदय नारायण राय, **गुप्त सम्राट और उनका काल**, इलाहाबाद, १६७२, पृ० ३६–३७।

क्षत्रिय[३८]। राय चौधरी[३९], क्षेत्रेशचन्द्र चट्टोपाध्याय[४०] और उदय नारायण राय[४१] गुप्तों को ब्राह्मण मानते हैं। थानेश्वर का पुष्यभूति वंश वैश्य वंश था[४२]। ह्वेनसांग जिसका भ्रमण काल गुप्तकाल से अधिक दूर नहीं है, भी उज्जयिनी, जिझोति और महेश्वर के ब्राह्मण राजाओं और मतिपुर तथा सिन्ध के शूद्र राजाओं का उल्लेख करता है[४३]। समकालीन अन्य साक्ष्य भी सौराष्ट्र, अवन्ति, अबुर्द और मालवा के शूद्र राजाओं का प्रमाण प्रस्तुत करते हैं[४४]। संभवतः इसीलिए मीनराज ने राजाओं के समुदाय को क्षत्रियों का समुदाय न कहकर पृथ्वीपतियों का समुदाय कहा है।

शासक–समुदाय के अन्तर्गत प्रथम स्थान पर विद्यमान राजाओं के साथ ही साथ कुछ ऐसे भी लोग थे जो राजा तो नहीं थे पर जिनका स्तर राजा के समान (राजतुल्य) अवश्य था। इन्हें **बृहज्जातक** में नृपतुल्य, नृपोपम और भूपसम कहा गया है[४५]। ये नृपतुल्य, नृपोपम और भूपसम कौन लोग थे, इसका स्पष्टीकरण **बृहज्जातक** के ही एक दूसरे स्थान पर किया गया है। यहाँ वराहमिहिर एक ऐसे योग का उल्लेख करते हैं जिसके अनुसार यदि जन्मकाल में मंगल बृहस्पति से युक्त हो तो जातक राजा अथवा धनवान ब्राह्मण होगा– नरपतिः प्राप्तवित्तो द्विजो वा[४६]। यहाँ पर हम देखते हैं कि राजा और धनवान ब्राह्मण दोनों को एक ही योग में उत्पन्न बताया गया है और इस प्रकार एक ही स्तर पर रखा गया है। अतएव स्पष्ट है कि इन राजतुल्यों (नृपतुल्य, नृपोपम और भूपसम) से वराहमिहिर का तात्पर्य धनवान् ब्राह्मणों से ही है[४७]। ध्यातव्य है कि लौकिक सामाजिक अनुक्रम में राजा को सर्वोच्च स्थान प्राप्त था न कि धनवान् को, क्योंकि राजा के हाथ में धन और सत्ता दोनों ही होती थी। परन्तु इस योग में तो ब्राह्मण केवल धनवान् है, सत्ता उसके पास नहीं है, तो फिर उसे राजा का समस्तरीय कैसे माना गया? इसकी व्याख्या एक ही सन्दर्भ में सामाजिक स्तरीकरण के दोनों आधारों– शास्त्रीय और

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३८. उदय नारायण राय, वही, पृ० ३८–४१, सुधाकर चट्टोपाध्याय, **अर्ली हिस्ट्री ऑफ नार्थ इंडिया**, कलकत्ता, १९५८, पृ० १४०, रमेशचन्द्र मजूमदार, **इंडियन हिस्टारिकल क्वाटर्ली**, १९३३।

३९. एच० सी० राय चौधरी, **जर्नल ऑफ बाम्बे ब्रांच ऑफ रायल एशियाटिक सोसाइटी**, १९४८–४९, **पोलिटिकल हिस्ट्री ऑव ऐन्शिएण्ट इंडिया**, कलकत्ता, १९५३, पृ० ५२,५२८, पाव–टिप्पणी।

४०. क्षेत्रेश चन्द्र चट्टोपाध्याय, **इण्डियन हिस्टारिकल क्वार्टर्ली**, जिल्द १४।

४१. उदय नारायण राय, पूर्वो०, पृ० ४७–५२।

४२. यू० एन० घोषाल, **सोशल कन्डीशंस, द क्लासिकल एज**, बन्बई, १९७० (तृतीय संस्करण) पृ० ५९१।

४३. वाटर्स, **आन युवानच्वाग्स ट्रैवेल्स इन इण्डिया**, राइस डेविड्स टी० डब्ल्यू० एवं बुशेल एस० डब्ल्यू० द्वारा संपादित, लन्दन, जिल्द २, १९०५, पृ० २५०–५२, जिल्द १, १९०४, पृ० ३००, ३३२, ३३४।

४४. पार्जिटर, एफ० ई०, द **पुराण टेक्स्ट ऑफ द डाइनेस्टीज ऑफ द कलि एज**, **आक्सफोर्ड**, १९१३, पृ० ५५, आर० एस० शर्मा, **शूद्राज इन एन्शिएण्ट इंडिया**, (दि० सं०) दिल्ली, १९८०, पृ० २६८–६९।

४५. **बृहज्जातक**, ११, १२, १९, १, १९, ३।

४६. **बृहज्जातक**, १४, ३।

४७. बी० एन० एस० यादव, द प्राब्लम ऑफ द इमरजेंस ऑफ फ्युडल रिलेशंस इन अर्ली इंडिया **प्रेसीडेंशियल ऐड्रेस**, एन्शिएण्ट इंडिया सेक्शन, इंडियन हिस्ट्री कांग्रेस, ४१वाँ सेशन, बम्बई, १९८०, पृ० १०–११।

लौकिक–के परम्पराच्छादी हो जाने की प्रक्रिया में निहित है। शास्त्रीय सामाजिक स्तरीकरण में ब्राह्मण को सर्वोच्च स्थान प्राप्त था और लौकिक स्तरीकरण में उसका यही ब्राह्मणत्व यहाँ विचारणीय हुआ। इसके अतिरिक्त भूमिदान पानेवाले ब्राह्मणों के हाथ में अपने–अपने क्षेत्र में कुछ हद तक प्रशासनिक शक्ति भी रही होगी। बी० एन० एस० यादव ने यह दिखाया है कि इन ब्राह्मणों में से कुछ अपने–अपने क्षेत्र में सामन्त सदृश थे[४८]। सामान्य ब्राह्मणों को जिनके पास विशेष धन नहीं था, उन्हें राजाओं के साथ प्रथम स्तर पर नहीं रखा गया।

लौकिक सामाजिक स्तरीकरण में राजा के सर्वोच्च स्तर पर विद्यमान होने के अन्य साक्ष्य भी उपलब्ध हैं। वराहमिहिर ने **बृहज्जातक** में एक ऐसे योग[४९] का वर्णन किया है जो यह बताता है कि किसी भी जातक को राजा होने के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि उसके जन्मकाल में कम से कम पाँच या छः ग्रह कालबल और दिग्बल से युक्त होकर अपने मूलत्रिकोण में विराजमान हों, जबकि धनवान् होने के लिए केवल तीन या चार ग्रहों के ही इस स्थिति में विद्यमान होने की आवश्यकता है। इतना ही नहीं यदि जातक राजवंश से संबंधित है तो वह केवल तीन या चार ग्रहों के इस स्थिति में होने पर भी राजा हो सकता है, जबकि ऐसी स्थिति में अन्य वंशोत्पन्न व्यक्ति धनवान् मात्र हो सकता है राजा नहीं[५०]। राजा होने के एक दूसरे योग[५१] की व्याख्या करते हुए यह बताया गया है कि यदि जन्म के समय सात ग्रह स्वगृही अथवा मित्र राशिस्थ हों तो भी जातक राजपद प्राप्त कर सकता है। छः ग्रह के मित्रराशिस्थ होने पर वह केवल सेनापति होगा और यदि चार ग्रह स्वगृही हैं तो वह धनवान् मात्र होगा[५२]। **बृहत्संहिता** के वास्तुविद्याध्याय में राजाओं, सेनापतियों, मन्त्रियों और सामन्तों आदि राज्य के प्रमुख पदाधिकारियों के गृहों के प्रमाण (आकार) आख्यात करते हुए नृपतिगृह को ही आकार में सब से बड़ा बताया गया है[५३]। इससे भी लौकिक सामाजिक अनुक्रम में राजा के सर्वोच्च स्तर पर विद्यमान होने का प्रमाण मिलता है।

(ब) सेनापति, सचिव एवं माण्डलिक :– शासक समुदाय के ही अन्तर्गत दूसरे स्थान पर सेनापति, सचिव और माण्डलिक आते हैं। इनके पास भी सत्ता और सम्पत्ति दोनों थीं। परन्तु अन्तर केवल इतना था कि जहाँ प्रथम स्थान पर विद्यमान राजाओं के हाथ में निहित सत्ता स्वतन्त्र सत्ता थी, वहीं इस समुदाय को अपने सत्तात्मक अधिकारों के लिए राजा पर निर्भर रहना पड़ता था। इस प्रकार इन लोगों की सत्ता अधीनस्थ सत्ता थी। वराहमिहिर ने सेनापति होने के

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४८. डी० सी० सरकार, द्वारा संपादित, **लैण्ड सिस्टम एण्ड फ्युडलिज्म इन ऐन्शिएण्ट इण्डिया**, कलकत्ता, १९६६, पृ० ६२।

४९. इसे **"राजयोग"** कहा गया है।

५०. **बृहज्जातक**, ११,१३।

५१. **वही**, २१,१।

५२. **वही**।

५३. **बृहत्संहिता**, ५२, ४, नृपतियों के गृह संबंधी उन्हीं प्रमाणों का उल्लेख जो **बृहत्संहिता** में प्राप्त है, **मत्स्यपुराण** में भी मिलता है। देखिए, **मत्स्यपुराण** (सम्पा०) हरि नारायण आप्टे सेक्रेड बुक आफ द हिन्दूज सिरीज, पूना १९०७, २५४, १४–१६।

कई योगों का वर्णन किया है। एक योग के अनुसार मंगल यदि जन्म–काल में मेष या वृश्चिक राशि में स्थित हो तो जातक सेनापति होता है[५४]। इसी प्रकार मेष, सिंह और वृश्चिक राशिस्थ गुरु भी जातक को सेनापति बनाता है[५५]। इस सन्दर्भ में वराहमिहिर द्वारा आख्यात तीसरा योग अपेक्षावृत्त अधिक महत्वपूर्ण है, क्योंकि माण्डलिक, सचिव और सेनापति तीनों के एक ही योग में उत्पन्न होने का उल्लेख करता है। इसके अनुसार जातक के जन्म समय में यदि गुरु, धनु या मीन राशि में स्थित हो, तो वह या तो माण्डलिक होगा या सचिव अथवा फिर सेनापति[५६]। इससे यह निष्कर्ष निकलता है कि ये समान स्तरीय माने जाते थे। यह बात विशेष रूप से उल्लेखनीय है कि इन तीनों योगों में धनवान् होने का गुण समान रूप से विद्यमान है जो कि इस समुदाय के सत्तायुक्त होने के साथ–साथ समृद्धशाली होने का द्योतन भी करता है।

गुप्तकालीन आभिलेखिक साक्ष्यों में सेनापतियों के लिए महाबलाधिकृत, बलाधिकृत तथा महादण्डनायक आदि उपाधियाँ प्रयुक्त की गईं हैं,[५७] जबकि साहित्यिक साक्ष्य उन्हें सेनानी, सेनापति वाहिनीनायक, बलनायक आदि अभिधाओं से अभिहित करते हैं।[५८] यदि प्रयाग प्रशस्ति में हरिषेण और तिलभट्ट नामक महादण्डनायकों का उल्लेख किया गया है तो उच्चकल्पों के लेखों में सेनापति के रूप में शिवगुप्त का नाम सुरक्षित मिलता है[५९]। बाणभट्ट विरचित **कादम्बरी** और **हर्षचरित** में क्रमशः बलाहक और सिंहनाद जैसे शूरवीर सेनापतियों का उल्लेख किया गया है[६०]। आभिलेखिक साक्ष्यों से सेनापतियों के बारे में जो महत्त्वपूर्ण तथ्य प्रकाश में आता है वह यह है कि गुप्तकाल में महादण्डनायक ही युद्ध एवं शान्ति संबंधी मामलों का मन्त्री भी होता है[६१]। हरिषेण महादंडनायक के अतिरिक्त सान्धिविग्रहिक भी था[६२]। शाबवीर सेन भी सान्धिविग्रहिक सचिव होने के साथ ही साथ सेनापति भी रहा होगा, अन्यथा शकों के विरुद्ध किये गये सैनिक अभियान में उसकी उपस्थिति[६३] का कोई औचित्य नहीं लगता। परन्तु गुप्तोत्तर काल में यह परंपरा शिथिल होने लगी थी।

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५४ . **बृहज्जातक**, १८,५।

५५ . सेनानीर्बहुवित्तदारतनयो दाता सुभृत्यः क्षमी– वही, १८, १२–१३।

५६ . वही, १८,१३।

५७ . इपि० इण्डि०, २५,५२, का० इं० इं०, ३,२८,१२८, ३,३०,१३४, ३,१०,१०, वासुदेव उपाध्याय, **गुप्त अभिलेख**, पटना, १६७४, पृ० १४०,एस० के०, मैती, **द इम्पीरियल गुप्ताज एण्ड देयर टाइम्स**, दिल्ली, १६७०। पृ० ६२, महादण्डनायक को कुछ विद्वान् न्यायाधीश और पुलिस विभाग का अध्यक्ष मानते हैं। देखिए हरिपद चक्रवर्ती, **इण्डिया ऐज रिफ्लेक्टेड इन द इंस्क्रिप्शंस ऑफ गुप्ता पीरियड**, दिल्ली, १६७८, पृ० १८३–८४।

५८ . **बृहज्जातक**, १८,५,१२,१३, **बृहत्संहिता**, ५,२६, वासुदेव शरण अग्रवाल **कादम्बरी एक सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन**, वाराणसी, १६७०, पृ० ६३, **हर्षचरित एक सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन**, पटना, १६६४, पृ० १२६।

५६ . का० इं० इं०, ३,२८,१२८, ३,३०,१३४।

६० . अग्रवाल, **पूर्वो०**।

६१ . तुलनार्ह, उदयनारायण राय, **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० ३३०।

६२ . प्रयाग प्रशस्ति, का०इं०इं० ३,१,१०, से० इं०, पृ० २६८।

६३ . कृत्स्न–पृथ्वी–जयार्थेन राज्ञैवेह सहागतः, उदयगिरि शैव गुहालेख, से०इं०, पृ० २८०।

आभिलेखिक साक्ष्यों की समीक्षा से यह तथ्य प्रकाश में आता है कि यद्यपि गुप्तकाल में भी सचिवों का पद वंशानुगत होता था, परन्तु उनकी योग्यता का भी ध्यान रखा जाता था। महाराजाधिराज समुद्रगुप्त का सान्धिविग्रहिक सचिव हरिषेण महादण्डनायक ध्रुवभूति का पुत्र था[६४]। चन्द्रगुप्त द्वितीयकालीन उदयगिरि शैव गुहालेख[६५] तो स्पष्ट रूप से कहता है कि कौत्स गोत्रोत्पन्न सान्धिविग्रहिक सचिव शाब ने जिसका कुलनाम वीरसेन था, वेशपरम्परा के आधार पर सचिव पद को प्राप्त किया[६६]। उसकी योग्यता का उल्लेख भी लेख में प्राप्त होता है। शाब वीरसेन व्याकरण, न्याय और लोक परंपरा का ज्ञाता होने के साथ ही साथ कवि भी था[६७]। हरिषेण की काव्य–प्रतिभा का प्रभाव भी प्रयाग प्रशस्ति[६८] से मिलता है। साहित्यिक साक्ष्य भी सचिवों के इन गुणों का उल्लेख करते हैं[६९]। करमदण्डा के लेख से चन्द्रगुप्त द्वितीय के सचिव एवं कुमारामात्य, शिखरस्वामी और कुमारगुप्त के भी सचिव एवं कुमारमात्य पृथिवीषेण का नाम ज्ञात होता है[७०]। उल्लेखनीय है कि पृथिवीषेण शिखरस्वामी का पुत्र था[७१] जो वंश परंपरागत सचिव–पद प्राप्त करने का उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करता है। परिव्राजकों और उच्चकल्पों के इतिहास से भी वंशानुगत रूप से सचिव–पद प्राप्त करने के साक्ष्य उपलब्ध होते हैं[७२]। सचिव–पद के वंशानुगत होने के कारण ही इनका एक समुदाय बन गया होगा। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि सचिव समुदाय में कुछ भोगिक भी सम्मिलित थे क्योंकि कुछ भोगियों के सचिव (अमात्य) और भोगिक दोनों होने का उल्लेख मिलता है।

जहाँ तक माण्डलिकों का प्रश्न है कि वे एक प्रकार के सामन्त (अधीनस्थ राजा) थे। **बृहत्संहिता** के भाष्यकार भट्टोत्पल (१०वीं शताब्दी ई०) ने माण्डलिक को परिमित देश का राजा बताया है[७३]। इससे ऐसा लगता है कि गुप्तकाल में माण्डलिक शब्द का व्यापक स्तर पर प्रयोग हुआ होगा और इसके अन्तर्गत कुमारामात्य, प्रान्तपति, विषयपति, गोप्तृन, उपरिक आदि राज्य के सभी बड़े पदाधिकारी आ जाते रहे होंगे। भारतीय सामन्तवाद का उद्भव एवं प्रारंभिक विकास

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६४. फ्लीट, का०इं०इं०, ३,१,१०, सरकार से०इं०, पृ० २६८।

६५. फ्लीट, वही, ३.६.३५, सरकार, वही, पृ० २८०, भण्डारकर सूची, नं० १२६०।

६६. अन्वय–प्राप्त–साचिव्यो व्यापृत–सान्धिविग्रहः।

६७. शब्दार्थ–न्याय–लोकज्ञः कविः पाटलिपुत्रकः।

६८. का० इं० इं०, ३.१.६.।

६९. याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति, १, ३१२, **कामन्दकीय नीतिसार**, ४.२५, वासुदेव शरण, अग्रवाल, **कादम्बरी एक सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन**, पृ० ६६।

७०. इपि० इण्डि०, १०.७१, से० इं०, पृ० २६०।

७१. वही।

७२. देखिए, उदय नारायण राय, **पूर्वो०**, पृ० ३३०।

७३. मण्डले परिमितदेशे ये राजानस्तेषां, **बृहत्संहिता**, ४. १५ पर।

गुप्तकाल में ही हुआ[७४]। इस सामन्तवाद की सामाजार्थिक पृष्ठभूमि यदि शूद्रों के कृषक समुदाय के रूप में परिवर्तन में निहित हैं तो उसके राजनीतिक पदों का प्रतिनिधित्व सामन्त गण करते हैं[७५]। राजा और सामन्तों के संबंधों की झलक भी अभिलेखों से मिल जाती है। समुद्रगुप्त के इलाहाबाद स्तम्भ लेख से यह ज्ञात होता है कि सामन्त गण राजा के दरबार में आकर प्रणाम करते, सभी प्रकार के कर देते और आज्ञा मानते थे[७६]। कुछ सामन्त शासकों के साथ कन्योपायनदान की नीति भी अपनायी गयी थी। वे अपने-अपने विषयों और भुक्तियों पर गरुड मुद्रा से अंकित राजाज्ञा को भी स्वीकार करते थे[७७]। सामन्तों को राजस्व वसूलने का भी अधिकार होता था[७८]। कुछ बड़े-बड़े सामन्तों को सामन्तोपसामन्तीरण का भी अधिकार प्राप्त था[७९]। बुधगुप्त के एरण स्तम्भ लेख से ज्ञात होता है कि सामन्त मातृविष्णु सुरश्मिचन्द्र का अधीनस्थ था जबकि सुरश्मिचन्द्र स्वयं बुधगुप्त का सामन्त था[८०]। परिव्राजक और उच्चकल्प आदि सामन्त राजवंश गुप्त सम्राटों की अनुमति के बिना भी भूमिदान कर सकते थे और इनमें से कुछ तो दानपत्र में अपने अधिपतियों का नामोल्लेख तक नहीं करते थे[८१]। अतएव स्पष्ट है कि कुछ बड़े सामन्त छोटे सामन्तों की अपेक्षा अधिक अधिकारों का उपयोग करते थे। महासामन्त, सामन्त और महाराज आदि उपाधियां सामन्त-समुदाय के आन्तरिक स्तरीकरण का साक्ष्य उपस्थित करती हैं।

सेनापतियों, सचिवों और माण्डलिकों के समुदाय को शासक-समुदाय के अन्तर्गत द्वितीय स्थान प्राप्त था, यह बात **बृहज्जातक** के आश्रय-योगाध्याय में वर्णित उस योग[८२] से सिद्ध होती है जिसमें प्रथम स्थान राजा को दिया गया है और दूसरा सेनापति को क्योंकि इसके अनुसार जहाँ राजा होने के लिए कम से कम सात ग्रहों के मित्रराशिस्थ[८३] होने की आवश्यकता

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७४. आर० एस० शर्मा, ओरिजिंस ऑफ फ़्युडलिज्म इन इण्डिया, जेशो, (१९५७-५८) १. २६७-३२८, **इण्डियन फ्युडलिज्म**, (द्वि० सं०) दिल्ली, १९८०, प्रथम अध्याय, बी०एन०एस० यादव, **प्रेसीडेंशियल ऐड्रस**, डी० डी० कौसाम्बी, **ऐन इंट्रोडक्शन टु द स्टडी ऑव इण्डियन हिस्ट्री**, बम्बई, १९५६, अध्याय ६।

७५. आर० एस० शर्मा, **वही**, प्रथम अध्याय, द्रष्टव्य, इस पुस्तक का बी० एन० एस० यादव द्वारा किया गया रिव्यू, **इं० हि० रि०**, जिल्द ७, भाग १-२, पृ० २४३-२४७।

७६. सर्वकरदानाज्ञाकरण-प्रणामागमन-**का०इं०इं०**, ३.१८, **से०इं०**, पृ० २६५-६६।

७७. **वही**।

७८. आर० एस० शर्मा, प्रॉब्लम ऑफ ट्रांजिशन फ्राम एन्शिएण्ट टु मिडीवल इन इण्डियन हिस्ट्री, **इं०हि०रि०**, जिल्द १, भाग १, पृ० ३।

७९. शर्मा, **इण्डियन फ्यूडलिज्म**, प० ४-५।

८०. **का०इं०इं०**, ३.१९.८६, से० इं०, पृ० ३३५।

८१. चक्रवर्ती, **पूर्वो०**, पृ० १८५।

८२. **बृहज्जातक**, २१, १।

८३. सातों ग्रहों के स्वगृही होने पर भी राजा होने का योग बनता है।

है वहीं सेनापति के लिए केवल छः ही ग्रहों के। परन्तु अन्य उच्च पदाधिकारियों के विषय में हमें योग नहीं मिलते।

(स) भोगी :– शासक समुदाय के अन्तर्गत ही तीसरा स्थान बड़े भूस्वामियों का था[८४]। इन्हीं को गुप्तकालीन साक्ष्यों में भोगिक, महाभोगिक, भोगपतिक और भोगिकपालक कहा गया है[८५]। भूमिदान और ग्रामदान अथवा स्वतन्त्र उपलब्धि के कारण ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में प्रभावशाली व अधिकार प्राप्त व्यक्तियों के रूप में भोगियों का उदय हुआ जिसे गुप्तकालीन सामन्ती व्यवस्था का एक अंग कहा जा सकता है। भूसम्पन्न और प्रभावशाली होने के अतिरिक्त इनके राजस्व न्यायिक और प्रशासनिक अधिकारों की प्राप्ति[८६] ने इनके सामाजिक महत्त्व में और अधिक वृद्धि की। भोगियों की प्रतिष्ठा में अभिवृद्धि का आभास उस समय और अधिक होता है जब हम उनमें से कुछ को अमात्य पद का भार सम्हालते हुए भी पाते हैं[८७]। महाराज जयनाथ का करितलाई ताम्र–पत्र लेख (जबलपुर, म० प्र०) गुन्जकीर्ति नामक भोगिक का उल्लेख करता है जो कि अपने को भोगिक और अमात्य राज्यिल का पात्र बताता है[८८]। महाराज हस्तिन का मझगवा ताम्र–पत्र लेख (बुन्देलखण्ड) भी महासांधिविग्रहिक विभुदत्त के संबंध में इसी प्रकार की सूचना देता है[८९]। इन दोनों ही लेखों से भोगिकों के अमात्य–पद सम्हालने के साथ–साथ उनके वंशानुगत होने का भी प्रमाण–प्राप्त होता है[९०]। भोगपतिकों का उल्लेख भी उत्तर भारतीय[९१] लेखों में उपलब्ध होता है जबकि महाभोगी शब्द उड़ीसा[९२] से प्राप्त एक अभिलेख में प्रयुक्त हुआ है। तारापीड के द्वार–प्रकोष्ठ पर खड़े सैकड़ों भोगियों का वर्णन भी बाणभट्ट ने **कादम्बरी** की कथा में किया है। इस उल्लेख द्वारा आभिलेखिक साक्ष्यों को प्रमाणित भी किया जा सका है। भोगिक और भोगपतिक के अतिरिक्त भोगिपालक का उल्लेख भी कलचुरि लेखों में हुआ है[९३]। भोगिपालकों को भोगिकों और भोगपतिकों का अधीक्षक स्वीकार किया गया है[९४]। भोगी और उनके भोगी का

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८४. डा० जयमल राय द्वारा प्रस्तावित स्तरीकरण के प्रथम, द्वितीय और तृतीय स्तर पर स्थित लोगों को इस समुदाय में समाहित माना जा सकता है, **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० ३२३–३२।

८५. का०इं०इं०, ३.२६.११६, ३.२३.१०८, ४.३.१८, से०इं० पृ० ३६०, महाभोगी के लिए देखिए शर्मा, **इंडियन फ्युडलिज्म**, पृ० १३।

८६. आर० एस० शर्मा, **वही**, पृ० ४।

८७. **वही**, पृ० १२।

८८. का०इं०इं०, ३.२६.११६।

८९. **वही**, ३.२३.१०८।

९०. तुलनाई, शर्मा, **पूर्वो०**, पृ० १२।

९१. से०इं०, पृ० ३६०, शर्मा, **वही**, पृ० १२।

९२. विनायक मिश्र, **मिडीवल डाइनेस्टीज ऑफ ओरिसा**, पृ० २४–२५, शर्मा, द्वारा **इंडियन फ्यूडालेज्म**, पृ० १३ पर उद्घृत।

९३. का०इं०इं०, ४.१३,१८।

९४. वही, भूमिका, पृ० १४१, शर्मा, **पूर्वो०**, पृ० १३।

उल्लेख **बृहत्संहिता** में भी हुआ है[६५]। **बृहत्संहिता** के इस श्लोक पर अपनी टीका में भट्टोत्पल (१०वीं शताब्दी ई०) ने लिखा कि भोगीगण ग्रामीण जनता से देयराशि वसूल करने और उनकी सेवाओं को प्राप्त करने के कारण अपेक्षाकृत उच्च सामाजिक स्थिति का उपभोग कर रहे थे[६६]। **हर्षचरित** भोगपतियों द्वारा भोली–भाली जनता के उत्पीड़ित किये जाने का साक्ष्य भी प्रस्तुत करता है[६७]। ग्रामीण भूतंत्रीय समुदाय से संबंधित ये भोगीगण सामन्ती अनुक्रम में सब से निचले स्थान पर स्थित थे[६८]।

(द) सामान्य राजकर्मचारियों का समुदाय :– शासक-समुदाय के अन्तर्गत ही चतुर्थ और अन्तिम स्थान राजकर्मचारियों का था। न तो ये बड़े भूस्वामी थे और न ही इनके पास श्रेष्ठि और सार्थवाह जैसी धन–सम्पत्ति ही थी। लेकिन राजा से विशेष संबंधित होने के कारण इनकी प्रतिष्ठा अधिक थी। गुप्तकाल में सामान्य राजकर्मचारियों में कायस्थों का एक समुदाय बन रहा था जो लेखकों और गणकों का समुदाय था[६६]। इस समुदाय के प्रधान के रूप में गुप्तकालीन अभिलेखों में प्रथम–कायस्थ का उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है। कुमार गुप्त प्रथम कालीन दामोदरपुर ताम्रपत्र लेखों[१००] (४४४ एवं ४४७ ई०)में यदि शाम्बपाल नाम मिलता है तो बुधगुप्त (४६७–६४ ई०) कालीन दामोदरपुर ताम्रपत्र लेख[१०१] में विप्रपाल का । ५०७ ई० के वैन्यगुप्तकालीन गुणैधर ताम्रपत्र लेख[१०२] नरदत्त और ५४३ ई० का दामोदरपुर ताम्रपत्र लेख[१०३] स्कन्दपाल नामक प्रथम कायस्थ का उल्लेख करता है। ये प्रथम कायस्थ अपनी–अपनी भुक्ति के उपरिकों और विषय के विषय–पतियों को प्रशासन में सहायता देते थे[१०४]। प्रशासनिक शक्ति होने के कारण कायस्थों का यह समुदाय लौकिक सामाजिक अनुक्रम में अपेक्षाकृत अधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण हो जाता है। कायस्थों का यह समुदाय पूर्व मध्यकाल में जाति का स्वरूप धारण कर लेता है[१०५]।

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६५. **बृहत्संहिता**, ११,६२।

६६. भट्टोत्पल, **बृहत्संहिता**, ११.६२ पर , बी० एन० एस० यादव, **प्रेसीडेंशियल एड्रेस**, पृ० ७।

६७. **हर्षचरित**, पृ० २१२, शर्मा, **पूर्वो**, पृ० १३।

६८. यादव, **प्रेसीडेंशियल एड्रेस**, पृ० ८।

६६. कायस्थाः गणकाः लेखकाश्च, **याज्ञ०**, १. ३३६ पर विज्ञानेश्वर, लिखितंकायस्थनरदत्तेन, **इण्डियन हिस्टारिकल क्वार्टर्ली**, ६. ५३ तथा आगे एवं ५६१, **से०इं०**, पृ० ४४३।

१००. **इपि० इण्डि०**, १५, १३०, १३३, १७.१६३, **से०इं०**, पृ० २६१,२६३।

१०१. **इपि० इण्डि०**, १५, १३८–३६, **से०इं०**, पृ० ३३७।

१०२. **इण्डि० हिस्ट० क्वा०**, ६.५३, तथा आगे एवं ५६१, **से०इं०**, पृ० ४४३।

१०३. **इपि० इण्डि०**, १५, १४२–४३, १७.१६३–६४, **से०इं०**, पृ० ३४८।

१०४. डी० सी० सरकार, भारतीय विद्या, जिल्द १०(१६४६) पृ० २८० तथा आगे।

१०५. द्रष्टव्य, बी० एन० एस० यादव, **सोसायटी एण्ड कल्चर इन नार्दर्न इंडिया इन द ट्वेल्फ्थ सेंचुरी**, इलाहाबाद, १६७३, पृ० ५०–५४।

(२) **श्रेष्ठि, सार्थवाह एवं व्यापारीः—** लौकिक सामाजिक स्तरीकरण के सर्वोच्च स्तर पर विद्यमान शासक समुदाय के बाद दूसरा स्तर श्रेष्ठियों, सार्थवाहों एवं व्यापारियों का था। यहाँ पर यह विचारणीय है कि सामान्य राजकर्मचारियों की अपेक्षा श्रेष्ठियों, सार्थवाहों एवं व्यापारियों का स्थान ऊँचा रहा होगा। व्यापारियों के लिए वणिक्, पण्याश्रयिन् और अर्थपति जैसी अभिधाएं भी प्रयुक्त हुई हैं[१०६]। साहित्यिक और आभिलेखिक दोनों प्रकार के साक्ष्यों की समीक्षा से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि यह समुदाय आर्थिक रूप से सम्पन्न था जिसका प्रभाव उनकी सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा पर भी पड़ा और लौकिक सामाजिक स्तरीकरण में वे अपेक्षाकृत स्तर प्राप्त कर सके। कुमारगुप्त कालीन दामोदरपुर ताम्र—पत्रों लेखों (४४४ और ४४७ ई०) में धृतिपाल नामक नगर श्रेष्ठि और बन्धुमित्र नामक सार्थवाह का उल्लेख हुआ है[१०७]। श्रेष्ठिन, पण्याश्रयिन् और अर्थपतियों का अस्तित्व **बृहत्संहिता** से भी प्रमाणित होता है। शूद्रक के **मृच्छकटिक** नामक नाटक में श्रेष्ठियों के निवास—स्थान (श्रेष्ठिचत्वर) का भी उल्लेख आया है[१०८]। जहाँ तक सार्थवाहों का प्रश्न है यद्यपि **बृहज्जातक** और **लघुजातक** में इनका उल्लेख अप्राप्य है[१०६], परन्तु **बृहत्संहिता** में सार्थ और सार्थवाह का उल्लेख हुआ है[११०]। मीनराज (चौथी—पाँचवींशताब्दी ई०) ने भी अपने ग्रंथ **वृद्ध-यवन-जातक** में विदेश गमन करने वाले सार्थवाहों का विवरण दिया है[१११]। **मृच्छकटिक** नामक नाटक में भी उज्जयिनी के प्रसिद्ध सार्थवाह चारुदत्त का उल्लेख आया है[११२]। इस समुदाय के सदस्यों का निगम के रूप में अपना संगठन भी था जिसका प्रमाण निगम की मुद्राओं से प्राप्त होता है। **यवनजातक** जिसका रचनाकाल (२६६—७० ई०) आलोच्यकाल से बहुत पहले नहीं रखा जा सकता, में न केवल सार्थाधिवास का ही उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है अपितु, व्यापारियों और सार्थवाहों के मुखियों—वणिक्सार्थवाहमहत्तर— का उल्लेख भी मिलता है[११३]। इस समुदाय की आर्थिक समृद्धि एवं लौकिक प्रतिष्ठा का ही परिणाम था कि धृतिपाल नामक नगरश्रेष्ठि और बन्धुमित्र नामक सार्थवाह को कुमारामात्य वेत्रवर्मा की शासन में सहायता करने वाली समिति का सदस्य बनाया गया[११४]।

(३) **स्वतन्त्र कृषिजीवीः—** लौकिक सामाजिक स्तरीकरण में स्वतन्त्र कृषिजीवी[११५] समुदाय तृतीय स्तर पर विद्यमान था। वराहमिहिर कृषिजीवियों के समुदाय का उल्लेख करते हुए

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१०६ . **बृहत्संहिता**, ५.२१, २६, ६.३१, १०.६, १५.८.२६, १६.१६।

१०७ . **इपि० इण्डि०**, १५.१३०, १३३, १७.१६३, **सं० इं०**, पृ० २६१, २६३।

१०८ . **मृच्छकटिक** (सम्पा०) एम० आर, काले, (तृतीय संस्करण) दिल्ली १६७२, १.७०, २.६०, ४.१४०, ।

१०६ . तुलनाई, यादव, **प्रेसीडेंशियल एड्रेस**, पृ० ५२।

११० . **बृहत्संहिता**, ८६, ३६।

१११ . **वृद्ध-यवन-जातक**, ४१. ५४. ४८. ३४।

११२ . **मृच्छकटिक**, १. ६. ८।

११३ . **यवन-जातक** दो भागों में, (सम्पा० एवं अनु०) डेविड पिन्ग्री, लन्दन, १६७८, १.२०, १६.२३, यादव, **प्रेसीडेंशिल एड्रेस**, पृ० ५२।

११४ . **इपि० इण्डि०**, १५.१३०, १३३, १७.१६३, **से०इं०**, पृ० २६१—२६३।

११५ . तुलनाई, जयमल राय **पूर्वो०**, पृ० ३३२—३३, यादव, **प्रेसीडेंशियल एड्रेस**, पृ० ३२—३३, भारुचि, **मनु०** १०. १२४, १२६ पर, मेधातिथि, **मनु०**, ८.४,१५ पर।

उन्हें कृषीबलानाम्[११६], कृषिरतानाम्[११७], कृषिकर[११८] और कृषिजीविन्[११९] कहते हैं। ज्योतिष–ग्रन्थों में इस समुदाय की आर्थिक समृद्धि और आत्मनिर्भरता को द्योतित करने वाले कम से कम तीन योगों का उल्लेख मिलता है। मीनराज और वराहमिहिर ने क्रमशः अपने ग्रन्थों **वृद्ध-यवन-जातक**[१२०] और **बृहज्जातक**[१२१] में हलयोग का उल्लेख किया है जिसमें जन्म लेनेवाला मनुष्य समृद्ध कृषक होता है। वराहमिहिर द्वारा आख्यात एक दूसरे योग[१२२] में बृहस्पति के ६० वर्षीय चक्र और उसके प्रत्येक वर्ष का फल विहित है। इस चक्र के १२वें युग के अन्तिम क्षय नामक संवत्सर में जब बृहस्पति का आगमन होता है तो वह कृषकों को बढ़ानेवाले– कृषीबल वृद्धिदम्– है[१२३]। तीसरे योग को जिसका उल्लेख **बृहज्जातक** में किया गया है, केदार योग[१२४] की संज्ञा दी गयी है। इस योग में जन्म लेनेवाला मनुष्य भी समृद्ध और स्वतन्त्र कृषक होता है।

आलोच्यकाल में कृषकों को किन–किन विपदाओं का सामना करना पड़ता रहा होगा, इसका आभास भी इन साक्ष्यों से होता है। वराहमिहिर के अनुसार पश्चिम दिशा का दिग्दाह कृषिजीवियों को पीड़ित करता है।[१२५] द्वितीय खांश में चन्द्रमा या सूर्य के ग्रस्त होने[१२६], राहु के पश्चिम दिशा में दिखाई देने[१२७] और खलिहान में उल्कापात[१२८] कृषकों के विनाश और उनके पीड़ित होने का साक्ष्य प्रस्तुत करता है। परिवेश–मण्डल का शनि[१२९] भी कृषकों का हन्ता (कृषिकृन्निहन्ता) होता है। प्राकृतिक विपदाओं में अकाल[१३०], अतिवृष्टि[१३१], अनावृष्टि[१३२], और

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११९. बृहत्संहिता, १५.२८, ८.५२।
११७. वही, ३३.२१।
११८. बृहज्जातक, १२.१८।
११९. बृहत्संहिता, ३१.४।
१२०. वृद्ध-यवन-जातक, ४०.१३०।
१२१. बृहज्जातक, १२.१३।
१२२. बृहत्संहिता, ८. ५२।
१२३. वही।
१२४. बृहज्जातक, १२. १८।
१२५. बृहत्संहिता, ३४. ४।
१२६. बृहत्संहिता, ५. २६।
१२७. वही, ५. ३४।
१२८. वही, ३३. २१।
१२९. वही, ३४. १२।
१३०. वही, ३.३, ६, १७, १९, ४. १८, १९, २१, २६ आदि काल के कुल ४२ संदर्भ प्राप्त हैं, देखिए एस० के० मैती, इकॉनामिक लाइफ इन नार्दन इण्डिया इन द गुप्त पीरियड, दिल्ली, १९७०, परिशिष्ट–१ पृ० २५१–५२।
१३१. बृहसंहिता, ३, ३७. ५. ३४, ७, १८ आदि। कुल ११ सन्दर्भ प्राप्त हैं, मैती, वही, पृ० २५२।
१३२. बृहसंहिता, ३.२९, ४, १३, २१, ५.२०, २३, ५५, ६१ आदि, कुल ३२ संदर्भ, मैती, वही।

अग्निदाह[१३३] का उल्लेख बहुधा किया गया है। ऐसी स्थिति में इनकी सामन्तों और भोगियों आदि की शरण लेनी पड़ती रही होगी।[१३४]

(४) अप्रतिबद्ध शिल्पि-समुदाय :– लौकिक दृष्टिकोण से निर्मित सामाजिक स्तरीकरण में अप्रतिबद्ध अथवा स्वतन्त्र शिल्पियों का भी एक समुदाय था। यह विचारणीय है कि विशिष्ट शिल्पियों का स्थान आर्थिक दृष्टिकोण से सामान्य कृषकों से ऊँचा रहा होगा। शिल्पियों के इस स्वतन्त्र समुदाय का स्पष्ट प्रमाण वामन जयादित्य विरचित **काशिका** (६५०–६६५ ई०) नामक टीका के ग्रामतक्ष और कौटतक्ष के उदाहरण से प्राप्त होता है।[१३५]

काशिका के अनुसार कौटतक्ष स्वतन्त्र कर्मजीवी थे, वे किसी (ग्रामविशेष) से प्रतिबद्ध नहीं थे[१३६]। इन स्वतन्त्र शिल्पियों की अपनी कुटिया[१३७] अथवा शाला[१३८] (पर्णशाला) होती थी जहाँ बैठकर ये काम करते थे। ध्यातव्य है कि स्वतन्त्र शिल्पियों का यह समुदाय अधिकांशतः नगरों में ही निवास करता रहा होगा और इसी समुदाय के प्रधान को प्रथम–कुलिक के रूप में प्रशासनिक समिति का सदस्य होने का गौरव भी प्राप्त होता रहा होगा। दामोदरपुर ताम्रपत्र लेखों (४४४ एवं ८८७ ई०) में प्रथम कुलिक के रूप में धृतिमित्र का नाम मिलता है।[१३९] प्रशासनिक समिति के सदस्य नियुक्त होने का यह साक्ष्य लौकिक दृष्टिकोण से अप्रतिबद्ध शिल्पि–समुदाय की सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा का द्योतन करता है। मनु का अनुसरण करते हुए **मनुस्मृति** के टीकाकार भारुचि (५००–६५०) द्वारा शिल्पियों को धन–संग्रह न करने का जो विधान प्रस्तुत किया गया है,[१४०] वह न केवल इस समुदाय की आर्थिक समृद्धि अपितु लौकिक दृष्टिकोण से शिल्पियों के बढ़ते हुए सामाजिक महत्त्व का भी द्योतन करता है।

(५) सामान्य भृतक एवं कर्मकर :– वेतन (भृति)[१४१] के बदले काम करनेवाले मजदूरों का भी एक समुदाय था। पर इस समुदाय में कई कोटियां थी। इन वैतनिक श्रमिकों को भृतक, कर्मकर एवं भृतिजीवी आदि कहा जाता था[१४२]। भृतिजीवियों अथवा वैतनिक श्रमिकों का यह समुदाय काफी पहले से चला आ रहा था। स्फुजिध्वज के अनुसार वृश्चिक के नवांश में जन्म

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१३३. **बृहत्संहिता**, ३. ६. ७. १, १८ आदि। कुल ६ संदर्भ, मैती, **वही**।

१३४. तुलनाई, जयमल राय, **पूर्वो०**,पृ० ३३३।

१३५. ग्रामकौटाभ्यां च तक्ष्णः, **काशिका**, दो जिल्दों में (सम्पा०) आर्येन्द्र शर्मा एवं अन्य, हैदराबाद, १९६६, ५. ४. ६५।

१३६. स्वतंत्रः कर्मजीवी, न कस्यचित् प्रतिबद्धः इत्यर्थः, **काशिका**, ५. ४. ६५, तुलनाई, **शाकटायन-व्याकरण**, सम्पा० पं० शम्भुनाथ शास्त्री, दिल्ली, वाराणसी, १९७१, २. १. १७०।

१३७. कुट्यां भवः कौटः, **काशिका**, ५. ४. ६५।

१३८. **शाकटायन-व्याकरण**, २. १. ७०।

१३९. **इपि० इण्डि०**, १५. १३०. १३३, १७. १९३, **से० इं०**, पृ० २९१, २९३।

१४०. भारुचि, **मनु०**, १०. १२६ पर।

१४१. **काशिका**, ३. २. २२।

१४२. वही, **विष्णु**, ३७.२०, **यवन-जातक**, ३१. ११०.–१२।

लेनेवाला व्यक्ति भृतजीवी (भृतिजीविन्) होगा[१४३]। भृतिजीवियों का यह समुदाय पशुपालन और कृषि आदि सभी प्रकार के कार्य करता था। **नारदस्मृति** एवं **महाभारत** के शान्ति पर्व में इनके लिए वार्षिक वेतन (सांवत्सरी भृति)[१४४] का निर्धारण किया गया है। नारद ने सौ गायों की देखभाल के लिए प्रतिवर्ष एक बछिया और दो सौ गायों के लिए दूध देने वाली एक गाय देने का विधान किया है। साथ ही साथ यह (भृतक) प्रति आठवें दिन सभी गायों के दूध का भी अधिकारी होगा।[१४५] **महाभारत** के शान्तिपर्व के अनुसार किसी की छः गायों की देखभाल के लिए एक गाय का दूध और सौ गायों की देखभाल के लिए एक जोड़ा पशु वार्षिक वेतन के रूप में दिया जाता था।[१४६] इसी प्रकार अनाज की फसलों और सभी प्रकार के बीजों की रक्षा का वार्षिक वेतन उपज का सातवां भाग था।[१४७] जिस सन्दर्भ में स्फुजिध्वज ने **यवन-जातक** (२६६–७० ई०) में वृश्चिक के नवांश में उत्पन्न होने वाले व्यक्ति के लिए भृतिजीवी[१४८] होने का उल्लेख किया है उसी सन्दर्भ में वराहमिहिर (छठीं शताब्दी ई०) ने अपने **बृहज्जातक** में ऐसे व्यक्ति के विष्टिकृत[१४९] होने की बात कही है जिससे गुप्तकाल में भृतिजीवियों अथवा वैतनिक श्रमिकों के नियोजन की प्रवृत्ति में ह्रास और वैष्टिकों के नियोजन की प्रवृत्ति में वृद्धि का अनुमान लगाया गया है।[१५०]

(६) आश्रित कृषकों एवं प्रतिबद्ध शिल्पियों के समुदाय :– कुषाण सातवाहन काल से ही हो रहे कृषि के विकास के परिणामस्वरूप आश्रित कृषक– समुदाय के निर्माण की प्रक्रिया भी प्रारम्भ हो गयी थी। यही कारण है कि तृतीय शताब्दी ई० के तृतीय चरण (२६६–२७० ई०) में जब स्फुजिध्वज अपने ग्रंथ **यवन-जातक** की रचना करते हैं तो उसमें कृषकों के भविष्य कथन के बारे में किसी ग्रह–योग का वर्णन नहीं करते जबकि गुप्तकाल में विरचित **वृद्ध-यवन-जातक** (चौथी–पाँचवीं शताब्दी ई०) में मीनराज ने इनके संबंध में ग्रह योग का स्पष्ट विवरण प्रस्तुत किया है[१५१]। मीनराज के अनुसार यदि सूर्य जन्मकाल में दशम भाव और मित्रराशि में विराजमान हो तो जातक कृषिकर्म करने वाला होगा।[१५२] इस स्थिति को और अधिक स्पष्ट करते हुए

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१४३. **यवन-जातक**, ३१. ११०–१२

१४४. **महाभारत**, १२. ६०. २५।

१४५. **नारद०** ६, १० तुलनाई, **मनु०**, ८. २३१।

१४६. षण्णामेकं पिबेद्धेनुं शताच्च मिथुनं हरते, **महाभारत**, १२. ६०. २४।

१४७. सस्यस्य सर्वबीजानां एषा सांवत्सरी भृतिः, **वही** १२.६०.२५, **नारद०**, ६.३, द्रष्टव्य, बी० एन० एस० यादव, द अकाउण्ट्स ऑफ द कलि एज एण्ड द सोशल ट्रांजिशन फ्राम ऐन्टिक्विटी टु द मिडिल एजेज़, **इं० हि० रि०**, जिल्द ५, भाग १–२, पृ० ३६।

१४८. **यवन-जातक**, ३१. ११०–१२।

१४९. **बृहज्जातक**, २१. ७।

१५०. यादव, **प्रेसीडेंशियल एड्रेस**, पृ० २०–२१।

१५१. द्रष्टव्य, बी० एन० एस० यादव, **प्रेसीडेंशियल एड्रेस**, पृ० १७।

१५२. **वृद्ध-यवन-जातक**, ३. ३३, यादव, **वही**, पृ० १६।

मीनराज का कथन है कि जन्मकालिक यह सूर्य यदि मित्रगृह के भाव में होगा तो वह कृषिकर्म दुष्ट राजा की सेवा से संबंधित होगा जबकि पापग्रह के भाव में होने पर वह कृषिकर्म बल प्रयोग–शारीरिक दण्ड, बन्धन आदि–द्वारा संभव होगा[१५३]। चीनी यात्री फाह्यान जिसने कि ३६६ ई० से ४११ ई० तक भारत के बौद्ध धर्म से संबंधित स्थलों का भ्रमण किया, के यात्रा विवरण से बौद्ध संघों को भूमि और चौपायों के साथ ही साथ भूमि को जोतने के लिए कृषकों के प्रतिबद्ध करने का विवरण प्राप्त होता है[१५४]। आश्रित कृषकों के हस्तान्तरण का प्रमाण आभिलेखिक साक्ष्यों से भी प्राप्त होता है। पल्लव नरेश शिवस्कन्द वर्मन का तृतीय–चतुर्थ शताब्दी ई० का एक दानपत्र ऐसे चार आर्थिकों का उल्लेख करता है जो संबंधित भूमि के दान दे दिये जाने पर भी उस पर उसी रूप में काम करते रहे[१५५]। पल्लवों का ही एक दूसरा दानपत्र लेख चार निवर्तन भूमि पर काम करने वाले किसी अतुक नामक आर्थिक का उल्लेख करता है[१५६]। शालंकायन नरेश विजयदेव वर्मन (३२० ई०) के एक दानपत्र लेख में भी आर्थिकों का उल्लेख किया गया है[१५७]। वलभी नरेश धरसेन द्वितीय का मालिया ताम्रपत्र लेख (५७१–७२ ई०) भी ऐसे भूमिदान का उल्लेख करता है जिस पर कुटुम्बिन काम करते थे[१५८]।

वलभी नरेश धरसेन तृतीय के एक लेख (६२३–२४ ई०) से भी कुटुम्बिनों के हस्तान्तरण का प्रमाण प्राप्त होता है[१५९]। आश्रित कृषकों का यह समुदाय अपनी स्वयं की कृषि अपने सीमित साधनों से कैसे करता रहा होगा, इसका संकेत **महाभारत** के आरण्यक पर्व से उपलब्ध हो जाता है। इसके अनुसार युगक्षय होने पर लोग नदियों के किनारे और नीचे भूमि में हल के बजाय कुदाल से बीज बोयेंगे, हल में गायों को जोतेंगे और एक वर्ष के बछड़े तक को भी नहीं छोड़ेंगे[१६०]।

अप्रतिबद्ध अथवा स्वतन्त्र शिल्पियों के समुदाय की ही भांति प्रतिबद्ध अथवा आश्रित शिल्पियों का भी एक समुदाय बन गया था जो अधिकांशतः गांवों में रहता था। इस समुदाय के सदस्य किसी न किसी गांव से प्रतिबद्ध होते थे। इन्हें ग्रामशिल्पिन् की संज्ञा दी जा सकती है[१६१]। ग्रामनापित, ग्रामकुलाल और ग्रामतक्ष का उदाहरण **काशिका** में प्रस्तुत किया गया है[१६२]।

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१५३ . वही, यादव, **वही**।

१५४ . हो, चंग–चुन, **चाइनीज लिट्रेचर**, नम्बर ३, पेकिंग, १९५६, पृ० १५३–५५, यादव, **वही**, पृ० ३७।

१५५ . आर्थिकः चत्वारः ४, इपि०इण्डि १, ६ : से० इं०, पृ० ४६४, ४६६।

१५६ . इपि० इण्डि०, ८ . १२।

१५७ . वही, ६.७।

१५८ . का० इं० इं०, ३.३८.१६६।

१५९ . आर० एस० शर्मा, **इण्डियन फ्युडलिज्म**, पृ० ४६।

१६० . **महाभारत**, ३. १८८. २३, २७. द्रष्टव्य, इं० हि० रि०, जिल्द ५, भाग १–२, पृ० ३३।

१६१ . **काशिका**, ६. २. ६, ५. ४. ९५।

१६२ . **वही**, ५. ४. ९५।

लगभग प्रत्येक गांव में पांच शिल्पकार जिन्हें पञ्चकारुकी[१६३] कहा गया है, रहते थे। इसी समुदाय के सदस्यों को गुप्तोत्तर काल में मन्दिरों से भी प्रतिबद्ध किया जाने लगा था[१६४]। गांवों से प्रतिबद्ध शिल्पियों के अतिरिक्त कुछ शिल्पिन् राजाओं से भी प्रतिबद्ध होते थे। राजनापित, राजकुलाल और राजतक्षा का उदाहरण भी **काशिका** में प्राप्त होता है[१६५]। ग्रामशिल्पिन् (गांवों से प्रतिबद्ध शिल्पिन्) की अपेक्षा राजशिल्पिन् (राजाओं से प्रतिबद्ध शिल्पिन्) लौकिक दृष्टिकोण से अधिक प्रतिष्ठित रहे होंगे।

(७) विष्टिकर एवं आज्ञाकर :– लौकिक सामाजिक स्तरीकरण में विष्टिकरों का समुदाय गुप्तकाल तक काफी महत्त्वपूर्ण हो गया था। वराहमिहिर ने **बृहज्जातक** में विष्टिकर होने के दो योगों का वर्णन किया है। एक योग के अनुसार बुध यदि मकर या कुम्भ राशि का हो तो जातक विष्टिकर होता है[१६६]। दूसरे योग के अनुसार वृश्चिक के नवांश का जातक भी विष्टिकर (विष्टिकृत्) होता है[१६७]। १०वीं शताब्दी के टीकाकार भट्टोत्पल ने आज्ञाकर को भी विष्टिकर ही बताया है[१६८]। यहाँ पर आज्ञाकर शब्द का प्रयोग विशिष्ट अर्थ में किया गया है न कि सामान्य अर्थ में[१६९]। कुषाणकालीन ग्रंथ **अङ्गविज्जा** जिसे गुप्तकाल में परिष्कृत किया गया, भी विष्टिकरों के प्रयोग का उल्लेख करता है[१७०]। गुप्तकालीन अभिलेख भी विष्टिकरों की सूचना देते हैं। काठियावाड़ क्षेत्र से प्राप्त होने वाला ५१७ ई० का एक लेख महाराज धरसेन द्वारा राधे और श्येन नामक ब्राह्मण को दिये गये भूमिदान का उल्लेख करता है। इस लेख में राधे और श्येन को उन विष्टिकरों पर भी अधिकार दिया गया है। जो आगे उत्पन्न होंगे[१७१]। ५७५ ई० के लगभग के धरसेन प्रथम के एक लेख में भी दानगृहीता को विष्टि लेने का अधिकार दिया गया है[१७२]। इसी क्षेत्र से प्राप्त ५६२ ई० का विष्णुसेन का दानपत्र लेख भी वारिक संज्ञक एक अधिकारी की देख–रेख में विष्टि लेने का उल्लेख करता है[१७३]।

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१६३. तत्र चावरतः पञ्चकारुकी भवति, **महाभाष्य**, १.१. ४८।

१६४. द्रष्टव्य, आर० एन०, नंदी, **रिलिजस इंस्टीट्यूशंस एण्ड कल्ट्स इन द डेकन**, (६००–१००० ई०), दिल्ली, १९७३, पृ० २८, बी० एन० एस० यादव, **प्रेसीडेंशियल एड्रेस**, पृ० ५१,ए०पी०, ओझा, पोजीशन ऑफ पॉटर्स इन द सोशिओरिजनल स्ट्रीटीफिकेशन आंन अर्ली मेडीवल इण्डिया, **हिस्ट्री एण्ड कल्चर, बी० पी० सिन्हा फेलिसिटेशन वाल्यूम** (संपा०) डा० भगवन्त सहाय, दिल्ली, १९८७, पृ० ३६६–३७६।

१६५. **काशिका**, ६. २. ६३, ५. ४. ६५।

१६६. **बृहज्जातक**, १८. ११।

१६७. विष्टिकृद्दासवृत्तिः, **वही**, २१.७१।

१६८. विष्टिकरः आज्ञाकरः, भट्टोत्पल, **बृहज्जातक**, १८. ११ पर।

१६९. सामान्य अर्थ में आज्ञाकर शब्द का प्रयोग **प्रयाग प्रशस्ति** में हुआ है।

१७०. **अंगविज्जा**, (संपा०) मुनि पुण्यविजय जी, वाराणसी, १९७५, पृ० १५६, यादव, **प्रेसीडेंशियल एड्रेस**, पृ० ३२।

१७१. सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिक, **इपि० इण्डि** १८.१८।

१७२. **वही**, २१. ८०।

१७३. वारिकेणविष्टिः करणीया, **वही**, ३०. १७१।

(८) **दास** :– लौकिक सामाजिक स्तरीकरण में दास– समुदाय कुषाणकाल से ही महत्त्वपूर्ण हो रहा था। स्फुजिध्वज के अनुसार धनु के नवांश में जन्म लेनेवाला व्यक्ति दास होता है[१७४]। वराहमिहिर ने भी इसी योग में जन्म लेनेवाले व्यक्ति को दासवृत्ति करनेवाला ही बताया है[१७५]। मीनराज के **वृद्ध-यवन-जातक**[१७६] में प्रयुक्त प्रेष्यतम शब्द से आश्रित लोगों के तीन स्तरों– प्रेष्य, प्रेष्यतर और प्रेष्यतम–का प्रमाण मिलता है[१७७]। यहाँ प्रेष्यतम शब्द दासों के लिए ही प्रयुक्त हुआ होगा। भारुचि ने भी गर्भदासों को अत्यन्त परतन्त्र बताया है[१७८]। इस प्रकार आश्रित लोगों में दासों का सब से निम्न स्थान सिद्ध होता है।

बोगार्ड लेविन और विगासिन का विचार है कि भारतीय दास–समुदाय में किसी प्रकार के आन्तरिक स्तरीकरण का अभाव है और सभी प्रकार के दासों को एक ही सामाजिक स्तर पर रखा जा सकता है[१७९]। परन्तु हाल की शोधों[१८०] के आधार पर लेविन और विगासिन का यह विचार समीचीन नहीं माना जा सकता। बी० एन० एस० यादव ने **बृहज्जातक**[१८१] से अवरोही–क्रम में दासों के तीन स्तरों का साक्ष्य प्रस्तुत किया है। वराहमिहिर के अनुसार यदि जातक के जन्मकाल में नवांशपति सूर्य, चन्द्रमा एवं बृहस्पति में से कोई एक ग्रह नीच अथवा शत्रु राशि के नवांश में हो तो वह (जातक) स्वयं जाकर (अभ्युपगम) किसी के यहां दासता स्वीकार कर लेता है, यदि दो ग्रह नीच या शत्रुराशि के नवांश में हों तो यह खरीदा हुआ दास (क्रयदास) होता है और यदि तीन या चार ग्रह नीच अथवा शत्रुराशि के नवांश में हो तो वह गर्भ से ही दास (गर्भदास) अर्थात् दास का पुत्र होता है[१८२]। इस प्रकार दासों में अभ्युगमन दास का स्तर सर्वोच्च था, उसके बाद क्रयदास और सब से निम्न सामाजिक स्तर गर्भदास का था परन्तु दास-समुदाय के आन्तरिक स्तरीकरण का यह दृष्टिकोण शास्त्रीय कम और लौकिक अधिक था।

लौकिक सामाजिक स्तरीकरण की प्रक्रिया में नगरीय अर्थ व्यवस्था भी महत्त्वपूर्ण थी। आर्थिक एवं राजनीतिक घटक नगरों में ही विशेष रूप से क्रियाशील थे। नगरीय अर्थव्यवस्था में सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा के निर्धारण का आधार वर्णों की आनुष्ठानिक स्थिति के साथ–साथ तथा कभी–कभी उससे अधिक आर्थिक समृद्धि थी। ग्रामीण अर्थव्यवस्था और जीवन पद्धति में अब भी

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१७४. **यवन-जातक**, ३१. ११०–१२।

१७५. दासवृत्तिः, **बृहज्जातक**, २१. ७।

१७६. **वृद्ध-यवन-जातक**, ४०. ४।

१७७. बी० एन० एस० यादव, **प्रेसीडेंशियल एड्रेस**, पृ० २४।

१७८. भारुचि, मनु० ८. ६६ पर।

१७९. जी० एम० बोंगार्ड लेविन एवं ए०ए० विगासिन, **सोसाइटी एण्ड स्टेट इन ऐन्शिएण्ट इण्डिया, इ० हि० रि०**, जिल्द ५, भाग १–२, पृ० २२।

१८०. बी० एन० एस यादव, **द अकाउण्ट्स ऑव द कलि एज ऐण्ड द सोशल ट्रांजिशन फ्राम ऐन्टिक्विटी टु मिडिल एजेज**, वही, पृ० ५६।

१८१. **बृहज्जातक**, २३. १४।

१८२. **बृहज्जातक**, २३. १४।

परम्परागत चतुर्वर्णीय सामाजिक स्तरीकरण की प्रवृत्ति ही बलवती रही होगी। यहां लोगों के आर्थिक समृद्धि के बल पर ही व्यापारिक एवं व्यावसायिक वर्ग के सदस्य होने के बजाय परम्परागत वर्ण और जाति से संबंधित सामाजिक स्तरीकरण के दायरे में ही सीमित रहने की प्रक्रिया प्रधान रही होगी[१८३]।

सामाजिक स्तरीकरण की प्रक्रिया में लौकिक घटक गुप्तकाल में इतने महत्त्वपूर्ण हो गये थे कि चतुर्वर्णीय समाज में वर्णों और जातियों पर आधारित परम्परागत द्विभाजन[१८४] के साथ-साथ कुछ हद तक उसे दुर्बल बनाते हुए आर्थिक आधार पर सामाजिक द्विभाजन की प्रवृत्ति भी काफी हद तक स्पष्ट हो गयी थी। यह विभाजन अज्ज (आर्य) और पेस्स (प्रेष्य) के रूप में देखने को मिलता है[१८५] जिसका आधार विशुद्ध रूप से आर्थिक था[१८६]।

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१८३ . आदित्य प्रसाद ओझा, सोशल स्ट्रेटीफिकेशन इन ऐन्शिएण्ट इण्डिया, अध्याय – ३।

१८४ . भारतीय संस्कृति के संदर्भ में सामाजिक द्विभाजन की प्रवृत्ति वैदिक क़ाल से ही देखने को मिलती है। एक प्रकार का द्विभाजन आर्य एवं दास तथा आर्य एवं शूद्र के मध्य, दूसरे प्रकार का द्विभाजन स्वतन्त्र एवं दास तथा शासक एवं शासित के मध्य और तीसरे प्रकार का द्विभाजन द्विज एवं शूद्र के मध्य था। द्रष्टव्य, वही।

१८५ . अज्जी पेस्सोति, अङ्गविज्जा, पृ० २१८, बी० एन० एस० यादव, कुषाण स्टडीज, पृ० ७८।

१८६ . द्रष्टव्य, आदित्य प्रसाद ओझा, सोशल स्ट्रीटीफिकेशन इन ऐन्शिएण्ट इंडिया, अध्याय ३।

THE PROBLEM OF SLAVERY IN ANCIENT AND EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIA : A RETROSPECTIVE SURVEY

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Banda (U.P.)

Though a lot of work has been done on slavery in early India, research on the topic is still far from adequate. This inadequacy can be pin pointed only by an upto date historiographical survey of the work done so far.

The first serious scholar interested in Indian form of slavery was Montesquie.[1] Almost the same time Abbe Raynal described the misfortunes of the *pariahs* who were agricultural slaves of South India.[2] Abbe Dubois's work on slavery published in the 19th century discussed the miserable condition of slaves in Malabar and showed that this institution was held legitimate here as sanctioned by Hindu Law.[3] The roots of that modern phenomenon thus went, according to him, as back as the ancient period when the Hindu Law texts were compiled. In 1920, R. Fick's work on ancient Indian social organisations rapidly gained pre-eminence and has become a classic. According to him, "Every big land owner, every rich marchant employed workers on a daily wage in addition to the slaves he possessed". He throws light on conditions of domestic slaves and peasants thereby proving beyond doubt the existence of domestic slavery in the time of Buddha and later.[4] This conclusion significantly contradicted by positive evidence the unequivocal statement of Megasthenes that Indians were all

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1. De l'esprit des lois, liv. XIV, ch. XV, pp. 218 ff. as quoted by D.R. Chanana, Slavery in Ancient India, Delhi, 1960, p. 1.
2. D.R. Chanana, op. cit.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
4. R. Fick, The Social Organisation in North-East India, Calcutta, 1920, pp. 305-12.

free and no body in India was a slave. Rhys Devid while affirming the factual existence of domestic slavery denied its large scale development in the working of mines and agriculture as was done in Greece and Rome.[5] He also pointed out that the treatment meted out to slaves in ancient India was so humane as compared to that in Greece and Rome as to mislead an observer like Megasthenes who used to taking slavery as a synonym of misery and toil, failed to recognise its very existence in India.[6] Later R.K. Mookerji also struck a similar note.[7]

It was left to Dange to point out that slavery in ancient Indian society was not merely a casual domestic factor.[8] According to him, like all other societies of human history passing from the state of primitive communism to the first step of civilization, Indian society, too, was developing a mode of production based on slave labour.[9] Slavery in ancient India was, therefore, the basis of the first production system and social formation and was in no way better or worse than in other societies on the threshold of civilisation.

D.D. Kosambi bitterly criticised this mechanical grafting of the model of the history of other societies on Indian society, as Dange had done, but he retained the basic framework by pointing out that "The principal change in the productive relations was the formation of a servile class".[10] This servile class, according to him, continued to grow and in the varṇa-caste configurations of ancient Indian society gradually came to acquire the proximity of Śūdra *varṇa*.[11] Though śūdras as a whole cannot be equated with slaves, slaves and Sūdras together constituted the servile class to which *Karmakaras* too were added.[12] Kosambi thus tried to identify the peculiarity

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5. R. David, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, P. 40.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
7. R.K. Mookerjee, *Ancient Indian Education*, London, 1951, pp. 423 & 469.
8. S.A. Dange, *India from Primitive Communism to Slavery*, (Hindi Edition), Delhi, 1978, pp. 41-56.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 186-94.
10. D.D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Bombay, 1975, pp. 97-98.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-99.

of ancient Indian social formation which also modified to a great extent the profile of slavery as well. This empathetic approach of Kosambi made him the pioneer of the approach which aimed at linking slavery with the mose of production and social formation in a balanced sympathetic manner.

This line of inquiry, however, did not attract all the scholars working in the field. Ghoshal still harped on the old tune of fact finding research and tried to highlight Indian slavery belonging to a period from C. 200 B.C. to 400 A.D.[13] Yet he rendered the distinct service of collecting and interpreting reference from various sources of this period. K.M. Saran, while working on ancient Indian labour system, has tried to distinguish slavery from other forms of labour.[14]

The work of D.R. Chanana, devoted exclusively to slavery has been proclaimed as of outstanding importance in so far as it stresses, beside covering other aspects of slavery, the existence of a servile class which not only helped substantially in the prevailing mode of production but also helped in war, at least in monarchical systems of government.[15] But it has been decided on the ground that it does not work out any fundamental change in the position of slaves vis-a-vis the changing aspects of economy.[16] In 1965, Lallanji Gopal has published an important book on economic conditions of Northern India, which throws light on various aspects of slavery in early medieval India, such as increasing number of slaves,[17] decline of human values,[18] treatment meted out to slaves,[19] muslim influence on slavery,[20] etc. So much classified information on early medieval Indian slavery was made available, perhaps for the first time. Gopal makes the significant observation that human values, rather than the

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13. U.N. Ghoshal, *Studies in Indian History and Culture,* Calcutta, 1957.
14. K.M. Saran, *Labour in Ancient India,* Bombay, 1957.
15. D.R. Chanana, op. cit.
16. R.S. Sharma, Review of Chanana's book in *J.E.S.H.O.,* Vol. 2, 1959, pp. 345-48.
17. L. Gopal, Economic Life of Northern India, Varanasi, 1965, pp. 78-80.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*

number of slaves, declined during early medieval period.[21] He, however, admits the lesser employment of slaves in agricultural and other productive operations in early medieval India while highlighting the tendency of segregating the use of slaves to impure work.[22]

At the same time, R.S. Sharma writes about the institution of slavery in ancient and early medieval India in his pioneering work on Indian feudalism. He has tried to notice some fundamental changes in slavery resulting from the emergence of feudal formation.[23] He also traces the history of servile class of which slaves also formed a part.[24] He has thus furthered the line of inquiry started by Kosambi. Sharma concluded from these studies that slavery declined in the early medieval period because the emerging feudal formation in the period brought with it its substitute of forced labour boardering on serfdom.[25] Some scholars, however, still felt strongly against this view and thought that Indian economy at any period was not as dependent on slavery as was that of classical Greece and hence the slavery of the two countries were essentially different.[26] As far as the conclusion of the decline of slavery in early medieval India is concerned, there are scholars who argue against it and try to show that it was on the increase though in a somewhat transformed shape.[27] In 1968, J.D.M. Derrett has also discussed some aspects of slavery with particular reference to the legal rights of slaves in the light of the law texts.[28] In 1971, P.C. Jain has attempted to give an assemblage of some relevant pieces of evidence with regard to the different forms of labour among which slavery also figures as one.[29] In 1972, D.N. Ganguli has presented a work to the scholarly world on slavery and has

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21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. R.S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism,* Delhi, 1980, pp. 243-45.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. D.C. Sircar, 'A Chinese Account of India - 732 A.D.', *J.I.H.,* August, 1966, pp. 351-357.
27. *Ibid.*
28. J.D.M. Derrett, *Religion, Law and the State in India,* London, 1968.
29. *Ibid.*

highlighted some aspects of modern form of slavery in India.[30] B.N.S. Yadava has thrown some valuable light on ancient and early medieval slavery also. He has shown that in Post-Gupta times slavery was declining to a considerable extent.[31] However, he remarks, domestic slavery continued to exist to some extent in the aristocratic sections of the society.[32] By and large he supports the conclusions of R.S. Sharma.

In 1975, G.R. Kuppuswami has dealt with some aspects of slavery in his work on Karnataka's economic condition. In the course of his discussion on tenurial systems, the author states that the common folk dragged on a miserable and pathetic existence, sometimes bordering on slavery.[33] In 1976, S. Mukerjee has devoted one chapter on ancient Indian slavery in her book and tried to indicate profitable utilisation of servile labour not only in tillage but in industrial and commercial under-takings as well.[34] She has also thrown light on slave-trade and slave-markets besides stressing the fundamental value of the legal rights granted to the slaves by the Indian Law-givers.[35]

In 1976, P.C. Jain has published another book on socio-economic exploration of medieval India, in which he has noticed that the early medieval legal literature reveals a deprecatory attitude towards slavery inspite of the probable swelling-up of the number of domestic slaves.[36] According to the author, slavery, as an institution of crucial importance in the economic sector, declined and serfdom emerged. Slavery was converted into serfdom which somewhat bettered the conditions of slaves.[37] But this statement is not free from controversies.

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30. D.N. Ganguli, *Slavery in British Dominion,* Calcutta, 1972.

31. B.N.S. Yadav, *Society and Culture in Northern India in the Twelfth Century A.D.,* Allahabad, 1973, pp. 73-74.

32. *Ibid.*

33. G.R. Kuppuswami, *Economic Conditions in Karnataka,* Dharwar, 1975, pp. 185-97.

34. S. Mukerjee, *Some Aspects of Social Life in Ancient* India, Allahabad, 1976, pp. 175-90 & 203.

35. *Ibid.*

36. P.C. Jain, *Socio-Economic Exploration of Medieval* India (from 800-1200 A.D.), Delhi, 1976, pp. 10 & 281.

37. *Ibid.*

A work on modern Indian slavery has been done by Amal Kumar Chattopadhyaya in 1977 in which the author has tried to deal with the slave systems of Bengal region especially and covers the whole period of Indian history.[38] B.N.S., Yadava, in his presidential address to the socio-economic history section of The Indian History Congress in 1980 has brought the astrological data to bear on socio-economic history.[39] He, for the first time, pointed out an astrological reference to slavery in Vriddha-Yavana Jātaka of Minaraja which makes a mention of some unfavourable sign positions of sun in the tenth house of the natal chart which would destine people to become subjected to slave labour or to perform agricultural labour.[40] In 1981, G.K. Rai has worked on forced labour in ancient India in which he practically concures with the view of R.S. Sharma that slavery declined in early medieval period and '*viṣṭi*' or forced labour came to substitute it[41], though his observation that '*viṣṭi*' in the *Arthaśāstra* meant forced labour and that "there was little money or trade and no wealthy kingdom or powerful monarch in India in A.D. 600-1200" have been taken amiss by some scholars.[42] 1982, witnessed three significant works on slavery; one by S. Manicum presents a regional study of slavery[43], second by Sheela Chaturvedi examines the muslim shade of slavery in India in the period of Turkish rule,[44] and third by Sharad Patil in which he has tried to give a full picture of slavery for the whole range of Indian history linking it to the charging mode of production in Indian History.[45]

In 1983, R.S. Sharma has published his another work on socio-economic history of early India in which he maintains that in India for nearly one thousand years from the 6th century B.C. to 5th century A.D. real

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38. A.K. Chattopadhyaya, Slavery in India, London, 1977.
39. B.N.S. Yadava, Presidential Address, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Bombay, 1980.
40. *Ibid.*
41. G.K. Rai, *Involuntary Labour in Ancient India,* Allahabad, 1981.
42. D.C. Sircar, Review of G.K. Rai's book published in *I.H.R.*, Vol. X.
43. S. Manicum, *Slavery in Tamil Country: A Historical Over View, Madras,* 1982.
44. S. Chaturvedi, Turk-Kālīn Bhārat mein Muslim Dāsatā, Delhi, 1982.
45 S. Patil, *Dasa-Sudra Slavery,* Delhi, 1982.

basis of production was provided by Vaiśyas whose efforts were supplements by Śūdra slaves and wage earners[46]. Ajaya Mitra Shastri has pointed out some disagreements with this view. D.N. Shukla has contributed a work to the scholarly world on revenue system of northern India in 1984 in which he has made an attempt to distinguish the different forms of labour from one another[47]. In respect of slavery it denies the contention of some scholars that slavery declined in early medieval period and gave way to force & labour[48]. He defines forced labour as occupying a midway position between slave labour and free labour[49]. All the three of these are shown to have been concurrent in the period as also earlier. In this year another work of D.P. Singh came into light which supplies a complete chapter on slavery of early medieval period. The author has tried to show the different causes of slavery in it.[50]

Slavery also figured prominently in the work of Utsa Patnaik which was published in 1985. The author provides us with an integrated picture of ancient, medieval and modern slavery in India covering practically one whole of Indian subcontinent.[51] Different aspects of slavery such as its historical analysis,[52] the nature and extent of servitude in historical context,[53] women and bondage,[54] etc., in the context of the ancient period of Indian history has been also dealt in it.

In 1987, the two works, one of S.P. Tiwari and other by D.N. Jha, throw some important light on ancient and early medieval slavery of Indian

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46. R.S. Sharma, *Perspectives in Social and Economic History of Early India,* Delhi, 1983, pp. 23-31.
47. D.N. Shukla, Uttar Bhārat kī Rājasva-Vyavasthā, Allahabad, 1984, pp. 137-165.
48. *Ibid.,* pp. 140-142 & 148.
49. *Ibid.,* pp. 151-159.
50. D.P. Singh, Hindū Samāj mein Parivartana kī Prakriyā, Gorakhpur, 1984, (Chapter on Dāsas), pp. 135-157.
51. U. Patnaik, *Chains of Servitude : Bondage and Slavery in India,* Madras, 1985.
52. In the above mentioned book of Utsa Patnaik (Editor), Uma Chakravorti has written a chapter on 'of Dasas and Karmakaras, Servile Labour in Ancient India', In this Chapter she has dealt with all these problems.
53. *Ibid,* pp. 1-75.
54. *Ibid.*

history.[55] But both these works hardly tell us anything new which is not known from earlier contributions on the topic.

Research papers and articles appearing from time to time in various journals focus on the various aspects of slavery identified and studied by the books discussed above. They hardly appear to be setting new trends of study in the domain of slavery in ancient India. The foregoing historigraphical sketch of the work done so far by a number of scholars engaged in the research on slavery in India shows that in the beginning, the main issue was to prove or disprove the existence of slavery in ancient India on a purely factual and evidential basis. The burning issue at the time was to concur with or to refute the statement of Megasthenes denying the existence of slavery in his time and to distinguish Indian slavery from that of Greece and Rome. No conceptual framework was applied to put ancient Indian slavery in right perspective. Some historians have tried to paint the Marxist theory on Indian slavery and some have given its total counter.

Therefore the real picture of Indian slavery was dragged on a path of which ends itself are doubtfull. Truely speaking, research on ancient Indian slavery has just emerged from the fact finding stage to the maturer stage of entering a proper conceptual perspective of the processes and forces of human civilization. But the linking of slavery with modes of production and social formation constitues only one aspect of slavery which, too, has been approached from the end of production system and social formation rather than the end of slavery.

Other aspects of slavery such as its concepts, its differentiation from other forms of labour in general as well as in particularly ancient Indian context, its organisation including procurement, trade and marketing or slaves, its historical transformations economic as well as non-economic and its changing profiles through legal, religious and social systems are yet to be studied and properly understood. The pioneering formulation with respect to early medieval state of slavery declaring that it was declining as a factor in

55. In these works "Royal Attendants in Ancient Indian Literature, Epigraphy and Art' and 'Feudal Formation in Early India', (respectively) are important in this regard.

production system and was being increasingly substituted by forced labour and serfdom may be very correct but it is certainly not the answer to all the questions that can be raised about all the aspects of early medieval slavery. Perhaps a fuller and independent study of slavery of the period is likely to enlighten us more than what has been known thus for about the early medieval mode of production and social formation. The controversy recently raised by some scholars regarding early medieval slavery in India on its decline needs a re-examination.

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शंकर-दर्शन में भक्ति चेतना

डा० अतुल कुमार सिन्हा

बरेली

प्रकटतः ज्ञान-मार्ग और भक्तिमार्ग क्रमशः बुद्धि और हृदय की केन्द्रीयता के साथ एक दूसरे के विपरीत दिखायी देते हैं। ज्ञान-मार्ग का बौद्धिक कलेवर भक्ति मार्ग के भाव-प्रवण स्वरूप से सर्वथा अलग प्रतीत होता है और संभवतः दोनों के बीच के इस अन्तर के कारण ही इस सामान्य धारणा का विकास हुआ कि शंकर-दर्शन ज्ञानमार्गी होने के कारण न केवल भक्ति चेतना से शून्य और उसका विरोधी है, बल्कि उसी की प्रतिक्रिया स्वरूप भक्तिमार्ग ने भक्ति-आंदोलन की तीव्रता में अपनी स्पष्ट पहचान प्राप्त की और ज्ञानमार्ग का एक विकल्प प्रस्तुत किया यद्यपि उसके सूत्रों की प्राचीनता तो किसी न किसी रूप में ऋग्वेद-काल तक जाती दिखती है। प्रस्तुत शोध-पत्र शंकर-दर्शन विषयक इस धारणा के पुनर्वीक्षण के द्वारा इस जिज्ञासा के शमन के प्रति उद्दिष्ट है कि क्या वास्तव में ज्ञान और भक्ति के मध्य कोई नैसर्गिक विरोध है और यदि दोनों के लक्ष्य समान हैं तो क्या उनमें कोई समन्वय-सूत्र ढूँढ़ा जा सकता है ? यदि हाँ, तो शंकर-दर्शन में ज्ञान और भक्ति के मध्य विरोध कैसे व्याख्यायित किया जा सकता है ? और यदि नहीं तो शंकर के दर्शन में पूर्णता का दावा किस प्रकार संभव है ? इन प्रश्नों पर विचार करने के पूर्व भक्ति की सामान्य पारम्परिक अवधारणा को दृष्टिपथ में रखना आवश्यक होगा और तत्पश्चात् इस अवधारणा के तन्तुओं की शंकर-दर्शन के एक प्रच्छन्न "घटक अवयव" का प्रकाशन हो सकेगा।

"भज्" धातु में "क्तिन्" प्रत्यय के संयोग से उद्‌भूत बहुअर्थक "भक्ति"[१] शब्द के व्युत्पत्तिमूलक अर्थ का "भाग" (हिस्सा) शब्द से सम्बन्ध स्थापित करते हुये कतिपय इतिहासकारों ने कबीलाई जीवन में सम्पत्ति विभाजन की भावना से उसे जोड़ने का प्रयास किया है।[२] इस प्रयास में भगवत् (भगवान्) शब्द का अर्थ "सम्पत्ति का एक मात्र सम्पूर्ण अधिकारी" बताते हुए भक्ति का अभिप्राय "सम्पत्ति में भाग प्राप्त करने की इच्छा से 'भागवत्' के प्रति प्रेम और निष्ठा" का भाव व्यक्त करने से समझा गया[३] जो अपने ऐतिहासिक विकास में परिस्थितिजन्य अर्थ-वैभिन्न्य की प्रक्रिया से गुजरते हुए कालान्तर में पारलौकिक तथा आध्यात्मिक भाव का

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१. भक्ति शब्द के विभिन्न अर्थों के लिए देखिए-एम० विलियम्स, संस्कृत-इंगलिश डिक्शनरी, पृ० ७४३.

२. देखिये, सुवीरा जायसवाल, द ओरिजिन एण्ड डेवलपमेन्ट ऑव वैष्णविज्म, दिल्ली, १९६७, पृ० ३८.

३. वही, पृ० ३८-३९

संकेतक बन गया। भक्ति की इस भौतिकवादी अवधारणा का अलग विकास मध्यकाल की राजनीतिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक परिस्थितियों में विकसित सामन्तवादी व्यवस्था के सैद्धान्तिक ढाँचे में उसकी संगति स्थापित करने के प्रयासों में दिखायी देता है।[४] भक्ति-आन्दोलन के विकास-काल के राजनीतिक घटना क्रम के साथ सन्दर्भित करके देखने के प्रयास में कतिपय विद्वानों ने बाह्यगत समानताओं के आधार पर उसे ईसाई धर्म[५] के, तो कुछ अन्य विद्वानों ने इस्लाम धर्म[६] के हिन्दू धर्म और समाज पर पड़ने वाले प्रभाव का परिणाम बताया है। छुआछूत, ऊँच-नीच के भेदभाव से ग्रस्त हिन्दू समाज में निम्न वर्गीय सदस्यों द्वारा सामाजिक-धार्मिक रुढ़ियों व परम्पराओं के विरुद्ध किये जाने वाले विद्रोह के रूप में भी भक्ति-आन्दोलन को व्याख्यायित किये जाने के प्रयास किये गये हैं[७]।

भक्ति की अवधारणा के ऐतिहासिक विकास पर एक दृष्टि डालने से ज्ञात होता है कि भक्ति काल भले ही मध्य काल में एक आन्दोलन के रूप में उभरता दिखायी देता हो, सूत्र रूप में उसकी प्राचीनता विशेषतः वरुण तथा इन्द्र को सम्बोधित **ऋग्वेद** के कतिपय भावपूर्ण मंत्रों तक पहुँचती दिखायी देती है[८]। उत्तरवैदिक काल के प्रथमार्ध में याज्ञिक-आनुष्ठानिक-कर्मकाण्डीय बहुलता में यद्यपि ऊपर से देखने पर इसके संकेत नहीं मिलते तथापि यज्ञ-सम्पादन के एक प्रमुख उद्देश्य, देव-सायुज्य, के रूप में भक्ति की चेतना एक अन्तर्धारा के रूप में प्रवाहित होती रही थी। उपनिषद्-काल में उसकी भावात्मक झलक **कठ** और **मुण्डक** उपनिषदों में कहीं-कहीं

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४. डी० डी० कौसाम्बी, **द कल्चर एण्ड सिविलाइजेशन ऑफ एन्शिएन्ट इन्डिया इन हिस्टारिकल आउटलाइन्स**, (हि० अनु०), दिल्ली, १६६४, पृ० २६१-६२, आर० एम० शर्मा, "प्राब्लम ऑफ ट्रान्जीशन फ्राम एन्शिएन्ट टू मेडीवल इन इन्डियन हिस्ट्री" **द इन्डियन हिस्टारिकल रिव्यू**, जिल्द १. सं० १, दिल्ली, १६७४

५. द्रष्टव्य-ए० बेवर, ई० डब्ल्यू० हापकिन्स, एन० मैक्नीकॉल तथा जे० केनेडी। इनके तर्कों का सफलतापूर्वक खंडन हेमचन्द्र राय चौधरी, बी० एन० सील, आर० जी० भण्डारकर तथा एन० एन० लॉ आदि के द्वारा किया जा चुका है।

६. ताराचन्द तथा युसुफ हुसैन इस मत के प्रतिपादक रहे हैं। देखिए, कृष्ण शर्मा, पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ० २७-२८, पी० एन० चोपड़ा, "द इम्पैक्ट ऑफ इस्लाम ऑन इण्डिया" **स्टडीज इन द कल्चरल हिस्ट्री ऑव इन्डिया** (सं०) जी० एस० मेटरॉक्स एवं एफ० मूजे, आगरा, १६६५, पृ० २८३-२८४.

७. देखिये, इरफान हबीब, "द हिस्टारिकल बैकग्राउन्ड ऑफ द पापुलर मोनोथेइस्टिक मूवमेन्ट्स ऑफ द १५वीं सेन्चुरीज, दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय द्वारा आयोजित **"हिस्ट्री ऑफ आइडियाज"** में प्रस्तुत शोध-पत्र। रोमिला थापर के अनुसार भक्ति आंदोलन एक प्रकार का नगरीय आन्दोलन था। रोमिला थापर, **ए हिस्ट्री ऑफ इन्डिया**, जिल्द-१,दिल्ली, १६६६, पृ० ६८, २६४, ३०८, कृष्णा शर्मा, **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० ३३ पर उद्धृत।

८. **ऋग्वेद** १.६२.११, ६.४५.२६, ७.८६.४, ७.८८.५। देखिये ए० बी० कीथ का लेख, **जर्नल ऑफ रॉयल एशियाटिक सोसाइटी**, लंदन, १६१५ में पृ० ८३४, पी० यश, **हिस्ट्री एण्ड इवोल्यूशन ऑव वैष्णविज्म इन ईस्टर्न इन्डिया**, कलकत्ता, १६८२, पृ० २०२ पर उद्धृत। और भी, चार्ल्स इलियट, **हिन्दुइज्म एण्ड बुद्धिज्म**, जिल्द-२, लंदन, १६६८, पृ० १८१.

दिखायी देती है[९]। और **श्वेताश्वतर** उपनिषद् में तो "भक्ति" शब्द का उल्लेख लगभग उसी अर्थ में प्राप्त होता है जो कालान्तर में विकसित भक्ति की अवधारणा का केन्द्र बनकर उभरा[१०]। इस प्रवृत्ति का अगला विकास **गीता और महाभारत** - विशेषतः 'शान्तिपर्व' के नारायणीय खण्ड– में देखने को मिलता है जबकि भागवत् धर्म के नाम से वैष्णव धर्म की लोकप्रियता धीरे-धीरे बढ़ने लगी थी और भक्ति ने उसके एक प्रमुख सिद्धान्त का रूप ग्रहण करना प्रारम्भ कर दिया था। वैष्णव धर्म के विकास को रेखांकित करने वाले वैष्णव पुराणों-विशेषतः **विष्णुपुराण** और **भागवत्पुराणों** में भक्ति का स्वरूप और भी अधिक स्पष्ट हुआ और धीरे-धीरे मध्यकालीन धर्मग्रन्थों और परवर्ती आचार्यों एवं संतों की वाणी में उसने अपना निश्चित आकार प्राप्त कर मोक्ष-प्राप्ति के साधनों-ज्ञान और कर्म के साथ सन्दर्भित होकर साधन-त्रयी का निर्माण किया। मध्यकालीन धर्मग्रन्थों में भक्ति का सांगोपांग विवरण प्राप्त होता है जो जनमानस में इसके बढ़ते प्रभाव का स्पष्ट द्योतक है और भक्तिमार्ग के आन्दोलनकारी स्वरूप का स्पष्ट प्रमाण भी।

अपने अवधारणात्मक रूप में भक्ति भक्त और ईश्वर के बीच के सम्बन्धों की भावात्मक चेतना से उद्भूत होती है और अपने विकास की चरम अवस्था में सम्बन्धों की औपचारिकताओं के विलीनीकरण द्वारा ईश्वर के प्रति असंदिग्ध निष्ठा और पूर्ण समर्पण तक जा पहुँचती है। शांडिल्य "भक्ति जिज्ञासा" का शमन करते हुए भक्ति को "ईश्वर में परानुरक्ति" रूप में परिभाषित करते हैं[११] जिसकी काणे के अनुसार दो व्याख्यायें संभव हैं, (१) "भक्ति का सर्वोच्च रूप है परमेश्वर में अनुरक्ति" या (२) "परमेश्वर में सर्वोच्च अनुरक्ति ही भक्ति है[१२]।" शांडिल्य के कथन की टीका करते हुए स्वप्नेश्वर "आराध्य विषयक राग" से उद्भूत बताते हुए "परमेश्वर के विषय में अन्तःकरण की एक विशेष वृत्ति" को भक्ति बताते हैं[१३]। नारद के अनुसार यह ईश्वर के प्रति परम प्रेम है जो अमृत स्वरूप है।[१४] अनुरक्ति, अनुराग, प्रेम, प्रीति आदि भक्ति की प्राथमिक शर्त है जो ईश्वर की महिमा और उसकी उपाधियों आदि के सम्यक् ज्ञान से भक्त के मन में उत्पन्न होता है।[१५] यह अनुरक्ति, अनुराग, प्रेम अथवा प्रीति अबाधित (अव्यवहित) एवं अहैतुकी होनी चाहिये, तभी भक्ति का सर्वोच्च रूप प्राप्त हो सकेगा।[१६] इस भक्ति का प्रतिफल क्रमशः

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९. **कठोपनिषद्**, २.२२, **मुण्डक उपनिषद्**, ३.२.२

१०. **श्वेताश्वतर उपनिषद्** ६.२३ इसी उपनिषद् में (६.१८) में उल्लिखित "प्रपद्य" शब्द, काणे के अनुसार, कालान्तर में रामानुज आदि वैष्णव सम्प्रदायों में "प्रपत्ति" सिद्धान्त का आधार बना। देखिये, पी० वी० काणे, **हिस्ट्री ऑफ धर्मशास्त्र**, (हि० अनु०), चतुर्थ भाग, लखनऊ, १९७३, पृ० ४५६, ४६३.

११. "अथातो भक्तिजिज्ञासा। सा परानुरक्तिरीश्वरे।" **शाण्डिल्यभक्तिसूत्र**, १.१.१.२,

१२. पी०वी० काणे, **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० ४६१

१३. "आराध्यविषयकरागत्वमेव सा। इह तु परमेश्वरविषयकान्तःकरणवृत्तिविशेष एव भक्तिः।" **शाण्डिल्यसूत्र** (१.१.१.२)

१४. "सा त्वस्मिन् परमप्रेमरूपा। अमृतस्वरूपा च।" **नारदभक्तिसूत्र**, १.३

१५. द्रष्टव्य-शाण्डिल्य द्वारा उल्लिखित "अनुरक्ति" शब्द पर स्वप्नेश्वर की टीका।

१६. **भागवत पुराण**, ३.२९.१२

सालोक्य, सार्ष्टि, सामीप्य, एवं सायुज्य से बढ़ते हुए एकत्व तक जा पहुँचता है इस प्रकार भक्ति का सर्वोच्च लक्ष्य वही है जो ज्ञान का है अर्थात् अंश का समग्र में, भक्त का भगवान् में अथवा आत्मन् का ब्रह्म में विलय। किन्तु लक्ष्य की समरूपता के होते हुए भी ज्ञान और भक्ति के बीच शाण्डिल्य अन्तर बताते हैं। उनके अनुसार भक्ति इच्छा के प्रयत्न का अनुसरण नहीं करती, अतः वह ज्ञान की भाँति कर्म नहीं है और इस कारण ज्ञान से भिन्न है।[१७] ज्ञान की भाँति भक्ति बुद्धि का विषय नहीं है।[१८] यह मन का विषय है और संदेहविहीन निष्ठा और श्रद्धा से फलीभूत होता है। "अहं" का लोप इसकी प्राथमिक अनिवार्यता है जो अपने नैमित्तिक अस्तित्व के स्वीकरण से प्रारम्भ होती है और सम्पूर्ण कर्तव्य को ईश्वरीय अनुकम्पा अथवा प्रसाद के पर्याय-बोध में डुबा देती है। भक्ति की प्रारम्भिक अवस्था में भक्त ईश्वर की कृपा का आकांक्षी होता है किन्तु जैसे-जैसे भक्ति का स्तर ऊपर उठता जाता है, वैसे-वैसे भक्त के मन से आकांक्षा, भले ही वह कृपा की हो, तिरोहित होती जाती है, साथ ही भक्त के मन में समर्पण-भाव की गहनता बढ़ती जाती है जो ईश्वर और भक्त के बीच का भेद समाप्त करती जाती है और अन्ततः भक्त भगवान में उसी प्रकार आत्म-लाभ प्राप्त कर लेता है जैसे बूँद समुद्र में।[१९] यह भक्ति की पराकाष्ठा है जो उसके नवधा प्रकारों में से किसी भी प्रकार में प्राप्त हो सकती है।[२०]

भक्ति की इस सामान्य अवधारणा के परिप्रेक्ष्य में शंकर के व्यक्तित्व और कृतित्व का आकलन करने से यह धारणा होती है कि शंकर-दर्शन ज्ञानात्मक एकान्तिकता का दर्शन है और चूँकि ज्ञान का स्वरूप बौद्धिक होता है जिसका आधार तर्क और विवेक है, इसलिए वह श्रद्धा, निष्ठा और आस्था के भावजनित स्तम्भों पर निर्मित और विकसित भक्ति प्रसाद की सहज ही अनदेखी करता है।[२१] शंकर-दर्शन का स्वरूप निश्चयतः ज्ञानात्मक है और उसमें मोक्ष प्राप्ति के साधनों में ज्ञानमार्ग की सर्वोच्चता निर्विवादतः प्रतिपादित की गयी है किन्तु इस बात में संदेह के लिए अवकाश नहीं है कि ज्ञान मार्ग का प्रतिपादन शंकर ने भक्तिमार्ग के अविरोध में किया

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१७. **शाण्डिल्य सूत्र**, ७

१८. देखिए, **नारदभक्तिसूत्र**, १५, २६ ३०, **शाण्डिल्यभक्तिसूत्र**, ६६, ६८, कृष्णा शर्मा, **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० १२८.

१९. देखिये, पी० फैलान, "अक्ट्रिनल बैकग्राउन्ड ऑफ द भक्ति स्पिरिचुआलिटी" **रिलिजस हिन्दूइज्म**, (सं०) एल० रेमन्ड, इलाहाबाद, १९६४, पृ०, २४७-२४९.

२०. **भागवत् पुराण**, ७.५.२३–२४। नारद नवधा के स्थान पर भक्ति के ११ प्रकारों का उल्लेख करते हैं। ये ग्यारह प्रकार हैं– गुणमाहात्म्य, रूप, पूजा, स्मरण, दास्य, सख्य, वात्सल्य, कान्त, आत्मनिवेदन, तन्मयता और परम विरह की ग्यारह आसक्तियाँ **नारदभक्तिसूत्र**, ८३, पी०वी० काणे, **पूर्वोद्धृत** पृ० ४६६, कृष्णा शर्मा के अनुसार नारद केवल दशधा भक्ति का उल्लेख करते हैं।

२१. "परम्परा के अनुसार और प्रायिक आधुनिक विवरण के अनुसार शंकर की विचार-व्यवस्था एक रस है, यद्यपि उसमें कुछ प्रश्नों पर विचार आगे के लिए अनेकधा व्याख्येय रह जाते हैं।..................मध्ययुग में चिरकाल मठवासी होने के कारण उनके दर्शन की छवि एकांगी निषेध की हो गयी जिसकी व्याख्या एकान्तिक कर्मत्याग और जगन्मिथ्यात्व के प्रत्ययों से ही होने लगी और..................भक्ति सम्प्रदायों के विरोध का वह लक्ष्य बन गया।" गोविन्दचन्द्र पाण्डे, **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० ११६

है।[२२] ज्ञान की सर्वोच्चता स्थापन का शंकर-प्रयास वस्तुतः वैरोध्य-भावमूलक द्वैतात्मकता के परिहार द्वारा उद्वैत के प्रतिष्ठापन का प्रयास था। ब्रह्म एकमात्र सत्य है और ज्ञान उसकी प्राप्ति का एकमात्र साधन है जो अपनी उच्चतम स्थिति में बौद्धिक स्वरूप का अतिक्रमण कर आत्मज्ञान का रूप प्राप्त कर लेता है और ब्रह्मज्ञान से अभिन्न हो जाता है।[२३] इस प्रकार ज्ञान का चरम अद्वैत में प्राप्त होता है जो आत्म-साक्षात्कार अथवा आत्मानुभूति का ही एक पर्याय है। दूसरी ओर भक्ति का चरम भी ईश्वर और भक्त के द्वैत को समाप्त कर एक ऐसे ही अद्वैत की स्थिति में पहुँचा देता है और यह स्थिति भी आत्मानुभूति के रूप में ही ज्ञेय है। इस प्रकार सतही विभेद से ऊपर उठकर देखने पर ज्ञान और भक्ति में कोई अन्तर नहीं रह जाता और वे दोनों एक ही सिक्के के दो पहलू प्रतीत होते हैं।[२४] उनका भेद उनके बीच किसी नैसर्गिक विरोध का परिणाम नहीं है बल्कि ये भेद उपाधि-भेद मात्र है और उपाधियों का प्रभाव रहने तक वह विरोध भाव का आभास देता रहता है।[२५] शंकर-दर्शन में भक्ति का यदि कोई विरोध है तो वह मात्र आभास है। शंकर के बाद आन्दोलन के सूत्रधार भक्ति प्रमुख वैष्णव आचार्यों ने भक्ति आन्दोलन को गति देने से भले ही अपने-आप को शंकर से अलग रखने का प्रयास किया हो किन्तु उनमें से कोई भी शंकर के अद्वैत दर्शन के प्रभाव से स्वयं को मुक्त नहीं कर पाया[२६] बल्कि एक (आधुनिक) मत के अनुसार तो अद्वैत वेदान्त की अति लोकप्रियता ने उन्हें विवश कर दिया कि वे अपने सिद्धान्तों को उसी के सैद्धान्तिक ढाँचे के साथ सन्दर्भित करके ही विकसित करें[२७] और यदि सगुण भक्ति पर शंकर-दर्शन का प्रभाव कुछ अप्रत्यक्ष भी दिखायी देता हो तो निर्गुण भक्ति तो उसी का एक विकास-बिन्दु प्रतीत होता है।[२८]

शंकर का ज्ञान मार्ग की ओर सर्वोच्चता के बावजूद भक्ति से कोई विरोध नहीं था। उनके द्वारा संचित कतिपय स्तोत्र विशेषतः **सौन्दर्यलहरी, दक्षिणामूर्तिस्तोत्र, हरिमीडे** आदि में उनकी "भावसघन एवं उदार भक्ति" का रूप प्राप्त होता है।[२९] शंकर मोक्ष प्राप्ति के साधनों में भक्ति की महत्ता को निश्चित रूप से स्वीकार करते हैं। **विवेकचूड़ामणि** में भक्ति को परिभाषित करते हुए वे इसे "स्वरूपानुसंधान" अर्थात् अपने "आत्म स्वरूप की खोज" का साधन बताते हैं

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२२. गोविन्द चन्द्र पाण्डे, **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० १०१

२३. एन० के० देवराज, **ऐन इन्ट्रोडक्शन टू शंकरज़ थ्योरी ऑफ नॉलेज**, वाराणसी, १९७२, पृ० ८८-८९

२४. तु० गोविन्द्रचन्द्र पाण्डे, **द रोल ऑफ शंकराचार्य इन द कल्चरल एण्ड फिलासाफिकल हिस्ट्री ऑफ इन्डिया**, जयपुर, १९८९, पृ० ९.

२५. तु० गोविन्दचन्द्र पाण्डे, **शंकराचार्य : विचार और सन्दर्भ**, पृ० ४९-५१.

२६. देखिये, एन० के० देवराज, **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० २६.

२७. कृष्णा शर्मा, **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० १३८.

२८. **वही**, पृ० १५०.

२९. देखिये एम० एन० देशपाण्डे, **"इन्फ्लुएन्स ऑफ द फिलासफी ऑफ शंकराचार्य ऑन हिन्दू टेम्पिल आर्कीटेक्चर एण्ड सिम्बोलिज्म" मैन एण्ड इन्वायर्नमेण्ट**, जिल्द - १७, सं० २, १९९२, पृ० ७.

और उसे अपने पूर्ववर्तियों द्वारा प्रतिपादित "स्वात्म-तत्त्व" की खोज से अभिन्न बताते हैं।[३०] मोक्ष प्राप्ति के लिए श्रद्धा, भक्ति और ध्यान योग[३१] का महत्त्व प्रतिपादित करते हुए शंकर भक्ति को सर्वोपरि स्थान प्रदान करते हैं।[३२] क्योंकि भक्ति मनुष्य को आत्मोन्नयन के प्रति सतत् प्रेरित करती है और अन्ततः ईश्वरानुभूति के रूप में आत्मानुभूति अथवा आत्मज्ञान के उस द्वार तक पहुँचा देती है जो मोक्ष की ड्योढ़ी में खुलता है।[३३] श्रद्धा, भक्ति और ध्यान योग आध्यात्मिक साधना के तीन घटक हैं, जिसमें श्रद्धा, आस्था का वह बिन्दु है जहाँ से यह प्रक्रिया (साधना) प्रारम्भ होती है, ध्यान-योग इसकी सक्रिय चेतना है और भक्ति वह भाव-प्रवण सायुज्यता है जो मनुष्य संवेगों और मनोभावों को सातत्य प्रदान करते हुए उसमें आत्मोन्नयन की अभीप्सा जाग्रत बनाये रखती है।[३४] शंकर की दृष्टि में भक्ति, इस प्रकार आत्म-चिंतन की प्रक्रिया और परिणाम दोनों के भाव-स्वरूप का निर्माण करती है और इसी कारण उसे साधन और साध्य दोनों रूपों में समझा जा सकता है।[३५] भक्ति का सर्वोच्च रूप शंकर के शब्दों में "ज्ञान-निष्ठा" अर्थात् आत्म-ज्ञान की अभीप्सा है।[३६] आत्मोन्नयन के प्रारम्भिक चरण में भक्ति साधन-रूप होती है किन्तु जैसे-जैसे इस प्रक्रिया का विकास होता जाता है, साधनता साध्यता में परिणत होती जाती है और अन्ततोगत्वा ईश्वरानुभूति के रूप में आत्मानुभूति की अन्तिम स्थिति में पहुँच कर यह स्वयं साध्यरूप हो जाती है। भक्ति के इस सर्वोच्च शिखर पर सारे द्वैत विलीन हो जाते हैं। भक्ति और ज्ञान में कोई अन्तर नहीं रह जाता।[३७] ईश्वर और क्षेत्रज्ञ दोनों एकरूप हो जाते हैं। भक्ति का यह चरम अद्वैतवेदान्ती शंकर के अद्वैतवादी सैद्धान्तिक ढाँचे के साथ पूर्णतः समन्वित होकर अद्वैत-भक्ति का रूप प्राप्त कर लेता है जिसका स्पष्ट उल्लेख **गंगाशतक** में, परम्परानुसार, स्वयं शंकर करते हैं।[३८] ऊपर से देखने पर अद्वैत-भक्ति का यह सिद्धान्त अन्तर्विरोधग्रस्त प्रतीत होता है किन्तु "अपने अवधारणात्मक विकास में यह सभी अन्तर्विरोधों को दूर कर देता है। इसका प्रारम्भ भक्ति से होता है। किन्तु अन्तिम परिणति एकात्मरूप आत्मानुभूति में होती है। अद्वैत-भक्ति (ज्ञानमूलक) पूर्णानुभूतिवाद एवं नैतिक-आध्यात्मिक अनुशासन अर्थात् भक्ति के बीच समन्वयन का परिणाम-बिन्दु है। नैतिक उपक्रम और एक निष्ठ ध्यान उसके अनिवार्य साधन

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३० . **विवेकचूडामणि** (सं) स्वामी माधवानन्द (छठा सं०), कलकत्ता, १६५७, ३६, स्वात्मतत्त्वानुसंधानं भक्तिरित्यपरे जगुः।" **वही**, ३२

३१ . **वही**, ४६

३२ . **वही**, ३१

३३ . कृष्णा शर्मा, **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० १४८–१४६.

३४ . **वही**, पृ० १४६.

३५ . **वही**, पृ० १४६.

३६ . "ज्ञाननिष्ठा पराभक्तिरित्युच्यते", **शंकराचार्य कृत गीताभाष्य**, अ०, अनन्त कृष्ण शास्त्री, बम्बई, १६३८, १.१.३१.

३७ . कृष्णा शर्मा, पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ० १४६

३८ . **गंगाशतक**-६, एम० एन० देशपाण्डे, **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० ७, पर उद्धृत।

हैं[३६]।" अद्वैत भक्ति आत्मन् की अद्भुत-आलौकिक शक्ति है जो मनुष्य को ईश्वर से जोड़ती है। इसी के माध्यम से मनुष्य और ईश्वर की एकता और अभिन्नता का सम्बन्ध अपनी पूर्णता प्राप्त करता है।[४०]

भक्ति और उपासना का शंकर-कृत भेद भक्ति के शंकर-स्वरूप को और भी अधिक स्पष्ट कर देता है। मोटे तौर पर भक्ति का सम्बन्ध ज्ञान-निष्ठा के रूप में यदि निर्गुण (पर) ब्रह्म से है और उसका परिणाम मोक्ष है, तो उपासना किसी विशिष्ट वैयक्तिक ईश्वर के रूप में ब्रह्म के सगुण अथवा साकार (अपर) ब्रह्म की आराधना है[४१] जो उपासक को क्रमशः ऐहिक-पारलौकिक आनन्द प्रदान करने के अतिरिक्त अपर मुक्ति (जो कर्म-मुक्ति रूप है) की अर्हता प्रदान करती है। यह अवर मुक्ति अन्तिम मुक्ति अथवा मोक्ष के पूर्व स्थिति है जो अगले चरण में उपासक के लिए, यदि उसकी निष्ठा अनवरत रही तो, मोक्ष को प्राप्तव्य बना देती है।[४२] शंकर का आग्रह निश्चित रूप से भक्ति की तुलना में उपासना को अवर बताने का प्रतीत होता है जिसे वे ज्ञान के अवर स्वरूप के साथ समीकृत करते हैं जबकि भक्ति को ज्ञान-निष्ठा के रूप में सर्वोच्च ज्ञान का पर्याय माना गया है। जहाँ उपासना का प्रयोग शंकर उसके द्वि-आयामी स्वरूप अर्थात् ध्यान तथा पूजा-कृत्य रूप बाह्याभिनय के लिए करते हैं, वहीं भक्ति उनके लिए पूर्णतः हृदय और मन का अन्तर्भूत विषय है। उपासना उपासक को ईश्वर की समीपता और सालोकता के लिए अर्ह बनाती है जबकि भक्ति सायुज्यता और स्वरूपता के प्रति उद्दिष्ट होती है जिसकी परिणति आत्मज्ञान और मोक्ष में होती है।[४३] निर्गुण ब्रह्म और सगुण ब्रह्म एक दूसरे के विरोधी नहीं बल्कि निर्गुण ब्रह्म की सर्व-व्यापकता में सगुण ब्रह्म का स्वतः समावेश हो जाता है।[४४] नाम और रूप की औपाधिक औपचारिकतायें ब्रह्म की स्वरूपगत पूर्णता को किसी प्रकार भी प्रभावित नहीं करती। ब्रह्म हो अथवा ईश्वर, शंकर की दृष्टि में दोनों अन्ततः एक ही हैं। भक्ति-भाव ईश्वर अथवा सगुण ब्रह्म से भले ही जुड़ा हो, शंकर-मत में निर्गुण ब्रह्म को जानने के लिए उतना ही आवश्यक है और इस रूप में ब्रह्म-भाव से अभिन्न भी है। **बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद्** के भाष्य में शंकर का स्पष्ट कथन है कि श्रद्धा और भक्ति के साथ "ओउम्" की आराधना से ब्रह्म की प्राप्ति संभव है।[४५] भक्ति के प्रति शंकर के इस दृष्टिकोण के कारण ही रुडोल्फ ओटो निचले धरातल पर शंकर को रामानुज की अपेक्षा कम भक्तिवादी नहीं मानते यद्यपि उच्चतर

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३९. एम० एन० देशपाण्डे, **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० ७

४०. वही।

४१. **ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्य** (३.२.१२–१४) में शंकर का कथन है कि उपासना के उद्देश्य से निर्गुण ब्रह्म पर गुणों की औपाधिकता ही सगुण ब्रह्म का कारण है।

४२. कृष्णा शर्मा, **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० १४६, एम० एन० देशपाण्डे, **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० ८

४३. कृष्णा शर्मा, पृ० १४६.

४४. वी० एच० दाते, **वेदान्त एक्सप्लेन्ड**, जिल्द-२, बम्बई, १६५४, पृ० ५१५, कृष्णा शर्मा, **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० १५०.

४५. " श्रद्धाभक्तिभ्यां भावविशेषेण च ओंकारे आवेशयति।" **बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद् भाष्य**, V.I.I.

धरातल पर निश्चयतः शंकर रामानुज से अपना पार्थक्य बनाए रखते हैं।[४६] इस प्रकार, अद्वैत वेदान्त के प्रमुख प्रणेता और ज्ञान-मार्ग के अप्रतिम प्रतिपादक होते हुए भी शंकर, भक्ति के प्रति अपने आग्रह के कारण अपनी मूल-चिन्तना से दूर नहीं हो जाते बल्कि एक व्यावहारिक दृष्टिकोण से इस चिन्तना के व्यापक परिप्रेक्ष्य में भक्ति एवं उससे सम्बन्धित अन्य सभी धारणाओं को समेट लेते हैं, और इस प्रकार, जहाँ ज्ञान को शुष्क बौद्धिक-सैद्धान्तिक अनुशासन से ऊपर उठकर प्रेम और आनन्द की सरसता से अभिसिंचित करते हैं वहीं दूसरी ओर भक्ति की भाव–प्रवणता को ज्ञानात्मकता के सूत्रों से संग्रथित कर अवर ब्रह्मानुभूति को परम ब्रह्मानुभूति का दिशाबोध प्रदान करते हैं और इन दोनों की सामन्वयिक पूर्णता के प्रतीक पुरुष बनकर अपनी सारी तेजस्विता और ऊर्जस्विता के साथ ही पूर्वकालीन, समकालीन और पश्चात् कालीन दार्शनिकों में अपनी विशिष्टता स्थापित करते हैं। यही शंकर का शंकरत्व है ज्ञान-रूप में भी और भक्ति-रूप में भी, और यही उनका अद्वैत है जो सारे द्वैतों के साथ भी और उनके बाद भी अद्वैत ही रहता है, निर्विकार और निर्विकल्प।

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४६. रुडोल्फ ओटो, मिस्टिसिज्म : ईस्ट एण्ड वेस्ट, लंदन, १६३२, पृ० १५३-१५४, एम० एन० देशपाण्डे, पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ० ७

VILLAGE AUTONOMY IN NORTHERN INDIA (FROM MAURYAN TIMES TO THE TWELTH CENTURY A.D.)

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Scholars have discussed the various facets of rural as well as folk life of ancient and early medieval India. But the problem of "village autonomy'[1] has been dealt with by a few scholars. Prof. B.N.S. Yadava,[2] who is one of them, has given a synoptic view on this problem in his book which, mainly, deals with social and economic history of India in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries A.D. However, this problem needs further investigation. In the present paper attempts have been made to trace the power and privileges of the village headman as well as villagers or assembly of villagers betraying the elements of village autonomy from Mauryan times to the twelfth century A.D., as received in the literary texts and epigraphs and to correlate them with the changing political, social and economic conditions. In this connection one thing is, always, to be borne in mind that the greater is the power of the village headman the lower is the autonomy of village, the lower is the power of the village headman the greater is the autonomy of village.

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1. Talking of the Village autonomy in early India in the strict sense of the term commonly used in the context of the villages of modern india is illogical and untenable. One has to bear in his mind that the present paper deals with the village autonomy of the monarchial, oligarchal and arstocratic forms of government in which all sorts of freedom or autonomy rests at the mercy and discretion of the rulers. This paper, therefore, attempts to trace the comparative freedom and facilities the villagers enjoyed on the one hand & their oppression at the hand of the village headmen on the other. Thus, the village autonomy may be discerned in relation to the state of domination and subordination of the village lords and the village assembly selected by the villagers.

2. B.N.S. Yadava, *Society and Culture in Northern India in the Twelfth Century* (*SCNI*), Allahabad, 1973, pp. 239-70.

In pre Mauryan times village was the lowest political unit and the village headman, no doubt, possessed a considerable executive and political authority.[3] He also possessed the powers of imposing fines and levying of dues.[4] But no evidence explicitly states about the precise nature of the appointment of the village headman. The evidence of the *Jātaka*[5] stories allude to it that the village headman was mostly selected from among the villagers and by the villagers. Sometimes, he was directly appointed by the king but it does not seem to be the general practice.[6] In Mauryan times also the village was a lowest territorial unit. In the *Arthaśāstra*[7] it is referred to as 'Corporate political unit'. According to the same work, "when the headman of a village has to travel on account of any business of the whole village the villagers shall by turn accompany him."[8] Those who fails to do it shall pay a fine of 1½ *paṇa*.[9] It further states, "if the headman of a village ejects any one from the village except thief or an adulterer, he shall be punished with a fine of 24 *paṇas* the highest amercement in case of a village.[10] These rules of Kauṭilya give a clear hint of a close organization of villages. It also appears from these injunctions that there was a village with headman who used to transact the whole business of village with the help of the villagers. He, together with the villagers not only enjoyed the right to punish the offenders but he could even send out a person from village. In this connection a few rules from the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya may be cited. It gives a rule, "those who do not cooperate in the preparation work for a public show shall, together with their families, forfeit the right to enjoy the show and if a man, who has not cooperated in preparing for a public play is

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3. R.C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India,* Calcutta, 1969 (third edition, pp. 126 f.

4. *Loc. cit.,* pp. 126-127; A.N. Bose, *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India,* Calcutta, 1970 (third edition), pp. 68-69.

5. Majumdar, *op. cit.,* p. 127.

6. *Ibid.,* p. 128.

7. Tr. R.P. Kangle, *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra,* part II, Bombay, 1962 (second edition), 3.10.16.

8. *Ibid.,* 3.10.16.

9. *Ibid.,* 3.10.16.

10. *Ibid.,* 3.10.18.

found hearing or seeing the show shall be compelled to pay double of the value of aid due from him."[11] Thus the right to punish the villagers as well as the village headman for an improper use of their rights, was entrusted to a corporate body of the village community tends to show that this right was exercised in an assembly of the villagers presided over by the village headman. The earliest known description of the functioning of the village assembly is found in the *Milindapāñho*[12] a text of the first century A.D., which mentions that the village headman could summon the 'heads of houses' (probably the members of the village assembly) who were regarded as representatives of village community, consisting of men, women, slaves, servants, hired workers, wage earners, peasantry and sick people. In the *Arthaśāstra*[13] the word *grāmika* is used for the village headman which also finds mention in the *Manusmṛti*[14] denoting a village headman. This title, *grāmika*, continued up to Kuṣāṇa times, is evident from some of the epigraphs of the Kuṣāṇa kings. It is referred to in a votive Jain inscription[15] of Vāsudeva from Mathura. Another Jain votive inscription[16] of year 4 from the same place, which is ascribed to the Kuṣāṇa period, refers to a lady who was wife of one *grāmika* and daughter in law of another. From the above evidence it may be inferred that the post of a *grāmika* had become hereditary in Kuṣāṇa time.[17] This change is understandable in the sense that the privileges of a *grāmika* would have increased in the Kuṣāṇa period as compared to that of the Mauryan period. Thus, we see, that the word *grāmika* of Mauryan times continued upto the Kuṣāṇa period. However the continuity of the title does not necessarily suggests continuity in status and function. The *Manusmṛti* , which has been assigned the date between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D., gives some indication to this effect. It[18] tells us that for the purpose of maintaining law and order the village headman could

11. R. Shamasastry's (tr.), p. 220 vide Majumdar, *op. cit.,* p. 130.
12. *Questions of the King Milinda* tr. Rhys Davids Vol. I, pp. 208-09.
13. Vol. I, 3.4.9, 3.10.16-18.
14. VII, 115-116.
15. *Luder's List,* No. 69a.
16. *Ibid.,* No. 48.
17. Cf. Majumdar, *op. cit.,* p. 135.
18. *Manusmṛti,* VII, 116-118.

approach the lord of ten villages and his chief function was collection of royal dues in the form of grains, drink and fuel. In this respect he was not different from that of the village headman mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*.[19] But at another place, in the same law book, we notice one significant change that the village headman was no longer entrusted with village security which seems to have been assigned to *grāmika* (the village headman) or the villagers of Mauryan times. This right was, now (by the compilation-period of first *smṛti*), transferred to a military office (like that of the company commander of the present day) of two, three or five villages, appointed by the king.[20] Secondly, he was paid in the shape of grant of a piece of land as royal revenue[21] not in shape of fines from the village people as was in pre-Mauryan times or cash salary in which the *grāmika* of *Mauryan* times was paid. Thus these changes tend to show the decrease in powers and privileges of villagers and the corresponding increase in powers of a *grāmika* or a village headman.[22] it is apparent that in the post Mauryan period the foreign rulers, like Kuṣāṇa and Śaka, would have curtailed the powers of the villagers and the village assembly in apprehension of public revolt or armed disturbance. On the whole it may be surmised that the hereditary character of the village headman of Kuṣāṇa times along with the power for enjoying the royal share indicates that the power of the village headman was increased as compared to that of the village headman of the Mauryan period. This supposition is also attested by use of the titles *grāmādhyakṣa, grāmapati* and *grāmasyādhipati*[23] for the village headman of the post Mauryan period in place of *grāmika* of Mauryan times.

It is needless to say that the empire controlled by the Gupta kings was divided into a number of administrative units such as *bhukti, Viṣaya* and *vīthī, Vīthis* consisted of ten villages which formed the lowest unit of administration. *Grāmikas* and the village known as *mahattaka* or *mahattama* or *Mahattara* were entrusted with the managerial work of villagers. In this context,

19. See *Supra.*

20. *Manu,* VII, 114.

21. *Ibid.,* VII, 119.

22. Cf. R.S. Sharma, *The Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India,* Delhi, 1968 (second edition), p. 225.

23. *Manu,* VII, 115-19., *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata,* 88. 3-9.

some inscriptions[24] from Bengal and central India may be mentioned which refer to *grāmika* administering the village affairs. In one of the records[25] from central India, the father and the grand father of a person is referred to as *grāmika* implying thereby that in this region the post of *grāmika* had become hereditary.The epigraphs from Bengal throw welcome light on the deteriorating village autonomy of the Gupta period. In a few records[26] *mahattaras* are expressly mentioned as village headman. In addition to these, in some of the inscriptions[27] the *agrahārin* Brāhmaṇas are mentioned as the village headmen. In the Baigram copper plate[28], dated A.D. 448, the term *Saṃvyavahāri-pramukhān* is used to denote the village elders. The most significant feature in regard to growing rights of a village headman found in epigraphs from Bengal is this that no reference to sale of land without the consent of *Mahattaras* is fouṇd. In the Bihar region the village headmen known as *mahattaras* seem to have been attached more importance than those of Bengal for they had issued their seals and coins.[29]

In Gupta times local affairs in the Vidisā regions were managed by a committee of five persons known as *pañcamaṇḍalī*,[30] the archetype of *pañcakula* of the later centuṛies. But we have no precise information about its modality and functions. In Vaisali village of Bihar there was a *pariṣad*[31] to manage the village affairs, but we do not have any information regarding its activities and form as well. In fact increasing number of landgrants and the growing feudal tendencies added a new dimension to it. The state did not exercise the close supervision as the *gopa* did in Mauryan times.[32]

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24. D.C. Sircar, *Select inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization,* part I, Calcutta, 1942, sect. III no. 34, 1. 3, idem, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary,* Delhi, 1966, p. 121, S.K. Maity and R.R. Mukherji, *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions* (*CBI*), 1967, p. 50.
25. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (*CII*), III, no. 247, p. 112, 11. 4-6.
26. *Sel. Inscr,* III, no. 46 11. 5-6, *CBI,* p. 131.
27. *Sel. Inscr.* III, no. 46, 11. 6-7; *CBI,* no. 16, p. 87 ff.
28. *CBI,* p. 50; *Sel. Inscr.,* III, no. 11, 1. 2.
29. R.S. Sharma, *op. cit.,* p. 246.
30. *CII* (Sāñchi Inscription of Chandragupta II), Vol. III no. 5, p. 31 f.
31. *Archaeological survey of India Report,* 1903-04; p. 109.
32. See Supra.

The village activities were mostly performed by the village headman, sometimes with the assistance of *mahattaras* or village elders.[33] The leading local elements, too, appear to have participated, to a considerable extent, in the village administration of this period.[34] Comparing the village administration of Mauryan and Gupta times R.S. Sharma[35] has remarked that the villages in the former period were managed 'from the above' those in the later period seem to have been managed 'from the below', which appears to be convincing. Thus, with the increasing rights of the village headmen we find corresponding decrease in the village autonomy of the Gupta period.

In post Gupta times the state of village autonomy had further deteriorated. The village headman was, sometimes, given right to rule not only over the villagers but also over village elders. The free functioning of the village elders appears to have been curved. They ceded to the village lords and they had to perform the duties like a slave of grant holders. A striking feature to this phenomenon is noticeable in the *Harṣacarita*[36] of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the court poet of the king Harṣavardhana (606-647 A.D.) that the grant holders (*agrahārika*) from the villages followed by the village elders (*grāma-mahattara*) carrying pitchers filled with water on their up-raised hands, as a mark of good omen, had to come on the route to welcome the king Harṣa, when he was on his military expedition. This may be taken to reflect the real spirit of the age which seems to have been widely practised. A *Purāṇic* text also throws some revealing light on this point. The *Agni-Purāṇa*,[37] which has generally been taken to reflect the socio-political conditions of the first phase of the early medieval period, in an allegory suggests that the village headman should have complete control over big village people as mind does

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33. R.S. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

34. *Loc. cit.*, p. 245, 301.

35. R.S. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

36. *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, ed. by P.V. Kane, Delhi, 1973 (reprint) Act VII, p. 58. The line runs __________ *kacinnarapati-darśanakutūhalādubhayataḥ prajavita-grāmeyaka janapadam, mārgagrāmanirgatairāgrahārikajālmaiḥ puraḥsarajaranmaha-ttarottambhitāmbhaḥ kumbhairupāyanākṛta.*

37. Ed. by Baldeo Upadhyaya, Varanasi, 1966, 165. 11-12, the verse reads as "-------------*Bahirmukhāni sarvāṇi - kṛtvā cābhimukhāni vai/ manasyevendriya-grāmam manaścātmani yojayeta.*"

have over his five senses. From the above allegorical expression and the way in which it advises it is evident that the village autonomy of this period was severely affected.

There were several causative factors of the declining village autonomy in this period. A few of them may be noticed here to illustrate the same. It goes without saying that the whole country was parcelled out among several states in absence of a strong central political authority. The freqeunt feudal wars,[38] too, gave an impetus to this phenomenon. As a result more and more village headmen had started becoming free from their obligations to the village people on the one hand and started extracting excessive and arbitrary taxes on the other. With the growing tendency to land grants the feudal elements must have also gained importance. The combined evidence of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*[39] and Hiuen Tsang's account[40] bear the testimony to it. They reveal that the officers were mostly paid in shape of land grants. Hence it may reasonably be inferred from this that the village headman was generally paid in shape of land. In the succeeding centuries we get copious epigraphic references to the village grants made to officers or Brāhmaṇas.[41] In such an environment, we find that the role of the village headman of earlier times had been smothered with the role of donee of a village concerned in the first phase of the early medieval period ranging between C. 600 and 1000 A.D. In fact, they and the donees had become identical during this phase and this seems to have been led to the emergence of landed aristocracy.[42] They acquired the status of the village lord.[43] A few inscriptions[44] found from Bengal region ranging between ninth and the first

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38. Medhātithi on *Manu,* VII, 127, *ibid.,* VIII, 156, L. Gopal, *Economic Life of Northern India* (*ELNI*), Varanasi, 1965, pp. 102-03, 254-55; SCNI, pp. 206 f; O.P. Srivastava, *Oppressive Features* of Commercial Taxation During the Early Medieval India', *Prāchya Pratibhā,* Nos. 1-2, 1983, pp. 65-73.

39. Ed. by J. Vidyasagar, Calcutta, 1892, p. 93.

40. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* (A.D. 629-645), Delhi, 1973 (second edition) part I, p. 176.

41. R.S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism* (*IF*), Delhi, 1980 (second edition) land grants for services pp. 61-62, 71-72, 130-136, 138, 148, 155-156, 164, 168, 173, 186, 195-96; land grant to Brāhmaṇas *ibid.,* pp. 139, 146, 160-61, 171-172, 175, 214, 222.

42. *SCNI,* Chap. III, *ELNI,* pp. 16-17, *IF,* pp. 39, 62, 232, 236.

43. *CBI,* pp. 168, 175, 182, 202, 215.

44. *ELNI,* pp. 16 ff; *SCNI,* Ch. 3. *IF,* pp. 13 ff; 93 ff, 96 ff.

half of the eleventh centuries mention the word *grāmapati* for the village headman instead of *mahattaras* or *mahattakas* who are enumerated among the employees of the lowest strata depending on royal favour (*rājapādopajīvinaḥ*). This shows that the village headman had got complete command over the village people. The references to transfer and sale of the land ownership as well as the right to transfer and expelling the actual tiller from the field by the ruling chiefs are not inconspicuous and unimposing.[45] An inscription[46] from Kaman (Bharatpur) speaks of a certain person Uṇataṭa as owner of a village. Another epigraph[47] from Hazaribagh district of Bihar province, also refers to the transfer of three villages including ruling rights to some three brothers by the king. In view of the above facts it would not be incorrect to say that 'these local chiefs or the village lords would have converted their power of administration into the claims of rulership and ownership'.[48] They sometimes transfered this ownership to donee along with the people (*parijana-sameta* or *saprajā*[49]). Such incidence could permeate only in a weakened central political authority.

Apart from these, in a few epigraphs of this phase the term *mahattar*[50] or *mahattam*[51] or *mahattaka*[52] is mentioned denoting a village headman, whereas the same has been taken to denote the village elders in post Mauryan and early Gupta times. A few inscriptions[53] from Bengal region refer to *grāmapati* (village lord) as village chief. This deviation may be

45. *CBI*, pp. 168, 175, 182, 202, 215.

46. *Epigraphia Indica*, (*EI*), XXIV, p. 336, ll. 19-21.

47. *ELNI*, p. 17., *EI*, III, 343.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 23 ff; IF, pp. 43-48; B.N.S. Yadava, Presidential Address (PA), Ancient India Section, entitled 'The Problem of the Emergence of Feudal Relations in Early India', *Proceedings of the Indian History*, Bombay 1980 (XLI Session), pp. 25 ff.

49. *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 9 ff, vide D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy* (*IE*), p. 363, idem, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on India History and Civilization*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1983, pp. 42, 51, 64, 68, 92, 97-98, 279, 318-19, 360-61, 404-462, 475, 488, 496, 500, 525, 532, 727-28; *CBI*, pp. 119, 131.

50. *Sel. Inscr.* Vol. II, pp. 75, 280; EI, XXXI, pp. 282-83, 289.

51. *Sel. Inscr.* Vol. II, pp. 149, 279, 281, 480, 490.

52. *Ibid.*, pp. 149, 279, 281, 480, 490.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 84; *CBI*, pp. 168, 175, 182, 202, 215.

accounted for regional variation. It is interesting that in some of the inscriptions[54] of the ninth and the early eleventh centuries the term *mahā-mahattara* or *mahā-mahattaka* occurs. Since the *mahattara* or *mahattama* was the village headman, the *mahā-mahattara* appears to have been the head of a council of the village headman representing less than ten villagers.[55]

Thus, the village autonomy is discernible in the power and privileges enjoyed by the donees as well as the village lords; and their obligation to the village people. The epigraphs of the early phase of the early medieval period reveal that the villagers were required to listen to the orders of the donee or village lord and to carry them out[56], to perform personal services to him[57] and to work as messengers in addition to payment of their dues.[58] The share cropping[59] by the village people at the rates arbitrarily imposed by the village lords, the practice of mortgaging land[60], the restrictions imposed on the movement of peasants, artisans and other humble village folk[61] and peasants subjection by lending money[62] had not only associated them with

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54. *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 9 ff; *EI*, XXIX, p. 85; *Ibid.*, XXVIII, pp. 215-216; *Sel. Inscr.*, Vol. II, pp. 64, 68, 131, 137, 149, 727-28.

55. Cf. D.C. Sircar, *IE*, p. 365.

56. EI, II, no. 30; *Ibid.*, IX, nos. 21, 39; XXIII, nos. 3, 9; *CII*, nos. 25, 26, 40.

57. *EI*, XXVIII, no. 2.

58. *Ibid.*, XII, no. 17.

59. B.N.S. Yadava's article published in the *Land System and Feudalism* ed., D.C. Sircar, Calcutta.

60. R.S. Sharma, 'Usury in Medieval India', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. III, oct. 1965, pp. 68 f, 70f., idem, *Perspective in Social and Economic History of Early India* (*PSEHEI*), New Delhi, 1983, pp. 206 f, 208 ff.

61. B.N.S. Yadava, 'Immobility and Subjection of Indian Peasantry in Early Medieval Complex,' *The Indian Historical Review* (*IHR*), Vol. II, no. 1, March 1974, pp. 18-27; idem, *SCNI*, pp. 163 ff.

62. For the peasant subjection by the instrumentality of money lending for consumption. See B.N.S. Yadava, "The Accounts of the Kali Age and the Social Transition from Antiquity to the Medieval Ages", *IHR*, Vol. V no. 1-2, pp. 41-42, 45; idem, "The Problem -------', *PIHC*, Bombay, 1980, pp. 30, 39; R.S. Sharma, 'Usury--------' *Comparative Studies----------*, Vol. III, pp. 60, 65; O.P. Srivastava, ' Rate of Interest During the Early Medieval India', *PIHC*, Kurukshetra, 1982, p.123; *ELNI*, p. 246.

landgrants but also they were different sorts of virtual attack on their autonomy. The ejectment or expulsion of actual tiller must have reduced them to the status of lower peasantry. Apart from these languishing state of money economy characterized by paucity of coins,[63] decay of towns,[64] trade[65] and industry[66], and imposition of burdensome taxes[67] may have contributed, to a considerable extent, to the decreasing significance of urban life. In turn this would have led to the growth of the self-sufficient economy in which the villages played the most prestigeous role of its axle. As a natural sequel to it the village assembly appears to have lost its age old status and its free functioning was completely checked during this phase. Thus, the village autonomy suffered at the most during this period.

During the later phase of the early medieval period (ranging between the eleventh and the twelfth centuries A.D.) the similar conditions prevailed. The villages formed the integral part of a kingdom in which the village headman was known as *paṭṭakila* or *grāmaṇī*.[68] The *Śukranītisāra,* though a text of the nineteenth century,[69] but has some definite evidence to show that it incorporates some social and economic idea of the early medieval period. In this work[70] the village headmen appear as powerful, and influential persons as they are described as protecting the villagers not only

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63. *IF,* pp. 53-54, 105-106; SCNI, p. 283; O.P. Srivastava, 'Śulka in Ancient and Early Medieval India', *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrita Vidyapeetha,* Vol. XXXVII, pp. 159-60; Yadava's *PIHC,* Bombay, 1980, pp. 52-53.

64. Y.D. Sharma, "Exploration of Historical Sites', *Ancient India,* No. 9, 1953, pp. 116 ff; R.S. Sharma, 'Decay of Gangetic Towns', *PHIC,* Muzaffarpur, 1972; idem, '*Ibid., Journal of Indian History,* golden jubilee volume 1973, pp. 135 ff; idem, 'Problem of Transition from Ancient to Medieval in Indian History', *IHR,* Vol. 1, no. 1 (1974), p. 5; *SCNI,* p. 141.

65. *IF,* pp. 53-55, 59, 101-02; *SCNI,* pp. 270-275; *IHR,* Vol. V p. 50; *PIHC,* Bombay, pp. 51-53; O.P. Srivastava, 'Śulk in Ancient ---------', *G.N.J.,* pp. 154-155.

66. *SCNI,* pp. 262-63.

67. *IF,* pp. 115-116; *GN Jha,* XXXVII, p. 151; O.P. Srivastava, 'Oppressive Features of Commercial Taxation During the Early Medieval India', *Prachya Pratibha* (forthcoming Vol.).

68. *SCNI,* p. 239.

69. L. Gopal, *The Śukranīti, A Text of Nineteenth century,* Varanasi, 1978, p. 108.

70. *SCNI,* p. 239.

against the robbers and theives but also against the royal officers. The village chiefs were as powerful as the village headmen of earlier centuries.[71] They still continued to be an important element of landed aristocracy the ever increasing menace to the autonomy of villages. However some elements of the village autonomy may be traced in the historical materials relating to this phase. Some inscriptions of the Chāhamāna,[72] Chaulukyas[73] of Gujarat and of the kalachuri[74] rulers refer to *pañcakula,* the assembly of five elders in a village. This may be taken to suggest that there was some form of local self government. Some glowing evidence of the village autonomy are found in a few records of this period. In the post tenth-eleventh and the twelfth centuries the status of *pañcakula* was better than one they occupied in the earlier centuries, for in records[75] of the twelfth - thirteenth century the *pañcakulas* are mentioned as a *tanniyukta* i.e., appointed by the ruler or his, representative, as compared to Siyadoni inscription[76] of late Pratihāra period in which *pañcakula* is mentioned as *tatpādādhiṣṭhita* i.e., appointed to the feet of lord. The latter version i.e., *tatpādādhiṣṭhita* obviously denotes the greater domination of ruler over the board of *pañcakulas.*[77] This shows that the status of the village headman of late phase declined as compared to that he enjoyed in the pre-tenth centuries, for in the later epigraphs[78] of the Bengal region the village headman is referred to as *grāmaṇī* i.e., head of the village and in the

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71. See *Supra* , *SCNI,* pp. 238-39; *ELNI,* Chap. 1, *IF,* Chap. VI.

72. *EI,* XI, pp. 50, 58; D. Sharma, *Rajasthan Through the Ages,* Bikaner, 1966, pp. 350 ff; idem, *Early Chauhān Dynasties* (*ECD*), Delhi, 1975, pp. 231-32.

73. *Indian Antiquary* (*IA*), XI, pp. 220, 241; XVIII, p. 110; A.K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat,* Bombay, 1956, pp. 237 f.

74. *CII,* IV, 369-74, 382, 573; V.V. Mirashi, *Kalachuri Nareśa aur Unkā Kāla* (Hindi), Bhopal, 1965, pp. 56-58.

75. *EI,* XI, p. 58, Two records from Bhinmal published in the *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency,* Vol. I, part I, nos. XII and XV, pp. 480, 185.

76. *EI,* I, pp. 176 ff, 11. 10, 29, 30, 36.

77. Cf. D. Sharma, *Rajasthan Through the Ages,* pp. 350-351. Sharma maintains that in the Pratihāra period the status of *pañcakula* was better than one they occupied in the post-Pratihāra period, (*Loc. cit.*).

78. For example Mehar Copper Plate Inscription of Damodar (Śaka 1156), *Sel. Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 124; *SCNi,* p. 239.

earlier records[79] from the same region he has been described as *grāmapati* i.e. the village lord. It is worthwhile to mention that there is a deviation which is understandable. Earlier to this phase the term *grāmaṇī* occurs in the texts of Mauryan and pre-Mauryan times denoting the village headman when the villages were largely autonomous.[80] There is no historical material right from Kuṣāṇa times to the tenth-eleventh century, except the lexicons (*kośas*) which conventionally refers to term *grāmaṇī*. The disappearence of this term for such a long period may be accounted for state of decreasing significance of the village assembly, in the early centuries of the Christian era. In the post Gupta times it touched the lowest point of its ebb on account of increasing significance of the landed aristocracy and other feudal tendencies. The Verāvala inscription of Arjunadeva, dated A.D. 1264, furnishes a proof to the growing better status of the *pañcakulas* (village assembly). It[81] mentions that a Muslim purchased a piece of land near Somanatha-pattana with the permission of *pañcakula* and two *ācāryas*. Similarly the Lalrai stone inscription[82] of Kelhaṇadeva Chāhamāna, dated V.S. 1233, mentions that a piece of land was donated in the presence of the *pañcakula* (probably with the consent of village assembly). This shows that the consent of the *pañcakula* may have been sought to render some valid transactions.

The literary texts of this period also make mention of the *pañcakula*. For the village assembly, this term is referred to in the *Bṛahat-kathā-Kośa*[83] of Hariṣeṇa (10th century), the *Lokaprakāśa*[84] of Kṣemendra (11th century), the *Moharāja-parājaya*[85] of Yaśapāla, the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*[86] of *Merutuṅga*, and in the *Samarāditya-kathā*,[87] a sanskrit translation of

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79. *CBI*, 182, 202, 215.
80. See A.N. Bose, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76, R.C. Majumdar *op. cit.*, pp. 124 ff.
81. *IA*, XI, p. 241.
82. *EI*, XI, p. 50.
83. Singhi Jain Granthamālā, Kathā no. 121.
84. Ed., J.Z. Shastri, Kashmir Text Series, no. 75, Srinagar 1947, p. 4.
85. Ed., C.D. Dalal, GOS no. IX, Baroda, 1918, act. III, p. 57.
86. Ed., Jain Vijai Muni, SJS, No. 1, Śāntiniketan, 1933, Tr. C.H. Tawney, 1901, pp. 18, 26.
87. D. Sharma, *op.cit.*,p. 351.

the *Samarāiccakahā* of *Haribhadra* Sūri, all composed in the twelfth-, throws some light on some significant aspect of socio-economic history thir teenth century.The *Lekhapaddhati*,[88] a collection of model documents of the Maru-Gurjan region, also makes mention of the *pañcakula* which used to proclaim the royal orders, recognised the sole, or purchase of a piece of land, grant of land and issue the concession letter to traders of the village concerned. *Vijñāeśvara*, who wrote the *Mitākṣara* (12th cent.) and the Devaṇabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Smṛti-candrikā* (13th century) also have some bearing on this aspect of village life. They flourished, undoubtedly, in South India but their work had become popular in North India within a few years of the dates of their composition. Therefore, the testimony of these law books may be taken into account while dealing with the history of northern India. In this context *Vijñāeśvara*[89] formulates that the public works such as irrigation project and temple building should be entrusted to the village community. Similarly Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa[90] suggests that in any articular situation arising out of emergency the villagers should form an assembly to remove their difficulties. In view of the above factual evidence Prof. Yadava's[91] remark that the *pañcakula* (the village assembly) was the precursor of the modern *pañcakula* is largely true. However, we would like to add a foot note to it that there would have probably been a bigger organization (*pañcakula*) representing a few villages like the council of the village *mahattaras* of the first phase which were, sometimes, asked to perform their duties in association with the *amātyas*, provincial officers and with the officials of the districts.[92] For example, a Chandella grant[93] of early thirteenth century mentions *pañcakula* adjucating upon the disputes of

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88. *Lekhapaddhati*, (*LP*), ed. by C.D. Dalal and G.K. Shrigondekar, Baroda, 1925, pp. 9-13, 16, 50.

89. Vijñ. on *Yājñ*, II, 150-152, 154, 272.

90. *Smṛticandrikā* (*vyavahārakāṇḍa*), tr. by J.R. Gharpure, part II, p. 445 (text. p. 231). Similar association for towns is also referred to in this book (*ibid.*, p. 449).

91. *SCNI*, pp. 239-40.

92. For details regarding association of the *pañcakulas* with amātyas and other officials see A.K. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-39.

93. *EI*, XXV, 5; ed., R.C. Majumdar, *The Struggle For Empire*, Bombay, 1957 (first edition), p. 275.

merchants. Similarly there is a reference to joint committee[94] of *Karṇikas* and *pañcakula*, former representing the officials and the latter the popular element. The *Lekhapaddhati*[95] also describes them as arbitrating in disputes, granting concession certificates to traders, collecting state revenue etc. Thus, in granting state land it was, probably, obligatory to receive the assent of the *pañcakula* of the concerned village by governor or officials failing which the grant made by them would have been regarded as grant made from their personal property.[96] So was the case in Bengal region in Gupta times.[97] In the succeeding four centuries following the fall of the Gupta empire it is difficult to trace any reference of this nature.

Thus, the foregoing survey reveals that in view of the armed disturbance the rights of the village assembly for the first time, were curtailed to a considerable extent by the foreign rulers, like the Śaka and Kuṣāṇa kings. The Gupta kings added an impetus to it by enhancing the political and economic rights of the *mahattara* (the village headmen) of his times. Owing to increased character of landed aristocracy the village autonomy suffered most in the period ranging from 600 A.D. to 1000 A.D. The occurrence of much-less reference to *pañcakula* in the inscriptions and texts 'of this period, and on the contrary and abundance of references, both literary and epigraphic, to the same in the later centuries is a quite significant feature which shows that there may have been some elements of the village autonomy during second phase of this period. Beṣides, the village headmen appear to have loosened their control, to some extent, over their village people on account of redeveloping money economy and urban life[98] including coinage[99], traffic and

94. D. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

95. *LP*, pp. 9-13, 16, 50.

96. Cf. A.K. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 238-39.

97. See *Supra*.

98. *SCNI*, pp. 240 ff. 275 ff; *ELNI*, pp. 236-39; *IF*, pp. 119-202.

99. *SCNI*, pp. 282-83; *ELNI*, Chap. IX; *IF*, pp. 207-212; L. Gopal, *Early Medieval Coin Types of Northern India*, Varanasi, 1966 (all the chapters); P.C. Roy, *The Coinage of Northern India* (*The Early Rajaputa Dynasties from the 11th tohe 13th centuries A.D.*), New Delhi, 1980, (all chapters).

industry[100]. The frequent alien attacks,[101] also, seem, to have paved the way for revivifying village autonomy.

It is interesting to note that the tendency to the declining village autonomy starts with the arrival of Śaka-Kuṣāṇa kings and reaches to its height after Hūṇa invasion between C. 600 and 1000 A.D. The symptoms of its recession become identifiable after the Ghaznavid invasion.

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100. For the growth of trade see *SCNI,* pp. 275 ff; *ELNI,* chaps. V, VI and VII, pp. 238-39; For industry See *SCNI,* pp. 263 ff; R.C. Majumdar (ed.) *op. cit.,* pp. 516-24.

101. For the Ghazanavids and Turkish invasions see R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *ibid.,* pp. 1-5, 116-129, or any other book dealing with the political history of the 10th and 12th centuries A.D.

कौटिल्य अर्थशास्त्र में भौगोलिक वृत्तान्त

डॉ० संतोषकुमार वाजपेयी

सागर

भारत का ऐतिहासिक भूगोल जानने के लिए पुरातत्त्वीय अवशेषों एवं विदेशी यात्रियों के विवरण के अतिरिक्त साहित्यिक साक्ष्य स्रोत रूप में अत्यन्त सहायक सिद्ध हुए हैं। जिस प्रकार वैदिक और उत्तर वैदिककालीन भारत के भौगोलिक स्वरूप का पता तत्कालीन साहित्य से चलता है, उसी प्रकार ऐतिहासिक काल के आरम्भिक शताब्दियों का भौगोलिक परिचय भी विविध साहित्य में मिलता है। इनमें बौद्ध तथा जैन साहित्य के अतिरिक्त पाणिनि की **अष्टाध्यायी, कौटिल्य अर्थशास्त्र,** मेगस्थनीज की **इंडिका** आदि विशेष उल्लेखनीय ग्रंथ हैं।

अर्थशास्त्र और **इंडिका** दोनों ग्रंथों की रचना मौर्यकाल में हुई थी। **अर्थशास्त्र** अर्थ एवं नीति का एक बृहत् कोष है। इसके रचयिता कौटिल्य हैं। **इंडिका** में मेगस्थनीज ने अपने भारत–यात्रा के विवरणों को संकलित किया है। यह ग्रंथ अब उपनब्ध नहीं है, किंतु इसके विवरण एरियन, स्ट्रेबो, प्लिनी, सॉलिनस आदि लेखकों ने प्रकाशित किये हैं। इनसे यह पता चलता है कि मेगस्थनीज ने मौर्य सम्राट चंद्रगुप्त के समय पाटलिपुत्र की अनेक बार यात्रा की थी। वह काबुल नदी पार कर पंजाब तथा मध्यदेश होकर पाटलिपुत्र पहुँचा था। उसे अपनी इस यात्रा में जो स्थान मिले, उनका भौगोलिक विवरण दिया गया है। किन्तु जिन स्थानों पर वह स्वयं नहीं गया उनकी समुचित जानकारी नहीं दी गयी है।

इंडिका की अपेक्षा **अर्थशास्त्र** की भौगोलिक जानकारी अधिक व्यापक है। इसमें **अष्टाध्यायी** और अशोक के अभिलेखों से कहीं अधिक सूचना समाविष्ट है। कौटिल्य को मौर्यकालीन भारतवर्ष की पर्याप्त जानकारी थी। वह स्वयं तो तक्षशिला का रहनेवाला था किंतु मगध साम्राज्य के विस्तृत परिक्षेत्र का उसे भलीभांति ज्ञान था। वह मौर्य राजा चंद्रगुप्त और बिंदुसार का मंत्री और प्रमुख सलाहकार रहा था। उसे उत्तर भारत के अतिरिक्त दक्षिण, पश्चिम और पूर्व भारत के नगरों, जनपदों, पर्वतों, नदियों इत्यादि का पता था। विशाल मौर्य साम्राज्य की सीमाओं से वह परिचित था। **अर्थशास्त्र** में भारत के निकटवर्ती राज्यों और देशों का उल्लेख मिलता है जिनके साथ भारत के व्यापारिक संबंध स्थापित हो गये थे। इस प्रकार **अर्थशास्त्र** में मौर्यकालीन भारतवर्ष के निश्चित स्वरूप और उसके भौगोलिक वृत्तान्त का दिग्दर्शन होता है।

अर्थशास्त्र के प्रणेता कौटिल्य की तिथि नंद–मौर्य वंश के समकालीन ईसवी पूर्व चौथी–तीसरी शताब्दी मानी गयी है।[१] काणे के अनुसार **अर्थशास्त्र** की रचना **मनुस्मृति** के पूर्व

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१. गौतम एन० द्विवेदी, **द एज ऑफ कौटिल्य,** आगरा वि० वि० एक्सटेंशन लेक्चर्स, १९६६, पृ० २७

हुई थी। **मनुस्मृति** की रचना शुंगकाल में हुई थी। अतः **अर्थशास्त्र** निश्चित रूप से ईसवी पूर्व तीसरी शताब्दी के पूर्वार्ध में रचित हुआ होगा।[२]

कौटिल्य ने चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य के साथ मिलकर पहले पश्चिमोत्तर भारत पर अपना अधिकार किया । बाद में नंदों को पराजित कर मगध साम्राज्य को जीता। सेल्युकस से की गयी संधि के फलस्वरूप चंद्रगुप्त को अराकोशिया, ग्रेडोशिया, एरियाना और पैरापेनिसेडाय के क्षेत्र भेंट में मिले थे। इस प्रकार उत्तर से लेकर दक्षिण तक और पूर्व से पश्चिम तक भारत के एक बड़े क्षेत्र में विशाल मौर्य साम्राज्य की स्थापना हुई। इसे कौटिल्य ने "राष्ट्र" के नाम से संबोधित किया है और देशान्तर्गत भारत–भूमि का विस्तृत क्षेत्र बताया है।

राष्ट्र

कौटिल्य का राष्ट्र से तात्पर्य विशाल मौर्य साम्राज्य से है। उन्होंने राष्ट्र को स्वयमेव उद्देश्यपूर्ण कहा है।[३] उन्होंने एक शक्तिशाली और प्रभुत्व संपन्न राष्ट्र की परिकल्पना की है।

देश

कौटिल्य के देश से भारत के उस विशाल भौगोलिक परिक्षेत्र का बोध होता है जिसके भीतर जनपद, पर्वत, नदी आदि थे। उनका देश से तात्पर्य संपूर्ण पृथ्वी से है। इसमें वह भाग उत्तम कहा गया है "जो समुद्र से हिमालय पर्वत उत्तर तक हजार योजन के क्षेत्र में फैला हुआ है। इसमें तिर्यक् क्षेत्र सम्मिलित नहीं है, किंतु आरण्य जांगलिक, ग्राम्य, पात प्रपात, पार्वत पर्वतीय, औदक जलपूर्ण, भौम भूमिमय, सम तथा विषम प्रदेश सम्मिलित हैं।[४]" कौटिल्य ने भारत की उत्तर से दक्षिण तक की दूरी १००० योजन बतायी है। देश की चार दिशाएं–पूर्व व पश्चिम २.२ तथा उत्तर और दक्षिण ७.११ उल्लिखित हुई हैं।

काल

काल से तात्पर्य सर्दी, गर्मी तथा वर्षा ऋतु से है। इसकी विशेषता रात्रि, दिन, पक्ष, मास, ऋतु, आयन, दक्षिणायन तथा उत्तरायण, संवत्सर, युग आदि बतलायी गयी है ६.१ तथा २.२०। १५ दिन का एक पक्ष, दो पक्ष का एक महीना तथा दो मास की एक ऋतु होती है। ऋतुओं में वर्षा, शरद, हेमन्त, शिशिर, वसन्त, ग्रीष्म आदि का उल्लेख हुआ है।

जनपद

जनपद निवेश २.१ के संबंध में यह उल्लेख हुआ है कि "परदेश या स्वदेश के निवासियों द्वारा शून्य या नवीन जनपद को बसाया जाये। उसमें प्रत्येक ग्राम की सीमा एक कोस से दो कोस तक विस्तृत हो । जनपद की सीमाएं नदी, पहाड़, जंगल, पेड़, गुहा, नहर, तालाब, सींभल, पीपल, बड़ आदि से नियत की जायें"। जनपद के कतिपय गुण भी निर्धारित

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२. आर० शामशास्त्री, ने **अर्थशास्त्र** का रचनाकाल ई० पू० ३२१ से २९६ के मध्य माना है। **कौटिल्य अर्थशास्त्र, मैसूर**, १९२३, भूमिका।

३. इन्द्र, **कौटिल्य अर्थशास्त्र**, दिल्ली, १९६७, पृ० १०

४. विद्यालंकार, अनु० **कौटिल्य अर्थशास्त्र**, काशी, १९२३

किये गये हैं, "जैसे वह विस्तृत स्थानवान् हो, हाथी के जंगलों से युक्त हो, नहर, तालाब, कुंए के पानी से सिंचित हो और जलीय तथा स्थलीय मार्ग से युक्त हो।"

अर्थशास्त्र में मध्य देश के अनेक जनपदों के नाम मिलते हैं। चारों दिशाओं के अन्तर्गत पूर्व, पश्चिम, उत्तर और दक्षिण के जनपद वर्णित हुए हैं। उनका विवरण निम्नानुसार है–

मध्यदेश

१ दशार्ण २.२ – बेतवा और धसान नदियों का मध्यवर्ती भूभाग था, जो विदिशा से लेकर सागर तक विस्तृत था।[५] यहां हाथी बड़ी संख्या में होते थे। २ मध्यम राष्ट्रक २.११– महाकोसल अथवा दक्षिण कोसल में स्थित था।[६] यहाँ से हीरा प्राप्त होता था। ३ महिष २.११ – अर्थात् माहिष्मति। वर्तमान महेश्वर[७] और ४ वत्स २.११– ये दोनों स्थान सूती कपड़ों के लिए प्रसिद्ध थे। वत्स प्राचीन महाजनपद भी था जिसमें इलाहाबाद जिला और मिर्जापुर तथा बांदा के कुछ भाग सम्मिलित थे। इसकी राजधानी कौशाम्बी थी।[८] ५ पांचाल ११.१ और कुरु ११.१ – ये दोनों संघ राज्य थे। पांचाल जनपद में रुहेलखण्ड और उसका समीपवर्ती भाग सम्मिलित था। उत्तर पांचाल की राजधानी अहिच्छत्रा २.११और दक्षिण पांचाल की कांपिल्य थी।[९] मेरठ और दिल्ली के भूभाग पर प्राचीन कुरु जनपद स्थित था।[१०] ७ अटवी ६.१– अर्थात् आटविक क्षेत्र । समुद्रगुप्त के प्रयाग–प्रशस्ति में आटविक राज्यों का उल्लेख हुआ है। संभवतः मथुरा से नर्मदा तक की भूमि को विन्ध्याटवी कहते थे।[११] ८ मेकल २.१६–यहाँ लोहे तथा पत्थर के बॉट बनते थे। मेकल पर्वत अमरकण्टक में विंध्य श्रृंखला का एक भाग है, जहाँ से नर्मदा नदी निकलती है।[१२]

पूर्व

१ अंग और २ करूष जनपदों २.२ में हाथी उत्तम प्रकार के होते थे। उस समय वहाँ सघन वन थे। अंग जनपद विहार के भागलपुर और समीपवर्ती भाग में स्थित था।[१३] करूष देश विहार के जिला शाहबाद के दक्षिण में शोण और कर्मनासा नदियों के मध्य स्थित था।[१४] ३ पूर्ण द्वीप तथा ४ सुवर्णकुड्य २.११ – ये दोनों स्थान असम के कामरूप क्षेत्र में स्थित थे।[१५] ये तैल पर्णिक चन्दन के लिए प्रसिद्ध थे। ५ पारलौहित्यक २.११ – यह भी असम के कामरूप क्षेत्र में था।[१६] इस स्थान में जाप, जोंग, ग्रामेरुक व तुरुप नामक चन्दन मिलता था। ६ वाङ्गक २.११ –

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५. बिमलचन्द लाहा, **हिस्टारिकल ज्यॉग्राफी आफ ऐंशिएन्ट इंडिया**, पृ० ३६६

६. नंदुलाल डे, वही, पृ० ११६

७. वही, पृ० १२०

८. वही, पृ० २८

९. वही, पृ० १४५

१०. वही, पृ० ११०

११. का० इं० इं०, III, पृ० १३, पा० टी० ४

१२. नंदुलाल डे, वही, पृ० १३०

१३. वही, पृ० ७

१४. मर्टिन, ईस्टर्न इंडिया, पृ० ४०५

१५. गौतम एन० द्विवेदी, **द एज ऑफ कौटिल्य**, पृ० २३

१६. वही, पृ० २३

वर्तमान बंगाल[१७] ७ पुंड्र देश २.११ अर्थात् पौंड्र । इसमें जिला माल्दा तथा पूर्णिआ, दीनजपुर और राजशाही का कुछ भाग सम्मिलित था।[१८] ८ मगध२.११,१६ – दक्षिण बिहार का गया तथा पटना जिला।[१९] पुंड्र तथा मंगध में वृक्षों की छाल के रेशे निकाले जाते थे। बिहार के ६ लिच्छवि तथा १० वृज्जि १.११ ये दोनों संघ राज्य थे। महाजनपद काल में लिच्छवियों की राजधानी वैशाली थी। वृज्जि आठ राज्यों का एक संघ था।

पश्चिम :१ सौराष्ट्र २.२ – यह गुजरात, कच्छ और काठियावाड़ का क्षेत्र था।[२०] यहाँ निकृष्ट कोटि के हाथी होते थे। २ बालूमय देश ६.१ – अर्थात राजस्थान का मरुस्थल क्षेत्र। यह कीचड़ तथा पानी से रहित देश था। ३ कुकुर ११.१ यह राजपुताना का एक संघराज्य था।[२१]

उत्तर :१ बाह्लव २.११ – हिमालय में स्थित बहलवेय है, जहां सामूर, चीनसी तथा सामूली नामक चमड़ा मिलता था।[२२] २ काम्भोज २.३० – अर्थात् कंबोण। यह वर्तमान अफगानिस्तान के पूर्वी भाग में था।[२३]

३ सैंधव २.३० सिन्धु नदी का क्षेत्र सैंधव कहलाता था। कंबोज और सैंधव दोनों तेज घोड़ों के लिए प्रसिद्ध थे। ४ आरटट २.३०– पंजाब का पांच नदियों द्वारा सिंचित क्षेत्र था।[२४] ५ वनायुज २.३०– अरब देश के लिए प्रयुक्त हुआ है।[२५] किंतु **पद्मपुराण** स्वर्ग, आदि अ० III में वानायवज जाति का उल्लेख हुआ है, जो भारत के उत्तर – पश्चिमी सीमा में रहती थी। आरटट तथा वनायुज घेाड़े सवारी के लिए उत्तम कहे गये हैं। ६ वाह्लीक २.३०– बैक्ट्रिया अर्थात् वर्तमान बल्ख । व्यास और सतलज के मध्य केकय जनपद के उत्तर में भी इसकी स्थिति मानी गयी है।[२६] ७ पापेयक, ८ सौवीर तथा ६ तैतल २.३०– यहाँ मध्यम प्रकार के घोड़े होते थे। इनमें से पापेय और तैतल की स्थिति ज्ञात नहीं है। सौवीर का उल्लेख **मार्कण्डेय पुराण** (अ० ५७) में सिंधु – सोवीर मिलता है । रैप्सन[२७] ने सौवीर को आधुनिक सिन्ध प्रान्त में और कनिंघम[२८] ने गुजरात में स्थित माना है। १० प्राजूज्जक ३.१८ से तात्पर्य प्राक् हूण अर्थात पूर्वी क्षेत्र के हूणों से है।[२९] वह हूणों की पूर्वी शाखा थी । ११ गंधार ३.१८– वर्तमान पेशावर और रावलपिण्डी क्षेत्र में

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१७. नंदुलाल डे, पृ० २२

१८. पार्जिटर, **ऐंशिएन्ट कन्ट्रीज़ इन ईस्टर्न इंडिया**, जे० ए० एस० बी०, १८७७, पृ० ८५

१९. नंदुलाल डे, पृ० ११६

२०. वही, पृ० १८३

२१. वही, पृ० १०६

२२. आर० शामशास्त्री, **कौटिल्यज अर्थशास्त्र**, पृ० ६८३

२३. नंदुलाल डे, पृ० ८७

२४. वही, पृ० १०

२५. वही, पृ० १२

२६. वही, पृ० १५

२७. रैप्सन, **ऐंशिएन्ट इंडिया**, पृ० १६८

२८. कनिंघम, **ऐंशिएन्ट ज्यॉग्रफी**, पृ० ४६७

२९. गौतम एन० द्विवेदी, **द एज ऑफ कौटिल्य** पृ० २३

था। इसकी राजधानियां तक्षशिला और पुष्पकलावती थी। १२ हारहूर २.२५ – वह अपनी विशेष मदिरा के कारण प्रसिद्ध था। पुराणों में हारहूर का उल्लेख पारद के साथ हुआ है।

महाभारत, बृहत्संहिता और **काव्यमीमांसा** में भी इसका उल्लेख हुआ है। डी० सी० सरकार ने पारद को खोरसन क्षेत्र पार्थियन माना है।[३०] मोतीचन्द्र ने हारहूर को हेरात क्षेत्र माना है। उनका मत है कि वह अफगानिस्तान में कीपशा के निकट स्थित था उस समय अफगानिस्तान के कंधार क्षेत्र में हरहवैती की घाटी अरगन्दाब से काले अंगूरों (हारहूर) की मदिरा आयात की जाती थी। १३ सातन २.१० – साकल अर्थात वर्तमान पाकिस्तान का सियालकोट।[३१] वह चन्दन के लिए प्रसिद्ध था। १४ मद्रक १.११ – यह संघ राज्य था। वर्तमान सियालकोट क्षेत्र में रावी और चेनाब नदियों का मध्यवर्ती भूभाग था।[३२] १५ पंचजन देश २.२– पंजाब में था ।[३३] १६ द्वादश ग्राम २.११– हिमालय में बारह गांवों का स्थित होना बताया गया है, जहां म्लेच्छ रहते थे। वहां बिसी तथा महाबिसी नामक चन्दन होते थे। १७ आरोह २.११ – हिमालय में स्थित अरोहज।[३४] वहां पांच प्रकार के चंदन मिलते थे। १८ काशी २.११– वाराणसी के आसपास का प्रदेश था। वहां कंबल बनाने के लिए विशेष प्रकार की सनिया होती थी तथा सूती कपड़े बनते थे। १६ काश्मक २.११– वाराणसी का निकटस्थ क्षेत्र । वहाँ से हीरा प्राप्त होता था। २० नेपाल २.११– कौटिल्य ने वहाँ से भिंगिसी नामक कंबल अत्यन्त प्रसिद्ध बताये हैं। नेपाल का सर्वप्रथम अभिलेखीय प्रमाण समुद्रगुप्त के 'प्रयाग प्रशस्ति' में मिलता है।

दक्षिण :

१ कलिंग २.२– वर्तमान उड़ीसा के दक्षिणी भाग में स्थित था।[३५] वहाँ के सूती कपड़े प्रसिद्ध थे। अशोक के लेखों में इसका उल्लेख हुआ है। २ ओड्र २.११– उड़ीसा का उत्कल अथवा श्रीक्षेत्र।[३६] इसका नाम अशोक के लेखों में नहीं मिलता है। ३ श्री कटनक २.११ – वेदोत्कट पर्वत का निकटस्थ क्षेत्र था। यह हीरे की प्राप्ति के लिए प्रसिद्ध था। ४ इन्द्रवानक २.११– कलिंग देश में था। यहाँ से हीरा मिलता था। ५ सभाराष्ट्रक २.११– विदर्भ देश में स्थित था यहाँ हीरे की खान थी। ६ मधुर २.११– अर्थात मदुरा।[३७] ७ अपरान्त २.११– कोंकण और मालाबार क्षेत्र।[३८] मदुरा और अपरान्त सूती कपड़ों के लिए प्रसिद्ध थे।

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३० . दिनेशचन्द्र सरकार, **स्टडीज इन ज्यॉग्रफी**, पृ० २४
३१ . रैप्सन, **ऐंशिएन्ट इंडिया**, पृ० १३०
३२ . विमल चरण लाहा, **वही**, पृ० १२३
३३ . अग्नि पु०, अ० १०६; **महाभारत**, कर्ण, अ० ४५
३४ . आर० शाम शास्त्री,**कौटिल्यज अर्थशास्त्र**, पृ० ८३
३५ . रैप्सन के अनुसार महानदी और गोदावरी नदियों के मध्य स्थित था, **ऐंशिएन्ट इंडिया**, पृ० १६४
३६ . नंदुलाल डे, पृ० १४२
३७ . इसे मथुरा भी माना जा सकता है, किन्तु अपरान्त के साथ नाम होने से दक्षिण का मदुरा मानना युक्तिसंगत है।
३८ . नंदुलाल डे, पृ० ६

नदी :१ ताम्रपर्णि २.११— प्राचीन पाण्ड्य देश के दक्षिणी भाग में बहने वाली नदी है। वर्तमान ताम्रवरी।[३९] यहाँ मोती बड़ी संख्या में मिलते थे।

२ पाशिक्य २.११— पाश नामक नदी है।[४०]

३ कौलेय २.११— कूल नामक नदी है, जो सिंहल द्वीप श्रीलंका में मयूर गांव के निकट बहती है।[४१]

४ चौर्णेय २.११— केरल में मुरची गांव के समीप बहने वाली चूर्ण नदी ।[४२]

५ कार्दमिक २.११— फारस की कार्दम नदी।[४३]

६ श्रौतसीय २.११— श्रौतसी नदी।[४४]

उपर्युक्त समस्त नदियों से मोती प्राप्त होते थे।

७ अन्धरवति २.११— असम के कामरूप में बहने वाली नदी है।[४५] यहां अन्तरवत्य नामक चन्दन होता था।

८ हादायी २.११— अथवा हद। यह बर्बर समुद्र–तट के निकट श्रीघण्ट नामक पुष्कर है।[४६]

पर्वत :

१ पाण्ड्यवाटक २.११— पाण्ड्यवाटक नामक पर्वत है, जो प्राचीन पाण्ड्य देश में मलयकोटि के नाम से ज्ञात था।[४७]

२ माहेन्द्र २.११— उड़ीसा से लेकर मदुरा तक की पूरी शृंखला महेन्द्र पर्वत कहलाती थी।[४८]

३ हैमवत २.११— हिमालय।

४ कौट २.११— कूट।[४९] यहां विशेष प्रकार की मणियां मिलती थी।

५ मौलेयक २.११— मौलि। वर्तमान रोहतास पर्वत।[५०] यह भी मणियों के लिए प्रसिद्ध था।

६ मणिमण्टक २.११— वर्तमान मणिचूड़ा, जो पूना से तीस मील पूर्व जेजुरी नगर के पश्चिम में है।[५१]

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३९. विमल चरण लाहा, वही, पृ० २१
४०. आर० शामशास्त्री, कौटिल्यज अर्थशास्त्र, पृ० ८३
४१. वही, पृ० ८३
४२. वही, पृ० ८३
४३. वही, पृ० ८३
४४. वही, पृ० ८३
४५. वही, पृ० ८३
४६. वही, पृ० ८३
४७. वही, पृ० ८३
४८. नंदुलाल डे, पृ० ११६
४९. आर० शामशास्त्री, कौटिल्यज अर्थशास्त्र, पृ० ८३
५०. नंदुलाल डे, पृ० १२६
५१. वही, पृ० १२५

७ वैदूर्य २.११– मान्धाता में ओंकारेश्वर के निकट अथवा गुजरात में विश्वामित्र नदी के उद्गम के पास अथवा सतपुड़ा श्रृंखला का वैदूर्य पर्वत।[५२]

८ इनके अतिरिक्त कालपर्वतक, कोशाकार पर्वतक, नाग पर्वतक, शीतोदकीय, औत्तार पर्वतक, उत्तर पर्वतक २.११ आदि का उल्लेख हुआ हे जहाँ से काले, लाल और पीले रंग का चन्दन मिलता था।

यात्रा-मार्ग :

भारत का आन्तरिक तथा विदेशों के साथ व्यापार होता था। प्रायः प्राकृतिक वस्तुओं का आयात–निर्यात अधिक होता था। व्यापारिक मार्ग को "वाणिक पथ" कहा गया है २.६ जिसके अन्तर्गत स्थल तथा नदी–मार्ग होते थे। जलीय मार्ग को "वारि पथ" कहा गया है ७.११ । वारि – पथ में स्थान–स्थान पर व्यापारिक नगर तथा बंदरगाह होते थे। जल–मार्ग से वस्तुएं भेजने हेतु बंदरगाह के नियम निर्धारित थे २.१६ । समुद्री–मार्ग तथा नदी–मार्ग दोनों गमनागमन हेतु उत्तम कहे गये हैं। इनमें खतरा कम रहता था। जल–मार्ग दो प्रकार के थे। कुल पथ समुद्र तट के किनारे का मार्ग और सम्मन पथ समुद्र के मध्य से होकर विदेश जाने वाला मार्ग। कुल पथ ज्यादा लाभदायक कहा गया है क्योंकि उससे अनेक बंदरगाह–नगरों में जाना संभव था। वर्षाकाल में जल–मार्ग उत्तम नहीं होते थे।[५३]

स्थल पथ (स्थलीय मार्ग) नित्य होने से अच्छा माना गया है। स्थल पथ को क्रमशः उत्तरपथ तथा दक्षिणपथ में विभाजित किया गया है। उत्तरपथ अथवा हैमवत पथ हिमालय को जाने वाला मार्ग दक्षिणपथ दक्षिण को जाने वाला मार्ग की अपेक्षा उत्तम है। दक्षिणपथ भी उत्तम है। किंतु इन सब में वाणिक्पथ को सर्वोत्तम बताया गया है, जो पूर्व तथा पश्चिम को जाता है।

भारत के पड़ोसी देशों का विवरण :भारत के पड़ोसी देशों के विवरणान्तर्गत प्रायः उन्हीं देशों का उल्लेख हुआ है जहाँ से भारत का व्यापार होता था और विभिन्न वस्तुएं आयात–निर्यात की जाती थीं। १ चीन भूमि २.११– भारत और चीन के मध्य स्थल तथा जल–दोनों मार्गो से व्यापार होता था। उस समय चीनी सिल्क की भारत में बहुत मांग थी, अतः उसे यहाँ आयात किया जाता था।

२ स्वर्णभूमि २.११– अर्थात् बर्मा। यहां सोना, चांदी, और रत्न बहुतायत में मिलते थे। फ़र्गुसन ने मर्तबन से चालीस मील उत्तर स्थित सीवंग नदी के थतोन क्षेत्र को प्राचीन स्वर्ण भूमि माना है।[५४]

३ पार समुद्रक २.११– समुद्र पार का क्षेत्र सिंहल द्वीप श्रीलंका कहलाता था।[५५] इसे अशोक के लेखों में तम्बपण्णि कहा गया है। पेरिप्लस ने पेलेसिमुन्दु कहा है। यहाँ मणियां, रत्न,

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५२. वही, पृ० १६

५३. राधाकृष्ण चौधरी, **कौटिल्यज पॉलिटिकल आइडियाज ऐंड इंस्टीट्यूशंस**, वाराणसी, १६७१, पृ० २८३

५४. नंदुलाल डे, पृ० १६८

५५. वही, पृ० १४८

चन्दन इत्यादि बहुत मिलता था। यहाँ के अशोक ग्रामिक नामक स्थान को तैलपर्णिक चन्दन के लिए प्रसिद्ध बताया गया है। २.११ ।

४ अलकन्दक २.११– इसका अभिज्ञान अलसन्द्र अर्थात् अलेक्जेन्ड्रिआ (सिकन्दरिया) से किया गया है, जिसे सिकन्दर ने बसाया था।[५६] यहाँ से लाल प्रवाल भारत में लाये जाते थे। भूमध्य सागर के लाल प्रवाल बहुत प्रसिद्ध थे।[५७] प्लिनी का यह कथन है कि भारत में प्रवाल उतने ही महंगे थे, जितने रोम में मोती थे। प्रवाल के अतिरिक्त सोना, मोती, रत्न आदि भी अलेक्जेन्ड्रिआ से समुद्री मार्ग द्वारा लाये जाते थे।

५ तुथोद्गत, गौडिक, कामलक, कबक तथा चाक्रवालिक २.१३– ये स्थान कंबोडिया के शन पठार में कुंब, तुत्थ, चक्रवाल आदि पर्वतों पर स्थित हैं।[५८] यहाँ श्वेत, चिकनी तथा मृदु चांदी होती थी, जिसे जलमार्ग द्वारा भारत में लाया जाता था।

६ वैवर्णक २.११– पश्चिमी भूमध्यसागर में यवन द्वीप के निकट स्थित विवर्ण अथवा वरवर नामक समुद्र द्वीप है,[५९] जहां से लाल और गुलाबी रंग के प्रवाल मंगाये जाते थे।

इस प्रकार **कौटिल्य अर्थशास्त्र** के भौगोलिक परिशीलन में विशाल मौर्य साम्राज्य के निर्माण का पता चलता है। इसमें साम्राज्य की सीमाओं, उसके पर्वतों, नदियों, जनपदों और व्यापारिक पथों की सम्यक् जानकारी मिलती है। वस्तुतः **अर्थशास्त्र** का भौगोलिक परिक्षेत्र केवल मौर्यकाल में ही सीमित न होकर ईसा पूर्व आरम्भिक शताब्दियों के भारतवर्षीय स्वरूप का दिग्दर्शन कराता है ।

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५६. गौतम एन० द्विवेदी, द एज ऑफ कौटिल्य, पृ० २२

५७. शामशास्त्री ने बर्बर समुद्र पर एक नदी के मुहाने का उल्लेख किया है, जहां प्रवाल होते थे । **कौटिल्याज अर्थशास्त्र**, पृ० ८३। भारत में सिंधु नदी के मुहाने पर बर्बर नामक नगर था जिसे पेरिप्लस ने बर्बेरिकम कहा है।

५८. गौतम एन० द्विवेदी, द एज ऑफ कौटिल्य, पृ० २३

५९. वही, पृ० २३

मालवगण से अनभिज्ञ कालिदास की तिथि

डा० रामचंद्र तिवारी

भोपाल (म० प्र०)

डा० राजबली पाण्डेय जैसे विद्वानों का मत है कि विक्रम संवत् का प्रवर्तन मालवगण—प्रमुख शकारि विक्रमादित्य ने उज्जयिनी में ५७ ई० पू० में किया था और उसी की सभा में कालिदास भी एक रत्न था । इस लेख में मालवों से कालिदास के संबंध पर समीक्षण का प्रयास किया जायेगा।

पुरातात्त्विक और कथात्मक दोनों प्रमाणों से सिद्ध है कि विक्रमादित्य मालववंशी नहीं था। राजस्थान के अणियारा क्षेत्र में प्राप्त ६००० मालव मुद्राओं पर मालव सरदारों के ४० नामों को कार्लायल ने पढ़ा है, विंसेट स्मिथ ने २० नामों को लिखा है। उन नामों में विक्रमादित्य या विक्रम जैसा कुछ भी नहीं है। ये बीस नाम हैं, जमक, जमकू, जमपय, मगच, मगज, मगजश, पगजव, मजुप मपक, मपय, मपोजय, मरज, मसप, मपमयन गजब गोजर, पच्छू, पय, यम और हरय। ये सब प्राकृत भाषा में प्राकृत नाम है। जैसे ग्रामीण अशिक्षित जन नचका, मंगरू, मिरुआ मेउना आदि नाम रख लेते हैं, वैसे ही ये मालव नाम भी हैं। इन मालव नामों में या शब्दों में वैदिकता, पौराणिकता, कलात्मकता या अन्य कोई सांस्कृतिक तत्त्व नहीं है। इन नामों या नामधारियों में विक्रमादित्य को खोजना या मानना, अनगढ़ कंकड़ों में भावमयी कलाकृति खोजना है। मालवों के ये नाम १५० ई० पू० से ३५० ई० तक के हैं। यदि इस अवधि में विक्रमादित्य नाम वाला कोई (असामान्य) गणप्रमुख हुआ होता तो उसका नाम अवश्य ही मुद्राओं पर अंकित किया जाता, जैसा कि उन मुद्राओं पर मुखिया का मुख अंकित किया गया है। इससे स्पष्ट है कि मालव सरदारों में विक्रमादित्य नाम वाला कोई भी सरदार या प्रमुख नहीं था, यदि होता तो मुख की तरह विक्रम नाम भी होता ।

समस्त साहित्यिक प्रमाण विक्रमादित्य को परमार या गर्दभिल्लवंशी ही लिखते हैं। सोमदेव और मेरुतुंग के अनुसार वह परमारवंशी था। जिन जैन कथाओं के आधार से विक्रम को संवत् प्रवर्तक माना जाता है वे सभी कथाएं विक्रम को गर्दभिल्लवंशी ही मानती हैं। कहीं—कहीं उसे मौर्य खारवेल, हूण या पवांर वंश का भी बताया गया है लेकिन उसे मालववंशी किसी ने भी नहीं लिखा। १०८८ ई० के देवचन्द्रसूरि की कालकाचार्य कथा में उसे 'मालवराय' अवश्य लिखा है जिसे १४ वीं सदी के मेरूतुंग ने भी ' विचारश्रेणि' में यथावत् लिख दिया है, किन्तु यह विशेषण उसी अर्थ में है, जिस अर्थ में १२वीं सदी के कल्हण ने परमारवंशी भोज को 'मालवाधिपतिर्भोजः' ७/१९० तथा ' मालवेन्द्र' ८/२२८ लिखा है। वस्तुतः कल्हण की तरह

देवचन्द्र सूरि ने भी मालव शब्द देश के अर्थ में प्रयुक्त किया है। संस्कृत के समस्त कोश भी मालव का अर्थ देश परक ही लिखते हैं, फिर जब मेरूतुंग स्वयं विक्रम को परमारवंशी लिखते हैं तब 'मालवराय' का अर्थ डा० पाण्डेय की तरह मालववंशी कैसे कर सकते हैं। वस्तुतः मालवराया माने 'मालव देश का राजा' क्योंकि उज्जैन में छठवीं सदी के उत्तरार्ध में ही मालव जन आए थे। बाण का **हर्षचरित** प्रमाण है।

साहित्यिक और पुरातात्त्विक समस्त प्रमाणों से यही सिद्ध होता है कि मालवगण उज्जैन में ई० पू० में नहीं आए फिर ई० पू० के शकों को परास्त करना और उज्जैन में संवत् चलाने का प्रश्न ही नहीं उठता । इसीलिए डी० सी० सरकार, एस० के० दीक्षित आदि विद्वान् ऐसा भी मानते हैं कि विक्रम संवत् की स्थापना सिंध में शकों या कुषाणों ने की और मालवगण जो उनके सामन्त थे, इस संवत् को सिंध से राजस्थान ले आए। **(इंडियन इकोनोग्राफी, पृ० २५७)**

वस्तुतः मालवगण कम से कम समुद्रगुप्त तक जयपुर–टोंक क्षेत्र में ही रहे। इसी क्षेत्र में स्वतंत्र और स्वयंप्रभु रहते हुए उन्होंने दिग्विजयी समुद्रगुप्त के प्रताप के सामने बिना लड़े ही सर झुका दिया था। डा० लाहा की यही मान्यता है– **हिस्टारिकल जिओग्राफी आफ इंडिया,** पृ० ३२२। उदयपुर के नान्दसा गांव में प्राप्त दूसरी सदी का यूप लेख तथा जयपुर–टोंक क्षेत्र में प्राप्त ६००० मालवी–सिक्के यही प्रमाणित करते हैं कि १५० ई० पू० से ३५० ई० पू० तक मालवगण पूर्वी राजस्थान में ही रहे। इसी क्षेत्र के उणियारा गांव को कार्लायल ने मालवों की टकसाल बताया था। उषवदात के नासिक अभिलेख के सन्दर्भ में डा० लाहा का मत है कि उसमें आए मालय शब्द से भी यही सिद्ध होता है कि ईसा की दूसरी सदी में मालवों का पूर्वी राजस्थान के नागर क्षेत्र पर अधिकार था (पूर्व लिखित ग्रंथ पृ० ३२२)।

मालवक आहारों का भी उल्लेख गुजरात के वलभी प्रदेश के दानपत्रों में ही मिलता है, उज्जैन में या अवन्ती में नहीं। यह भी इसी सत्य को पुष्ट करता है कि ६वीं सदी का वराहमिहिर जो उज्जैन के कायथ ग्राम का निवासी था मालवों को उत्तरी राष्ट्रों में गिनता है, अवन्ती, मालव और दशपुर का पृथक्शः उल्लेख करता है। वह मालवों को अम्बर, मुद्रक, पौरव, त्रिगर्तादि के साथ रखता है **(बृहत्संहिता ४/२७)**। वराहमिहिर के इस उल्लेख पर अजय मित्र शास्त्री लिखते हैं कि वर्तमान मालवा को छठवीं सदी में मालवा कहे जाने का एक भी प्रमाण नहीं है। स्पष्ट है कि वराहमिहिर के समय तक उज्जैन में मालवसत्ता या बस्ती भी नहीं थी ।

मंदसौर में वासुल और वत्सभट्टि कवि तो मालवसंवत् का प्रयोग करें लेकिन उज्जैन में रहकर भी वराहमिहिर कृत, मालव या विक्रम संवत् का प्रयोग नहीं करता, अपितु शक संवत् का प्रयोग करता है । वह स्पष्टतया शककाल, शकनृपकाल, शकेन्द्रकाल जैसे शब्दों का प्रयोग करता है। स्पष्ट है, वराहमिहिर कृत, मालव और विक्रम संवत् को नहीं जानता था, मालव और विक्रम से सम्बद्ध नहीं था। अतः उनकी सभा का रत्न होना तो दूर की बात है। अतः **ज्योतिर्विदाभरण** का नवरत्नवाद अप्रामाणिक है। मालवगण प्रमुख विक्रम का सभारत्न, न तो मालवों को उत्तरी राष्ट्रों में गिनाएगा और न ही उनके शत्रुओं शकों के संवत् का प्रयोग करेगा। अतः अकेले वराहमिहिर ही ५७ ई० पू० उज्जैन में मालव–प्रमुख द्वारा संवत्–प्रवर्तन की आधुनिक कल्पना को निर्मूल सिद्ध कर देते हैं।

बाण– पूर्व किसी भी लेखक ने उज्जैन में मालवों की चर्चा नहीं की। भास और कालिदास भी, अवन्ती और उज्जयिनी के विस्तृत वर्णन में भी, मालव शब्द का प्रयोग, किसी भी प्रसंग में नहीं करते। कालिदास एक मालविका को जानते हैं, लेकिन वह वैदर्भी है, आवन्तिका नहीं, राजपुत्री है, गणकन्या नहीं शरणार्थिनी है, विक्रम–बाला नहीं। समुद्रगुप्त से निस्तेज और चन्द्रगुप्त से निर्वीर्य किए गये मालव बिखर गए और संभव है विदर्भ तक फैल गए, लेकिन कालिदास, बाण की तरह, क्षिप्रा को,"यौवन–मदमत्त मालवीकुचकलश" से लुलित सलिला के रूप में नहीं जानते, वेत्रवती को भी मज्जनमालवविलासिनी– कुचतटास्फालनजर्जरितोर्मिमाला, के रूप में नहीं पाते, क्योंकि कालिदास के समय उज्जैन या विदिशा में मालवगण तो दूर, मालवजन भी नहीं थे। हम ऐसी कल्पना नहीं कर सकते कि सांची की कला–कृतियों, हेलियोदोरस के विष्णुध्वज और दशपुर के सूर्य मंदिर की तरह, कालिदास ने मालवों की अनदेखी कर दी, क्योंकि कोई भी आश्रित या रत्न अपने आश्रय वंश की उपेक्षा नहीं कर सकता, और यदि उपेक्षा मानते हैं तो यह अपने आप में अकाट्य प्रमाण हो जायेगा कि कालिदास मालवों से असंबद्ध था, फिर सभारत्न और तत्कालीन होने की बात स्वतः खंडित हो जाती है। इन प्रमाणों से सुसिद्ध होता है कि मालवगण उज्जैन में ई० पू० में आए ही नहीं। **कालक कथा**, जिसमें सौराष्ट्र और अवन्ती में शकों के आगमन, गर्दभिल्ल–पराजय और पुनः शकों के पराजय की कथा लिखी है, में भी मालवगण का उल्लेख नहीं है। अतः मालवों द्वारा शक पराजय और कृत–संवत् के प्रवर्तन की कल्पना सर्वथा निराधार है।

आज तक उज्जैन में जितने भी उत्खनन कार्य हुए उनमें प्रद्योत, मौर्य, यवन, नाग, शक, सातवाहन, सासानी तथा परमारों की सत्ता के तो प्रमाण मिले हैं किंतु मालव, संवत्–प्रवर्तन और संवती विक्रमादित्य के अस्तित्व के पुरातात्त्विक एक भी प्रमाण नहीं मिले। जयपुर, जोधपुर, उदयपुर और झालावाड़ में कृत संवत् के लेख तो मिले किन्तु उज्जैन में एक भी नहीं मिला, समस्त मालवसंवत् के लेख मंदसौर और चित्तौड़गढ़ में मिले, उज्जैन में नहीं। यदि उज्जैन में संवत्–स्थापना मालव प्रमुख द्वारा की गई होती तो यहां एकाध प्रमाण अवश्य मिलता। डा० वाकणकर को ई० पू० की ब्रासीलिपि पाली भाषा में लिखित एक मिट्टी की सील उज्जैन के गढ़–क्षेत्र में मिली है। उस पर **"क त स उजेनीय"** लिखा है ऐसा उनका पढ़ना है। उनका कहना है कि **क त स** माने मालव प्रमुख विक्रमादित्य। ब्राह्मी के विद्वान् निश्चित करेंगे सील के वास्तविक लेख को । मेरा निवेदन है कि **क त स** और **कृतस्य** का अर्थ विक्रमादित्य हो नहीं सकता। डा० अल्तेकर ने कृत का अर्थ अवश्य ही मालवमुख्य सरदार संभावित या विकल्पित किया था, किन्तु डा० डी० आर० भण्डारकर ने नान्दसा के अभिलेख के आधार से खंडित कर दिया था। नान्दसा के लेख में "कृतयोद्र्वयोर्वर्षशतयोद्र्वयशीतयोः" ऐसा लिखा है, यदि कृत का अर्थ मुखिया मानेंगे तो मुखिया ऐसा अर्थ करना पड़ेगा, जो अनर्थ है, क्योंकि विक्रमादित्य हो नहीं सकते, साथ ही मालव प्रमुखों के जो नाम उनकी मुद्राओं पर मिले हैं उनमें कृत या क्रम या विक्रम नहीं है। इससे सुप्रमाणित है कि **कृत** शब्द किसी भी मालवमुखिया का नाम नहीं था। दूसरा तथ्य यह है कि जयपुर–टोंक में प्राप्त मालव मुद्राएं प्राकृत में या संस्कृत में हैं, पाली में नहीं। पाली भाषा भी मुख्यतः पाटलिपुत्र के आसपास बौद्ध धर्म की भाषा थी, अन्यत्र पालि का प्रयोग पाटलिपुत्र के राजनैतिक और सांस्कृतिक विजय और प्रसार का प्रमाण है, न कि अन्तःपुर को भी संस्कृत भाषात्मक बनाने वाले और संस्कृत के सर्वश्रेष्ठ कवि कालिदास के तथाकथित

आश्रय विक्रमादित्य की सत्ता का। इस सील के लेख का कुछ भी अर्थ हो लेकिन इसका अर्थ मालव मुख्य विक्रमादित्य की उज्जयिनी नहीं हो सकता, क्योंकि यह सील पालिभाषा के माध्यम से मौर्यों और शुंगों के प्रमुख को व्यदत्त करती है, न कि छठवीं सदी में आने वाले मालवों के प्रभुत्व को, जो उज्जैन में कभी भी रहा ही नहीं । इसके अतिरिक्त पालि भाषी जनता और राजा के लिए कालिदास की रचनाएं हो नहीं सकतीं। कालिदास की रचनाएं तो संस्कृत तथा प्राकृत भाषी जनता और आश्रय के लिए ही हैं। मालवों की मुद्राओं से प्रमाणित है कि वे पाली से अनभिज्ञ, प्राकृत भाषी थे। ईसा की प्रथम द्वितीय सदी में वे संस्कृतज्ञ भी हो गए थे। मालवानां जयः और नान्दसा लेख प्रमाण हैं। पुराणों ने भी उज्जयिनी या अवन्ती के राजवंशों में आन्ध्र, आमीर, गर्दभिल्ल, शक, यवन, और तुष्क के नाम तो गिनाए हैं लेकिन मालव नाम नहीं लिखा। अवश्य ही पुराणों की सूचना अंतिम नहीं मानी जा सकती, क्योंकि उज्जैन में मौर्य, नाग, शुंग और सासानी शासन के पुरातात्त्विक प्रमाण भी मिलते हैं, किन्तु मालवसत्ता के कोई भी प्रमाण नहीं मिलते। अतः उज्जयिनी में मालव प्रमुख विक्रमादित्य द्वारा संवत् प्रवर्तन की मान्यता प्रमाण–निरस्त है।

डा० सूर्यनारायण व्यास मानते हैं कि मालवों की मूलभूमि आवन्तिका रही है और यहीं से वे जिप्सियों की तरह अन्यत्र फैले। उपलब्ध प्रमाणों के आधार से ऐसी मान्यता सर्वथा काल्पनिक और प्रमाण–प्रहीण है। बाण के पूर्व समस्त वाङ्मय अवन्ती और मालव का पृथक्शः उल्लेख करते हैं। यह पार्थक्य भी क्षुद्रक मालवों की तरह नहीं था, कहीं पर भी आकरावन्ती की तरह मालवावन्ती या "अवन्वी मालव" जैसे समस्त पद का लेख ही नहीं है, जिससे यह माना जा सके कि ये दोनों जातियां क्षुद्रक–मालवों की तरह पड़ोसी थीं और बाद में एकाकार हो गईं। सत्य तो यह है कि अवन्ती और मालव की पृथक्ता में हजारों कि०मी० का ही अन्तर नहीं था अपितु इनका परस्पर कोई सम्बन्ध भी नहीं था।

पुरातात्त्विक प्रमाण भी इसी सत्य को पुष्ट करते हैं। विंसेंट स्मिथ लिखते हैं कि अवन्ति क्षेत्र में प्राप्त जो अवन्तिका चिन्ह हैं, वह एरण, बेसनगर और आन्ध्र के सिक्कों पर भी मिलते हैं। सर्वस्वीकृत मत यह है कि यह चिह्न सातवाहनों का है न कि मालव या अन्य का, फिर भी देखना है कि क्या अवन्ती की किसी राजसत्ता से मालवों का सम्पर्क था? प्रश्न है कि आन्ध्र और एरण जैसे दूर देशों के सिक्कों पर तो–अवन्ति–चिह्न मिले किन्तु अणियारा–कर्कोट नगर के मालव–सिक्कों पर क्यों नहीं मिले ? स्पष्ट है दोनों देशों का सम्बन्ध न था। अवन्ती मुद्राओं पर नदी या सरोवर में मछली का अंकन है, बैठी हुई लक्ष्मी को गज स्नान करा रहा है, कुछ मुद्राओं पर दो सींग वाला गैंडा है और दांत वाले गज भी हैं। मथुरा के शक–छत्रप सोदास की मुद्राओं पर तो राज–लक्ष्मी का अंकन है, लेकिन मालवों के एक भी मुद्रा पर ऐसे अंकन नहीं हैं। स्पष्ट है, अवन्ती का शकों से सम्बन्ध था, मालवों से नहीं।

वृक्ष, वृषभ, और सूर्य–प्रतीक के अंकन अवश्य ही आवन्त्यों और मालव–मुद्राओं पर हैं, किन्तु ये अंकन–साम्य भी मालव–आवन्त्य एकता के बजाय मालवों पर बौद्ध और ईरानी प्रभाव के प्रमाण हैं। वृषभ तो मोहनजोदड़ो की मुद्रा पर भी पाया गया है। कुषाण, शक, यौधेय और आर्जुनायनों की मुद्राओं तथा कौशाम्बी मुद्राओं पर भी ककुद्मान वृषभ का अंकन है, जो कृषि–जीविता और गोपालनत्व का प्रमाण है न कि उन जातियों के एकत्व का। वृक्ष भी बौद्धों के

बोधि–वृक्ष का प्रतीक है। उत्तर पश्चिमी भारत पर बौद्धों का पर्याप्त प्रभाव रहा है। मथुरा के नागों, औदुम्बरों तथा कौशाम्बी की मुद्राओं पर भी वृक्षों का अंकन है। वृक्ष–पूजा अनार्यो की देन है, यह एक प्रमाणित सत्य है। अतः वृक्षादि–अंकन से मालव और आवन्त्यों की एकता सिद्ध होने के बजाय उन पर बौद्ध प्रभाव प्रमाणित होने लगता है। स्पष्ट है कि दोनों भिन्न जातियां थीं।

मत्स्यादि पुराणों ने भी आवन्त्यों को मूलतः हैहयजाति का माना है, मालव जाति का नहीं। उज्जयिनी के १० नामान्तर हैं **(विक्रम स्मृति** पृ० ४२३)। किसी भी नाम से मालववीर्य, शकपराजय, संवत् प्रवर्तन या विक्रमादित्य के विक्रम की ध्वनि नहीं मिलती। इस पौराणिक तथ्य की उपेक्षा नहीं की जा सकती। **स्कन्द पुराण** के अवन्ती खण्ड में जो उज्जयिनी के तीर्थों का "गाइड" है, उज्जयिनी के नाम में शक पराजय की कथा नहीं अपितु दानव–पराजय का हेतु लिखा है। बाण और वराहमिहिर के बीच छठवीं सदी के उत्तरार्ध में मालवजन उज्जैन में अवश्य आए, किन्तु सिक्कों के प्रमाण से वे १५७ ई० पू० से ३४० ई० तक जयपुर–टोंक क्षेत्र में ही रहे, उज्जैन में नहीं। अतः उनके द्वारा उज्जैन में संवत्–प्रवर्तन और उनकी सभा में कालिदास का एक रत्न होने का प्रश्न ही नहीं उठता।

कालिदास **मेघदूत** में मालवों की दो प्रथित गणधानियों की उपेक्षा भी करते हैं। उज्जयिनी–वर्णन के प्रसंग में कवि कहीं भी विक्रमादित्य या मालवों की व्यंजना भी नहीं करता, उज्जैन को संवत्–प्रवर्तक की गणधानी या राजधानी कहना भी उसे पसंद नहीं, जबकि विदिशा को राजधानी लिखता है, मानों शुंगवंश और अग्निमित्र मालव वंश और विक्रमादित्य की अपेक्षा महीयान् और उल्लेखनीय थे किन्तु मालव विक्रमादित्य उल्लेखनीय। यहीं नहीं, जब मेघ दशपुर से अलका की ओर चलता है तो रास्ते में आए मालवों की दो गणधानियों–जयपुर और फाजिल्का–की अनदेखी भी करता है मानों वह उनसे अनभिज्ञ हो या तो स्थान नगण्य हों। मेघ दशपुर से सीधे कुरुक्षेत्र पहुँच जाता है । गणधानियों का अनुल्लेख इस तथ्य का प्रमाण है कि कालिदास का मालवों से परिचय या संबंध नहीं था। अवश्य ही मालव आकर्षक या यशस्वी नहीं थे, अन्यथा राक्षस रावण के शौर्य के गीत गाने वाला, बौद्ध उदयन के प्रणय–कथा को स्मरण करने वाला कालिदास मालवों के सौन्दर्य या शौर्य का अवश्य ही उल्लेख करता। अतः मालव प्रमुख से कालिदास की तिथि संबद्ध हो नहीं सकती।

जयपुर–टोंक क्षेत्र में प्राप्त मालवों के ६००० से भी अधिक तांबे के सिक्के, विश्व में लघुत्तम हैं। इनका अधिकतम भार ४०.३ ग्रेन और न्यूनतम भार २ ग्रेन हैं। मालवगण इतने समृद्ध नहीं थे कि सोने–चांदी के भी सिक्के चलाते, तांबे के सिक्के भी इतने हल्के हैं मानो उन्हें उसका भी टोटा था। अतः यह विश्व में विपन्नतम जाति थी। इनके सिक्कों की एक विशेषता और है। इनके जैसे सिक्के भारत में अन्यत्र नहीं मिलते। स्मिथ ने कार्लायल को उद्धृत किया है।

Not more than about thirtyfive coins were of outside origin or derived from a foreign source with the exception of these few, the whole of the coins found at Nagar were exclusively of Nagar mintage and belong to Nagar alone. (ट्रिब्युनल क्वायन्स, पृ० १६२)। इससे यही प्रमाणित होता है कि मालवजन दिग्विजयी या वीर या विहारी या व्यापारी प्रकृति के नहीं थे, अन्यथा ताँबे के अतिरिक्त सोने–चांदी के भी सिक्के चलाते और वे सिक्के व्यापार या अन्य यात्राओं के माध्यम से अन्यत्र भी मिलते। ऐसे निर्धन और स्वयंकेन्द्रित जाति से

कालिदास का संबंध हो नहीं सकता। उनका साहित्य स्वर्णिम है। सर्वप्रथम कालिदास ने संस्कृत में दिग्विजय का वर्णन किया है। उन्होंने अपनी रचनाओं में स्वर्ण के १६ पर्यायों में दशाधिक नामों का प्रयोग किया है, मानों वे भारत के स्वर्णिम युग को व्यंजित कर रहे हों। उन्होंने स्वर्ण–वृष्टि का वर्णन किया है **(रघु० ५/२६)** स्वर्णधारा को देखा था **(शाकु० ७/८)** तपस्वियों को भी स्वर्णिम वल्कल पहने देखा था **(कुमार ६/६)** । वे ताँबे के सिक्कों को तो जानते ही नहीं, बल्कि स्वर्ण के सैकड़ों सिक्कों को देखा था। अग्निमित्र की पट्टमहिषी धारिणी स्वर्ण के सैकड़ों सिक्कों के बराबर दक्षिणा देती हैं ताकि उनका पुत्र वसुमित्र यवनों को पराजित कर सके । नाटककार ने स्वर्ण मुद्राओं के लिए **निष्क** शब्द का प्रयोग किया है।

"निष्कशतसुवर्णपरिणामां दक्षिणां देवी दक्षिणीयैः परिग्राहयति"

(मालवि० ५वें अंक का प्रवेशक)

अतः ताम्र मुद्रा वाले मालवों से कालिदास की तिथि संबद्ध हो नहीं सकती।

पाणिनि ने **अष्टाध्यायी** में अम्बष्ट, त्रिगर्त, अवन्ति, यौधेय, आर्जुनायन, उशीनर, वाहीक, भद्रक, शिवि आदि का तो उल्लेख किया किन्तु क्षुद्रक–मालवों का नहीं। डा० उदयनारायण राय ने **गुप्तसम्राट और उनका काल** में लिखा है कि मालवगण का प्रथम उल्लेख **अष्टाध्यायी** में हुआ, यह सर्वथा असंगत है। पाणिनि ने **अष्टाध्यायी** में मालवक्षुद्रक दोनों को भाषा की दृष्टि से उल्लेखनीय नहीं माना, क्योंकि ये संस्कृत भाषी नहीं थे, जिसकी पुष्टि पुरातत्त्व भी करता है । ई० पू० की समस्त मालव मुद्राएं प्राकृत में हैं। ईसा की दूसरी सदी के सिक्कों पर अवश्य ही **मालवानां जयः** लिखा है, किन्तु ई० पू० के सिक्कों पर **मलवन या मालवन जय** लिखा है। स्पष्ट है कि दूसरी सदी के पूर्व यह गण असंस्कृत था। ऐसी जाति के लिए कालिदास संस्कृत के नाटक नहीं लिख सकते क्योंकि संस्कृत नाटक देखने समझने के लिए संस्कृत जानना चाहिए। अतः कालिदास मालवों के आश्रित नहीं थे।

यह जाति संस्कृति–सम्पन्न भी न थी । प्रमाण हैं इनके नाम। इनकी मुद्राओं पर कार्लायल ने ४० नाम पढ़े, स्मिथ ने २० नामों की सूची दी है। इन नामों में वैदिकता, कलात्मकता, पौराणिकता या अन्य सांस्कृतिक तत्त्व नहीं हैं। जैसे अशिक्षित जन–नचका, मुकरू, मिरुआ आदि नाम रख लेते हैं, वैसे ही ये शब्द भी हैं। इसके विपरीत उसी काल के अन्य विदेशी जातियों में भारतीयता और संस्कृति थी । हेलियोडोरस अपने को 'भागवत' कहता था और मिनांडर बौद्ध मिलिन्द हो गया था। उसके सिक्कों पर धर्मचक्र बना है। वह अपने को धार्मिक लिखता था। कुषाण व शकों ने भारतीय नाम रख लिए थे। शक वंशावली में ३३ नाम हैं, ३ को छोड़ शेष सभी भारतीय नाम हैं। कुषाण और शकों के नाम ही वैदिक या पौराणिक नहीं हैं, उनके सिक्कों पर भी वैदिक और पौराणिक आकृतियां हैं। इन विदेशियों ने संस्कृत के प्रयोग और प्रसार को प्रोत्साहित भी किया, किन्तु मालवों के नामों–गजब, गोजर, जमक, जमकू आदि, को देखकर अल्लन आदि विद्वान चकित और चिन्तित हो जाते हैं, वे मालवों को विदेशी तक सम्भावित करने लगते हैं। अल्लन तो लिखते हैं कि जमक आदि शब्द "मालवानां जयः" लिखने के निरर्थक प्रयास हैं, अर्थात् उनमें लिखने की योग्यता भी नहीं थी। इतना तो प्रमाणित है कि मालवों पर ईरानियों का प्रभाव था, तभी तो उनके कुछ सिक्कों पर विदेशी खरोष्टी लिपि भी है, किन्तु मालवजन विदेशी नहीं थे। हां, अनार्य अवश्य थे, अन्यथा वे असंस्कृत और प्राकृत नाम

वाले न होते। पाणिनि के समय मालव आयुधजीवी थे, कृषिजीवी या वार्ताजीवी न थे। **काशिका** ने उन्हें उत्सेधजीवी लिखा है। आयुधजीवित्व वन्यता का प्रमाण है। पाणिनि के समय वे आक्रमण करके लूटपाट करते थे, अवैदिक और आर्येतर थे, इनका आर्यीकरण नान्दसा लेख के पूर्व दूसरी तीसरी सदी में राजस्थान में हुआ। ई० पू० की ऐसी अवैदिक और प्राकृत जाति से विक्रम तथा कालिदास का संबंध हो नहीं सकता, क्योंकि "समानशीलव्यसनेषु सख्यम्" होता है।

यदि कालिदास गणप्रमुख की सभा के रत्न होते तो वे गणतंत्र की महिमा गाते, न कि गणतंत्र के उन्मूलक राजतंत्र की। उनकी समस्त रचनाएं राजतंत्र की संस्तुतियों से भरी हैं, विशेषतः **रघुवंश**। क्या गणाश्रित कवि गणोन्मूलकों के गीत गाएगा ? स्पष्ट है, कालिदास गणाश्रित न थे। सत्य तो यह है कि वे शक, मालव, और विक्रमादित्य की तरह गणतंत्र को भी नहीं जानते। उन्होंने गण शब्द समूह के अर्थ में ही प्रयुक्त किया है। चूंकि कालिदास मालवमुख्य विक्रमादित्य से अनभिज्ञ थे, अवएव वे ई० पू० के नहीं थे।

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भारतीय इतिहास लेखन में काल की समस्या

डॉ० ईश्वर शरण विश्वकर्मा

भोपाल

ऐतिह्य का कायसम्पत् स्वरूप मूलतः त्रियामी है। दिक् इतिहास का वामन–विराट् 'अणोरणीयान् महतो महीयान्'वपु है। इतिहास की काया में विद्यमान अमूर्त्त कलनात्मक स्पन्दित प्रणवात्मा ही 'काल' है। मननात्मक मानव द्वारा ज्ञानेन्द्रियों एवं कर्मेन्द्रियों द्वारा कृत पुरुषार्थ ही ऐतिह्य की प्रघटना है । इन्हीं त्रियामों से इतिहास 'रूपं रूपं प्रतिरूपं बभूव ' होकर प्रमाकरण द्वारा प्रमाणित इतिहास बनता है । प्रमाणित इतिहास की अमर आत्मा 'काल' है । इस काल को भारतीय इतिहास दर्शन में 'सनातनकाल' की संज्ञा दी गई है जिससे मूर्त्त का उपचय एवं अपचय द्योतित होता है ।[१] भारतीय ऐतिह्य चिन्तन में काल को चराचर विश्व की अन्तिम सत्ता कहा गया है जहां काल अनादि, अनन्त, अजर और अमर है, इसीलिए वह सनातन है ।

प्रत्येक संस्कृति की जो मूल विचारधारा है उससे ही उसके कालगत और देशज विचारों का अवतार होता है । आज तक भारत में यह कहना सम्भव नहीं हुआ कि हमारा भूतकाल सहस्त्रों या लाखों वर्ष का है । हम कहते हैं कि वेदव्यास या कालिदास हुए । संस्कृत परीक्षाएं जबसे होती हैं उनमें आज तक यह प्रश्न नहीं आया कि कालिदास कब हुए ? परन्तु पश्चिम की भावना ठीक इसके विपरीत है । उनका पहला प्रश्न यही है कि कालिदास कब हुए? अंग्रेजी पाठ्यक्रम की परीक्षा में यह प्रश्न प्रायः विद्यमान रहता है और इतिहास-लेखन में इसीलिए तिथि की समस्या को अपने अनुरूप प्रस्तुत करने का प्रयास पाश्चात्य विद्वानों ने किया। भारत में प्रचलित विभिन्न 'संकल्प मंत्रों के द्वारा प्रत्येक शुभ कार्यों में सृष्ट्यारम्भ से लेकर अतिथि तक के स्मरण का विधान है जो औपाधिक सनातन काल के अमूर्त्त को मूर्त्त रूप में प्रस्तुत करते हैं।[२] आधुनिक विद्वानों को मैं एक आश्चर्यजनक तथ्य की ओर संकेत करता हूं कि भारत के प्रत्येक गॉवों में काली माई, (काल) तथा 'समयमाई' (समय) की मूर्तियां और वेदिकाएं प्रतिष्ठापित हैं, जो ऐतिहासिक घटनाओं के उपचय एवं अपचय की श्रुति, स्मृति परम्परा में संक्रमित होती रहती हैं ।

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१. येन मूर्तीनामुपचयश्चापचयाश्च लक्ष्यन्ते तं कालमाहुः । –पाणिनि २/२/५ पर महाभाष्य-वार्तिक।

२. कालो मूर्तिरमूर्तिमान् – मैत्रायणी उपनिषद् - ६.१४

भारत के प्रामाणिक इतिहास लेखन में ईस्वी सन् का प्रचलन सर्वाधिक दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण कार्य है। विदेशी विद्वानों ने १६वीं शताब्दी के अन्त में भारतीय इतिहास की सभी राजनैतिक घटनाओं को अपने निश्चित योजना के अधीन निर्धारित किया है । ब्रिटिश शासकों ने भारतीय इतिहास की घटनाओं को न्यून करके सम्पूर्ण तिथिक्रम तालिका निश्चित किया और उसे ही विदेशी विद्वानों ने पाठ्यक्रम के रूप में भारतीय विद्यालयों में प्रचलित किया । उनके तिथि निर्धारण का आधार सिकन्दर के भारतीय अभियान की तिथि हैं जिसे वे प्रमाणिक मानते हैं। विलियम्स जोन्स ने जनवरी १७८८ ई० में महाभारतयुद्ध–काल से लेकर मगध पर शासन करने वाले नरेशों की एक वंशावली प्रकाशित किया[3] जो भागवत पुराण के आधार पर निर्मित थी। पुराणानुसार :

बृहद्रथ वंश के २० नरेश

१००० वर्ष ३१०१ से २१०० ईसापूर्व

प्रद्योत वंश के ५ नरेश

–१३८ वर्ष, २१०० ईसापूर्व से १६६२ ईसापूर्व

शिशुनागवंश के १० नरेश

–३६० वर्ष, १६६२ ईसा पूर्व से १६०२ ईसा पूर्व

नन्दवंश का एक नरेश –

१०० वर्ष, १६६२ ईसा पूर्व से १५०२ ईसा पूर्व

परन्तु विलियम जोन्स ने उपर्युक्त तालिका में संदेह प्रस्तुत कर एक नई तालिका प्रस्तुत किया[4]–

अर्जुनपुत्र अभिमन्यु	–	२०२६ ईसापूर्व
प्रद्योत	–	१०२६ ईसापूर्व
बुद्ध	–	१०२७ ईसापूर्व
नन्द	–	६६६ ईसापूर्व
बलिन(आन्ध्रवंशी)	–	१४६ ईसापूर्व
विक्रमादित्य	–	५६ ईसापूर्व
देवपाल(गौड. नरेश)	–	२३ ईसापूर्व

एस० डब्ल्यू० जोन्स द्वारा संशोधित तालिका के सम्बन्ध में प्रथम विरोध प्रगट करते हुए एम० कृष्णमाचारियार महोदय ने लिखा है कि जोन्स ने अपने इस तिथि निर्धारण के द्वारा एक नई दिशा प्रस्तुत करने का प्रयास किया है। उनका तिथि निर्धारण मूलतः पं० राधाकान्त शर्मा द्वारा

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३. दि वर्क्स ऑफ सर विलियम्स जोन्स, खण्ड ४, सम्पादित–लार्ड तिग्निमाउथ, पृ० ३६–४०, १८०७

४. तत्रैव पृष्ठ, ४२

जोन्स के समय में लिखित 'पुराणार्थप्रकाश' पर आधारित है।[५] विलियम जोन्स द्वारा निर्धारित तिथिक्रम पुनः उन्हीं के द्वारा एक नये ढंग से संशोधित रूप में प्रस्तुत किया गया[६] —

बुद्ध	—	१०२७ ईसापूर्व
परीक्षित	—	१०१७ ईसापूर्व
प्रद्योत(२० या ३० पीढ़ी)	—	३१७ ईसापूर्व १७ ईसापूर्व
नन्द	—	१३ ईस्वी या ३१३ ईसवी

प्रो० लैसन तथा मैक्समूलर ने १८५६ ई० में जोन्स के दृष्टिकोण को दृढ़ता से अन्तिम रूप से स्वीकार कर लिया[७] और यह घोषणा किया कि भारतीय इतिहास की तिथि गणना का आधार चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य है जो सेल्यूकस का समकालीन था । यद्यपि प्रो० एम० ट्रायर नामक पाश्चात्त्य विद्वान् ने १८५६ ई० में ही जोन्स के मत का खण्डन किया और महाविद्वान् मैक्समूलर को अपने विचारों से अवगत कराया कि पुराणों की वंशावली में गुप्तवंश का एक चन्द्रगुप्त नामक राजा का नाम दिया गया है । वही वास्तव में सैण्ड्रोकेटस है, मौर्य वंश का चन्द्रगुप्त नहीं।[८] परन्तु मैक्समूलर ने केवल इतना ही लिखा कि "एम० ट्रयर जैसे कुछ लोग मूलाधार का विरोध करते हैं किन्तु हम जो कहते हैं, वही सही है" अर्थात् कारण न बताते हुए मैक्समूलर ने अपना आग्रह वैसा ही रखा जैसा जोन्स ने प्रतिपादित किया । भारतीय ऐतिहासिक काल–निर्धारण के शीट ऐंकर के रूप में विन्सेंट स्मिथ अग्रसर हुआ । इस अंग्रेज अधिकारी ने भारतीय इतिहास के तिथियों को अत्यधिक न्यून कर दिया। उसने प्रत्येक शासनकर्ता के काल को औसतन २० वर्ष की अवधि निश्चित किया । परिणामतः भारतीय इतिहास की तिथि कम को पुराणों से विपरीत अपने स्वेच्छानुसार मनगढ़न्त रूप में स्मिथ ने प्रस्तुत किया।[९]

वंशावली का नाम	पुराणों में वर्षों की अवधि	स्मिथ द्वारा प्रदत्त अवधि
नन्दवंश	१००	४५
मौर्य	३१६	१३७
शुंग	३००	११२
कण्व	८५	४५
आन्ध्र	५०६	२८९
गुप्त	२४५	१४६

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५. एम० कृष्णामाचारियर, हिस्ट्री ऑफ क्लासिकल संस्कृत लिटरेचर, पृष्ठ ६२,१६३७

६. लार्ड तिग्निमाउथ, तत्रैव, पृष्ठ ४२–४६।

७. मैक्समूलर, हिस्ट्री ऑफ एंशिएंट संस्कृत लिटरेचर, पृष्ट ३–८,१८५६

८. एम० ट्रायर, कल्हण की राजतरंगिणी के अनुवाद की भूमिका।

९. वी०ए० स्मिथ, अर्ली हिस्ट्री ऑफ इण्डिया पृष्ठ ४६–४८, आक्सफोर्ड,१९२४

स्मिथ द्वारा निर्धारित और न्यूनीकरण स्थिर मान लिया गया और भारतीय पुस्तकालयों के पाठ्यक्रमों में पढ़ाया जाने लगा तथा कालान्तर के विद्वानों–वी०आर० रामचन्द्र दीक्षितार,[१०] आर० डी० बनर्जी[११], डी० सी० सरकार[१२] तथा अन्यों ने स्मिथ के इस काल निर्धारण को अपरिवर्तनीय मानक रूप में स्वीकार किया । इन विद्वानों में इतना साहस नहीं हुआ कि वे स्मिथ के भारतीय इतिहास के न्यूनीकरण का विरोध कर सकें। जोन्स ने तो दो बुद्धों तक की कल्पना कर डाली।[१३] पाश्चात्य विद्वानों ने अपने सिकन्दरी अभियान के मूल तिथि के आधार पर बुद्ध–निर्वाण का वर्ष ४८३ ई० पूर्व स्वीकारा। लंका में यही बुद्ध निर्वाण वर्ष माना जाता है। लंका का यह बुद्ध निर्वाण वर्ष वर्तमान के सर्वाधिक निकट होने के कारण ही पाश्चात्य विद्वानों ने इसका प्रचलन भारतीय पाठयक्रमों के लिए निश्चित कर दिया।

लंका के प्राचीन ग्रंथों में दिया गया कालक्रम तो पाश्चात्त्यों को मान्य हुआ किन्तु भारतीय तिथि मान्य नहीं हुई। बुद्ध–निर्वाण का वर्ष थाईलैण्ड में सातवीं शताब्दी ईसापूर्व, तिब्बत में ६वीं शताब्दी ईसापूर्व तथा चीन में ग्यारहवीं शताब्दी ईसापूर्व माना जाता है'। जिनमें से पाश्चात्त्यों ने आधुनिक लंका का निर्वाण–वर्ष इसलिए चुना कि वे भारत के इतिहास की प्राचीनता को कम कर सकें। परन्तु आचार्य उदयवीर शास्त्री जैसे विद्वान् बुद्ध और महावीर को १८वीं शताब्दी ईसापूर्व में रखने का तर्क देते हैं।[१४] डॉ० सत्यकेतु विद्यालंकार का कथन है कि बौद्ध काल गणना विशेषज्ञों ने चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य के विदेशी तिथि को मानकर बुद्ध–निर्वाण की तिथि निकाली है। अतः विद्वानों को सर्वप्रथम चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य की तिथि निश्चित करनी होगी । उनका सुझाव है कि "गुप्त वंशीय चन्द्रगुप्त को सैण्ड्रोकोटस मानकर उनका गुप्तवंश के प्रारम्भ का समय चौथी शताब्दी (३२३) ईसापूर्व रख दिया जाय तो मौर्यवंश का काल १४वीं–१३वीं शती ईसापूर्व में रखा जा सकता है। इस प्रकार बुद्ध और महावीर का समय १८वीं शताब्दी ईसापूर्व में होगा।[१५] इसी प्रकार पं० चन्द्रकान्त बाली ने महावीर तथा बुद्ध का काल इस प्रकार निर्धारित किया है।[१६]

महावीर स्वामी	भगवान बुद्ध
१३६८ ई०पू०	१२७६ ई०पू० जन्म
१२५७ ई०पू०	१२४१ ई०पू० कैवल्य या सम्बोधि
१२२७ ई०पू०	१२१२ ई०पू० परम निर्वाण

१०. **मत्स्यपुराण, मद्रास**

११. **एज ऑफ इम्पीरियल गुप्ताज़**, वाराणसी

१२. **'सक्सेसर ऑफ सातवाहनाज़', जर्नल ऑफ डिपार्टमेंट ऑफ लेटर्स**, कलकत्ता, खण्ड, २६।

१३. **दि वर्क्स ऑफ सर विलियम जोन्स**, खण्ड ४, पृष्ट १७।

१४. आचार्य उदयवीर शास्त्री, **वेदान्त दर्शन का इतिहास**, अध्याय १४।

१५ गिरिवर चरण अग्रवाल, भारत–युद्धकाल, पृष्ठ –१५।

१६. **बिहार राष्ट्र भाषा परिषद् पत्रिका,** वर्ष २० अंक ४,१६८१, पृष्ठ ४६–६७ ।

पाश्चात्त्य विद्वानों ने आद्य शंकराचार्य के काल के विषय में भी आधुनिकतम काल चुना है। पाश्चात्त्य विद्वानों. ने द्वारिका (द्वारका), पुरी और काञ्ची के शांकरगणों में उपलब्ध गुरु परम्परा की सूचियों में शंकराचार्य के जन्मवर्ष ५०६ ईसापूर्व को छोड़कर मात्र श्रृंगीरी मठ की सूची में अपने धीयुञ्जन द्वारा वह वर्ष ७८८ ईसापूर्व निश्चित किया अर्थात् १३०० वर्ष वर्तमान में शंकराचार्य को खींच लाये । इस सम्बन्ध में श्री गिरिवर चरण अग्रवाल का सुझाव है कि "यदि शंकराचार्य के समय का निर्धारण पूर्व निश्चय के साथ हो जाय तो एक निश्चित सीमा तक बुद्ध एवं महावीर के समय का निर्धारण किया जा सकता है"।[१७] आचार्य उदयवीर शास्त्री **'एज ऑफ शंकर'** तथा 'वेदान्त दर्शन' के इतिहास में शांकरमठों की गुरु परम्परा की सूचियों के आधार पर शंकराचार्य के जन्म की तिथि ५०१ ईसापूर्व मानते हैं । नित नये अनुसंधानों के आधार पर बुद्ध और महावीर का समय कतिपय विद्वान् लगभग २५०० ईसापूर्व प्रस्तुत करना चाहते हैं।[१८] इन विसंगतियों को एक संगति देने के लिए भारतीय कालक्रम का पुनः निरीक्षण होना आवश्यक है।

फ्लीट कल्हण की **राजतरंगिणी** को पुराणों से अधिक विश्वसनीय मानते हैं । उनका कथन है कि **राजतरंगिणी** में अशोक को लगभग १२६० ईसापूर्व में प्रस्तुत किया गया है और इस आधार पर हमें भारतीय इतिहास के काल को पुनः निर्धारित करना पड़ेगा।[१९] पाश्चात्त्य विद्वानों द्वारा भारत के ऐतिहासिक तिथि निर्धारण का आधार भारतीय ऐतिहासिक घटनाओं को त्यागकर यूनानी सिकन्दरी अभियान की घटना का आधार इसलिए स्वीकार करना पड़ा, क्योंकि उनका स्वयं का कोई मूलाधार नहीं था। इस तिथि के पूर्व भारत की प्राचीनता को वे स्वीकार करना नहीं चाहते क्योंकि उनके पवित्र धर्मग्रंथ **बाइबिल** में पृथ्वी के सृजन की तिथि लगभग ४००० ईसापूर्व उल्लिखित है । तिलक महोदय का कथन है कि ईसाई देवशास्त्र में उल्लिखित सृष्टि रचना का काल ४००० ईसा पूर्व है अतः इस तिथि के पूर्व पाश्चात्त्य विद्वान भारत की सभ्यता की प्राचीनता को स्वीकार नहीं करना चाहते।[२०] १६६४ ई० में जब सृष्टि की रचना पर विवाद उत्पन्न हुआ तो आयरलैंड के आर्क विशप जॉन असर ने १६६४ ई० में यह घोषणा की कि सृष्टि–रचना २३ अक्टूबर ४००४ ईसापूर्व में ६ बजे प्रातःकाल हुई तथा इसके विरुद्ध यदि कोई नया विचार प्रस्तुत करेगाा तो उसे पन्थद्रोही माना जायेगाा।[२१] अपने मत के सम्बन्ध में पाश्चात्त्यों के दुराग्रह ने उन्हें विश्व इतिहास के न्यूनीकरण की ओर उत्प्रेरित किया । भारत की

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१७. गिरिवर चरण अग्रवाल, **भारत-युद्धकाल**, पृष्ठ –१५।

१८. विशेष द्रष्टव्य, श्री एम० अय्यर एवं लक्ष्मी नारायण शास्त्री, शंकराचार्य मठों की परम्परागत आयु,"दी एज ऑफ शंकर" **जर्नल ऑफ रॉएल एशियाटिक सोसाइटी**, १९१६, पृष्ठ १५६।

१९. **इण्डियन एन्टीक्वेरी**, ३० पृष्ठ १ ।

२०. बाल गंगाधर तिलक, **ओरायन**, चतुर्थ संस्करण, १६५५, पृष्ठ २३४

२१. **साइंस टुडे** (मासिक), बाम्बे, जून १६७६

प्राचीनता तथा श्रेष्ठता उन्हें खटकती थी परिणामतः उन्होंने सायास भारतीय कालक्रम को विकृत किया । इसी भावना से प्रेरित होकर स्मिथ महोदय ने सिकन्दरी अभियान की तिथि ३२७ ईसापूर्व को भारतीय तिथि निर्धारण का मूलाधार स्वीकारा।

भारत में प्राचीनकाल से प्रचलित कलियुग कालमान के विरोधी पाश्चात्य विद्वानों और उनके भारतीय अंधानुकर्ताओं को यह जानना चाहिए कि ईसामसीह और उनके नाम पर प्रचलित ईस्वी संवत् का अस्तित्व तद्देशीय विद्वानों द्वारा सन्देहास्पद माना जाता है फिर भारत में ईस्वी सन् का प्रचलन क्यों ? १८१६ ई० में सभी विशपों का एक सम्मेलन चेल्सी में हुआ था।[२२] इस गोष्ठी में यह निश्चित किया गया था कि सभी विशपों को ईसा संवत् का प्रयोग प्रारम्भ करना चाहिए। परन्तु अभिलेखों के अध्ययन से यह ज्ञात हुआ कि वास्तव में अधिकारिक तौर पर इसका प्रयोग चार्ल्स तृतीय द्वारा जर्मनी में ८७६ ई० में हुआ। अतः ईस्वीसन् के प्रारम्भ की प्राचीनता ११०० वर्षों पूर्व ज्ञात होती है। जबकि तुलनात्मक दृष्टि से कलि संवत् का प्रारम्भ ईसापूर्व ३००० मान्य है। यहाँ भी ध्यातव्य है कि जर्मनी के चार्ल्स तृतीय ने स्वयं ईस्वी सन् की गणना अपने से पूर्व से प्रारम्भ किया । **इलस्ट्रेटेड वीकली,**मई १६८४ के अंक ६–१२ में एक पुस्तक तथा दूरदर्शन के क्रम की समीक्षा में यह प्रश्न प्रस्तुत किया गया है कि क्या वस्तुतः जीसस क्राइस्ट का अस्तित्व था ? इसी प्रकार ई० एच० डान्स ने यह संदेह प्रस्तुत किया है कि ईसा का जन्म–काल अभी तक निश्चित नहीं है।[२३] अतः भारत के प्रामाणिक इतिहास लेखन की भारतीय काल गणना में मतैक्य आवश्यक है।

भारत में प्रचलित संवत् :- ऐतिहासिक काल–निर्धारण में भारत में प्रचलित अनेक विध संवत्सर बाधक हैं। इनमें प्रमुख ब्राह्म संवत्, सप्तर्षि, बार्हस्पत्य, कलि अथवा युधिष्ठिर, परशुराम या कोलम्ब, बुद्ध, महावीर या वीर विक्रम, शूद्रक, मालवगण, श्रीहर्ष, शक, ईस्वी तथा हिजरी संवत् हैं।[२४] इसके अतिरिक्त भारतीय साहित्य एवं अभिलेखों में मौर्य, नन्द, पार्थियन, गुप्त, बल्लभी, कल्चुरी या चेदि, गांगेय, भौमाकार चालुक्य, सिंह शिवाजी राज्यारोहण, फसली अगली, बंगाली त्रिपुर, मल्ल, भाटिक आदि अनेक संवत् क्षेत्रीय आधार पर प्रचलित हैं।[२५] भारत के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में प्रचलित विभिन्न संवत्सरों की सूची उपर्युक्त उल्लिखित सूची से बृहद् हो सकती है, परन्तु राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर कोई भी संवत् प्रचलित नहीं है। यद्यपि स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात् भारतीय शासन में मेघनाथ साहा के नेतृत्व में एक राष्ट्रीय संवत् निश्चित करने का कार्य दिया गया था जिसने अपने प्रतिवेदन में 'शक संवत्' को राष्ट्रीय संवत् के रूप में प्रचारित करने का निर्णय दिया था[२६], जिसका प्रयोग स्वयं शासकीय कार्यों में नहीं होता है और न तो भारत के

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२२. कोटा वेंकटचेलम् कलि शक विग्ननमु भाग १, पृष्ठ ८, विजयवाड़ा

२३. ई० एच० डान्स की पुस्तक का हिन्दी अनुवाद,**"इतिहास एक प्रवञ्चना"** पृष्ठ २.१९६७

२४. रामजी पाण्डेय, प्राचीन भारतीय काल गणना एवं पारम्परिक संवत्सर,पृष्ठ १३५–२१३

२५. तत्रैव, पृष्ठ १२८–१३३।

२६. दामोदर झा, **भारतीय कालगणना की रूपरेखा,**पृष्ठ १०।

लोक जीवन में यह संवत् प्रचलित है। विक्रम संवत् सामान्यतया ईस्वी सन् से ५८ वर्ष पूर्व माना जाता है। उत्तर भारत में चन्द्रमान से चैत्र कृष्ण या शुक्ल प्रतिपदा को गुजरात में कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपदा को तथा पंजाब और नेपाल में सौरमान से मेष संक्रान्ति को इसका प्रारम्भ होता है। इस संवत् का प्रचार लगभग सम्पूर्ण भारत में है, विशेषतः इसका प्रचलन उत्तर भारत में है।[२७] विक्रम संवत् को भारतीय लोक जीवन में विशेषतः सामाजिक, धार्मिक, आर्थिक, एवं सांस्कृतिक जीवन में मान्यता प्राप्त है और सम्पूर्ण राष्ट्र जीवन इससे संचालित होता है परन्तु भारत के राजनीतिक जीवन में इसका प्रचलन नहीं है तथापि पड़ोसी राष्ट्र नेपाल में विक्रम संवत् का प्रचलन राष्ट्र जीवन के सभी क्षेत्रों में हो रहा है। भारत के इतिहासकारों के सम्मुख कालमान निर्धारण की यह एक विकट समस्या है।

भारत में प्रचलित ऐतिहासिक कालमानों में अत्यधिक विवाद होने के कारण कतिपय इतिहासविद् ईस्वी सन् के प्रचलित रहने के तर्क को प्रस्तुत करते हैं। परन्तु भारत के इतिहास की प्राचीनता ईसा के जन्म से सहस्रों वर्ष पूर्व प्रमाणित है तथा ईसवी संवत् स्वयं में विवादास्पद है और अवैज्ञानिक है। ईस्वी संवत् का मूल रोमन संवत् है, जो ईस्वी पूर्व ७५३ में रोम नगर की प्रतिष्ठा से प्रारम्भ हुआ था इसके पूर्व रोमनों का कोई संवत् नहीं था। प्रारम्भ में रोमन संवत् ३०४ दिन का माना जाता था जो परम अशुद्ध था। मार्च से दिसम्बर तक इसमें दस मास होते थे। कालान्तर में इसमें अन्तर देखकर ४६ ई० पूर्व में जूलियर सीजर ने अपने नाम से जुलाई मास बना दिया उसके पश्चात् आगस्टस ने एक और मास अपने नाम पर अगस्त बनाया । इस प्रकार रोमन संवत् बारह मास तथा ३६५,१/४ दिन का बना। फिर भी इसमें अन्तर पड़ता रहा और १५८२ ईस्वी में इसमें ग्यारह दिन का अंतर हो गया था। उसी वर्ष ईसाईयों के धर्मगुरु पोप ग्रेगरी ने अपनी आज्ञा से ४ अक्टूबर को १५ अक्टूबर बना दिया और आगे के लिए जो मानदण्ड ईस्वी संवत् में उसने स्थापित किया वही ईसाई जगत् को मान्य हो गया[२८] और अंग्रेजों के विश्वव्यापी राज प्रभुत्व ने ईस्वी संवत् को विश्वव्यापी बना दिया। अंग्रेजों के भारत से चले जाने के पश्चात् भी स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात् अनेक राष्ट्रीय मानदण्डों की स्थापना शासन द्वारा की गई परन्तु शिक्षा, संस्कृति, सभ्यता और इतिहास के क्षेत्र में कोई राष्ट्रीय मानदण्ड अद्यावधि स्थापित नहीं किया गया।

इतिहास के अध्ययन और अध्यापन में कालमान का निर्णय करने में सर्वाधिक कठिनाई उपस्थित होती है। यद्यपि पुरातत्त्ववेत्ताओं ने अपने नये शोध लेखन में एक नई विधा (पी०बी०) का प्रयोग करना प्रारम्भ कर दिया है परन्तु इतिहासकार अभी उसे स्वीकार करने में संकोच कर रहे हैं

इतिहास शास्त्र (विज्ञान) का वस्तुतः अपना कोई कालमान नहीं है, जबकि इतिहास की आत्मा काल को माना जाता है। विश्व इतिहास के प्रमुख संवतों के अध्ययन से यह तथ्य प्रगट होता है कि वे प्रायः धार्मिक हैं, अन्य वैयक्तिक हैं। भारत एक धर्म निरपेक्ष और समाजवादी राष्ट्र

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२७. तत्रैव

२८. तत्रैव, पृष्ठ ६१–६२।

है परन्तु व्यावहारिक दृष्टि से राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर भारतीय शासन सम्पूर्ण राष्ट्र में धार्मिक और वैयक्तिक संवत् को प्रचलित किए हुए है। निरपेक्ष इतिहासकार भी इस दोष से मुक्त नहीं है। भारत के प्रामाणिक इतिहास लेखन के लिए अद्यावधि किसी इतिहासकार अथवा राष्ट्रीय स्तर की तथाकथित किसी संस्था ने भी इस दिशा में कोई प्रयास नहीं किया। यद्यपि राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर विद्यालयों में पढ़ायी जाने वाली पाठ्य पुस्तकों का पुनर्लेखन शासन की ओर से शासकीय संस्थाओं एन० सी० ई० आर० टी० द्वारा तथा राज्य स्तर पर किया जा रहा है परन्तु शासकीय इतिहास पुनर्लेखन में भी राष्ट्रीय कालमान के रूप में ईस्वी संवत् का ही प्रयोग किया जा रहा है। शासन का यह प्रयास भी विरोधाभास और विसंगतिपूर्ण है तथा इसमें भारतीय अस्मिता का अभाव रहेगा।

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A RIDDLE OF MANIYA DEV AND ORIGIN OF CHANDELAS

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Chhatarpur (M.P.)

Modern Mahobā (a town in the district of Hamīrpur, U.P.) was renowned as Mahotsava-Nagar (a city of great festivals) in Chandelas' times. Being the capital of Chandelas, the supreme power of Northern India during the period of Ninth to thirteenth centuries A.D., it was known an important City of the country, but people identified it as the Mahobā of Ālhā-Ūdal, the great Banāfar heros of Parmardidev, a Chandela king who reigned over Jejākbhukti (Bundelkhaṇḍ) from 116 to 1202-03 A.D. Though Mahobā survives several remains of archaeological importance as Chandela temples, fort, Palace, Statues, inscriptions yet Maniyā Dev is remembered first in the old and new ballads. It seemed that Maniyā Dev was a popular folk-god like Chandikā and Shiva. Jagnik, the first folk poet of India, has prayed his first tribute to Maniyā Dev in his folk-epic 'Ālhā' or Ālhākhaṇḍ.But the identity of Maniyā Dev has been a riddle of Indian history because of its close connection with the origin of Chandelas.

Among the historians the popular opinion favours Mr. V.A. Smith, according to which Maniyā Dev has been identified as Maniyā Devī, the goddess of aboriginal tribe of Gonds[1]. Another Maniyā Devī is found at Maniyāgarh Fort which is situated on a high hill close to Chandranagar, a village of Chhatarpur on the road to Pannā from Chhatarpur. At first Maniyāgarh was a fort of Gond rulers, later on became one of the famous eight forts of Chandelas. The famous archaeologist Mr. J.D. Beglar has written on the page 44 in Archaeological survey Reports Vol. VII that an image of a woman with a sword in her hand was searched out in the remains

1. *Indian Antiquary,* 1908, Vol. 37, pages 136-37.

of a small and simple temple. His remark runs as follows, 'she was a sort of compromise between the Brāhmanical Pārwatī and the obscenely naked female worshipped to this day by some tribes of Gonds, settled near Jabalpore, for the points of similarity between the Gond goddess and Maniyā Devī are not few'.

At this stage a question arises about the name of Maniyā Devī. In my opinion she was named after Maniyāgarh. If it is not so, what evidence compelled Mr. Beglar or Cunningham to name her Maniyā Devī. If Maniyāgarh Fort was named after Maniyā Devī, then the fame of Maniyā Devī ought to have been established beforehand.

According to Mahobā traditions Maniyā Dev of Mahobā was tutelary or adored god of Chandelas. The ballads of Ālhā composed during twelfth to Eighteenth centuries point out that Maniyā Dev belongs to Mahobā, not to Maniyāgarh (Maniyā Dev Mahobe Kyār), on the embankment of Madan Sāgar, a lake in the name of Chandel King Madanvarman and in front of Dīp-Stambh, stone-pillar of lamps, there lies the temple of Maniyā Dev. It is an admitted fact that the statue in the temple is as old as Chandel. Mr. Beglar agrees to this conclusion, but he likes to prove it a female statue of Maniyā Devī, not of male Maniyā Dev. Mr. V. A. Smith emphasizes that the image of Maniyā Dev was brought to Mahobā from Maniyāgarh[2]. It means that there were two statues of Maniyā Devī (Maniyā Dev). In fact, a particular custom prevails in this region due to which the tutelary deity is always borrowed from the origin. On this particular ground Mr. Smith comes to the conclusion that Chandel Rajpūts were originally Hinduised Gonds. Whenַ they rose to power and kingship, the stories were adduced for the purpose of hiding the impure origin and glorifying them.

First of all, the main problem is to establish the identity of Maniyā Dev,for which the following points are noteworthy :-

(1) In the oral traditions of Mahobā and Bundelkhaṇḍ Maniyā Dev has been a popular male God. People of any part of India call Him Maniyā Dev, the male God.

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2. Quoted from' *Chandel aur Unkā rājatva Kāl'* by Keshav Chandra Mishra, First Edition page 391.

(2) In Ālhā and Ālhākhaṇḍ ballads composed by folkpoets in 12th to 18th century, the diety is named as Maniyā Dev (Male), not Maniyā Devī (female).

(3) In 'Parmāl Rāso', an epic composed in 16th century, Maniyā Dev has been recognised as a male God. The word 'Dev' is used for Him in the tenth chapter and this stands for a male. Malhnā, the chief queen of Chandel king Parmardidev addresses Him as a male God.

(4) A few lines from 'Jagatrāj Kī Digvijai', a historical epic written in 1722-23 A.D. are given below as an evidence.

(i) तिहि समय ऐलविल[3] पार्श्व मणि[4], दै चंदेल कहि हित सहित ।
मणि देव यक्ष रक्षक सुपुनि, धन कलाप प्रति नित्य नित ।। ५०० ।।

(ii) जब ससि चंद्रब्रहम उपजाये, यज्ञ समय धनपति तहँ आये ।
पारस दै मणि देव यक्ष दै, अवनी पर दरसन प्रतक्ष दै[5] ।। ६७३ ।।

In the first extract the name of Maṇi Dev is obvious. He is Yaksha, the Protector and he with the Pāras Maṇi was bestowed to Chandel King by Kuber, a Yaksha god. In the other portion the arrival of Kuber and his gift of Pāras Maṇi and Maṇi Dev Yaksha to the king supports the above. Mahobā traditions tell that Pāras Maṇi was in the possession of Chandelas. Ālhā ballads or Ālhakhaṇḍ also claims that :

पारस पथरी है महुबे मा लोहा छुअत सोन हुई जाय (Mahobā possesses a Pāras stone which turns iron into Gold with a simple touch). This fact is retold in Mahobā Khaṇḍ of Prithvīrāj Rāso, Parmāl Rāso and others. Legends regarding Pāras stone are still popular in this region and their analysis confirms the historical event. According to Mahobā Khaṇḍ the gift of Pāras Stone was given by Moon God[6], but it cannot be accepted because the owner of Pāras Stone were Yaksha. In Parmāl Rāso Kuber, the Yaksha God bestows it -

"कुबेर अति सुख पाय। पारस मनि दिय आय।।[7]।।

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3. Kuber.

4. Pāras Maṇi or Stone.

5. *Jagatrāj Kī Digvijaya* by Harikesh, manuscript, metre No. 500 and 673.

6. Mahobā Khaṇḍ, Chandrabrahma Utpatti Khaṇḍ, metre no. 139-40.

7. *Parmāl Rāso*, Nagri Pracharini Sabha Publication, First edition, 2/74.

(Having been pleased Kuber arrived and gave Pāras Stone.)

The curiosity about Maṇi Dev Yaksha, the protector of Pāras Stone remains to be satisfied. In fact, Maṇibhadra Yaksha, the king of Yakshas is owner of Maṇi or Stone. Hence Maṇi Dev Yaksha is Maṇibhadra Yaksha who became later on famous as Maniyā Dev. It is easy to turn Maniyā or Maniyāñ from Maṇi or Māṇi. The Serpent with a Maṇi is called Maniyāre. Likewise the God with a maṇi can easily be called Maniyāre or Maniyā Dev and it is correct as far as the linguistic point of view is concerned. Maniyāre Dev becomes Maniyā Dev in daily speech. In the times of Chandel's reign Yaksha-worship was prevalent and popular. The worship of Bhagwān Maṇibhadra is described as an important Ceremony in a drama entitled as 'Karpūracarita Bhāṇa[8] written by Vatsarāj, the minister of Chandelking Parmardi Dev. It shows that Chandelas were devoted worshipper of Maṇibhadra Yaksha who was later on known as Maniyā Dev by people.

Yakṣha-worship in Bundelkhaṇḍ is very old. Yakṣhas are carved in the Bharhut Stūpa during Nāga's reigns. Images of Yakshas are found in large number at Pawāyā (Padmāvatī, old capital of Nāg Rājās.). Since Nāg's times the Chauras or Chabutras of Yakshas were built in every village for the purpose of worship which gave birth to the popular saying - "गांव गांव को ठाकुर, गांव गांव को बीर" - (Which means that every village has a thākur and a bīr.) Bīr was Yaksha God. Baram Dev in the Pīpal tree is also Yaksha. In this way Yakshas were acknowledged as popular folkgod till 20th century. Thākur was Gond deity who protects the village from all dangers. Both of them were popular, but in the upper class of society the Bīrs or Yakshas were worshipped[9]. Really Bīr or Yaksha was considered such a god who blesses all (what) desired by people. The great poet Tulsīdās has written in *Vinayapatrikā* :-

बीर महा अवराधिये साधे सिधि होय।
सकल काम पूरन करै जानै सब कोय।। १०८ ।।

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8. *Rūpakaṣaṭakam,* by Vatsarāj, Pune publication.

9. See details in my article entitled- 'Lok darshan and Bundelkhaṇḍ' published in the Magzine - 'Choumāsā' No. 17 and 'Lokdharma and Bundelkhaṇḍ' Chaumāsā No. 16.

This is enough to prove that Yaksha worship prevailed in Bundelkhaṇḍ from 100 B.C. to 16th century A.D.

Yakshas were symbols of physical beauty and power, hence the images of Yakshas carved by sculptors were gigantic and beautiful. *Yaksha-prashna* (Questions asked by Yaksha) are the best example of their intelligence and knowledge. Besides these qualities Yakshas bless wealth and immortality. For all these purposes Yakshas specially Maṇibhadra were adored by Chandelas.

Another remarkable point is that gigantic images of Yakshas are carved by the sculptors in the folk style, hence they lack fineness and ornamentation. Secondly, Yaksha images, temples and Chaityas are seen very close to the tanks, rivers and water-resources, and sometimes to a famous wrestling ground called Akhārā in Hindī, on these grounds Maniyā Dev justifies his identity of being Yaksha. First of all, Maniyā Dev of Mahobā is a rude image carved on a big rock rounded by a wall. Secondly the Temple of Maniyā Dev has been built in front of a famous Akhārā on the bank of Madan Sāgar. These evidences favour that Maniyādev is Maṇibhadra Yaksha.

In the above point of view it is not difficult to conclude that Maniyāgarh was a Yaksha Chaitya just like a Bauddha Chaitya. Dr. Vasudeo Sharan Agrawal[10] has pointed out that there were Yaksha Sadan or Chaitya like Boddha Chaitya or Vihār. In a Yaksha Chaitya the main image of a Yaksha is essential. Similarly Maniyāgarh Chaitya was named after Maṇibhadra Yaksha. As regards Maniyā Devī, she was an image of a Yakshaṇī named after Maniyāgarh and carved by a folk sculptor. Images of a Yakshaṇī were carved as naked females in this Region.[11] But the image of a female with a sword in hand seems a woman of warrior class who became satī after her husband's death. It is, if an image of goddess, then the sculptor has left her undressed.[12] Folk sculptor is always careless of manifestations and his art is devoid of refinement and adornment.

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10. *Bhārtīya Kalā*, 1966, page 153.

11. Outer part of Jain temples at Khajuraho and other temples, symbolizing fertility.

12. See my article entitled 'Lokkalā : Pahachān aur Kasauṭī', Choumāsā, No. 9.

Now come to the problem of the origin of Chandelas, which has created a controversy among the great historians. A legendary story of Hemvatī and her Union with the Moon-God from Mahobā Khaṇḍ of Prithvīrāj Rāso has been interpretted by some historians that Chandelas were descent of the Moon-God. Dr. Hemchandra Rai[13] related this story with the inscriptions of Chandelas' times and concluded that Chandelas were Kshatriya, while Mr. V.A. Smith rejected this story and proved them Hinduized Gonds. On contrary to it Mr. C.V. Vaidya[14] regarded Chandelas as of high birth and of Āryan origin. Other historians favoured or disfavoured the above mentioned views and hence the riddle of the origin of Chandelas is still alive.

Sometimes wrong interpretation of an evidence and its blind perusal is out of an ignorance regarding folk-art or folk-literature. For instance, a scholar has connected the story of Hemvatī with a Satī Pillar in which a folksculptor has carved the symbols of the Sun and Moon.[15] The Sun and the Moon are always used in a folkimage or a folkpicture to denote eternity of life. It has nothing to do with the story of Hemvatī and the Moon in Mahobākhaṇḍ. Satī female belonging to the warrior class are also carved with a sword in hand. It is essential to go deep while studying the evidences of Satī Pillars regarding the story of Hemvatī or the identity of Maniyā Devī.

Now the identity of Maniyā Dev and Maniyā Devī is ascertained that they are Maṇibhadra Yaksha and Yakshaṇī. In this respect the conception of the famous historian Mr. V.A. Smith regarding the origin of Chandelas has lost its ground, and now it is a matter of revaluation keeping in view of the above established fact in this article.

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13. *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Part II, pages 667-68.

14. *History of Medieval India*, Vol. II, pp. 130-133.

15. See footnotes on J.A.S.B. 1877, pp. 234-35 and *J.A.S.B.* 1868, p. 186 quoted from 'Chandelkālīn Bundelkhaṇḍ Kā Itihās' by Ayodhya Prasad Pandeya, 1968, p. 13.

GOPĀLA-THE SAVIOUR OF KĪRTTIVARMAN CHANDELLA

DR. K.L. AGRAWAL

It is generally thought that Kīrttivarman was the younger brother of Devavarman and his accession to the Chandella throne was not a peaceful one. Some scholars think that the latter died without any lineal descendent. Hence the throne passed to his younger brother Kīrttivarman. The *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*,[1] composed by the illustrious Bilhaṇa, a court poet of Chalukyan king Someśvara I, refers to Karṇa Kalachuri as deadly as death to the lord of the Kālañjar mountain. Dr. N.S. Bose[2] remarks that the term may not necessarily mean the actual death but may only imply the defeat of the ruler of Kālañjar. The term 'Death' is commonly used in inscriptions in this sense, Dr. H.C. Ray[3] believes that one of the predecessors of Kīrttivarman lost the life in the war, which took place between the Chedis and the Chandellas. The opinion of Dr. Ray seems to be correct. In the war that ensued between the Kalachuri Karṇa and the Chandella Devavarman, the latter lost his life in the battle-field. Subsequently, the task of reviving the swallowed Chandella kingdom by the former, fell upon Kīrttivarman. The Ajaygarh rock inscription of V.S. 1137[4] mentions Kīrttivarman as a pitcher-born in swallowing the ocean of the Kalachuri power and also as the lord of Creatures in creating a new kingdom. Similarly an inscription from Mahoba records[5] that Kīrttivarman had acquired great fame by crushing with his strong arms the haughty Lakṣmīkarṇa. The aforementioned statements are also corroborated by an allegorical drama *Prabodhacandrodaya* written by the

1. Bühler's ed., XVIII, p. 93. 'कालः कालंजरगिरिपतेर्यः'
2. *History of the Candellas*, p. 78.
3. *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 698.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 327-29, V. 3.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 219, V. 26.

illustrious Kṛṣṇa Misra, the court dramatist of the Chandella sovereign. The work gives full credit of the rise of the Chandella empire to one Gopāla. The drama narrates : "Here is Gopāla, the bright flame of whose prowess blazed in the forest of the numerous and powerful enemies, and spread throughout the three worlds; Gopāla, whose glory fills the universe, who aided by his sword as his friend, conquered the lords men and has invested with sovereignty of the earth Kīrttivarman, the chief of the princes."[6]

The glorious Gopāla, whose lotus foot is ornamental with the crests of tributary kings; who, in the form of Nṛsimha opens a door through the breasts of his enemies, who, assuming the shape of a boar, raises up the earth, when it has sunk in the waters of destructions poured down upon its sovereign."[7]

His anger was roused to establish the sovereign of the race of the moon, who had been dethroned by the lord of the Chedi, the Rudra and fire of destruction of all royal families of the earth."[8]

Now, the question arises as to who this Gopāla was and who revived the Chandella empire! Scholars like Hultzsch,[9] Smith[10] Kielhorn[11] and Ray[12] argue that he was the Brāhmaṇa general of Kīrttivarman. In support of their contention, they refer to a passage of *Prabodhacandrodaya* in which the heroism and valour of Gopāla are compared to the merciless activities of Paraśurāma's famous battle axe, sparing neither women, children nor persons of old age.[13] But a comparison of the passage with those of the *Mahābhārata* and the Kādambarī will make it clear that Gopāla was of royal blood and was a kṣatriya:

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6. Chowkhambha ed., pp. 7-8.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 220.
10. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 143.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 698.
13. P. 11, V. 17.

1. (i) *Kādambarī* प्रतापानुरागावनतसमस्तसामन्तचक्र:[14]

Prabodhacandrodaya सकलसामन्तचक्रचूडामणिमारीचिमञ्जरीनीराजितचरणकमलेन[15]

(ii) *Kādambarī* नाम्नेव यो निर्भिन्नारातिहृदयो विरचितनारसिंहरूपाडम्बरम्[16]

Prabodhacandrodaya बलवदरिवहवक्षस्तटकपाटपाटनप्रकटितनृसिंहरूपेण[17]

(iii) *Mahābhārata* ततः प्रतापो राजा स सर्वभूतहितेरत:[18]

Prabodhacandrodaya भगवन्नारायणांशसंभूतो भूतहिताय तथाविधाःपौरुषभूषणाः पुरुषाः क्षितिमवतीर्य निष्पादितकृत्या:[19]

2. The commentator Nāṇḍillagopaprabhu in explaining 'Śrīmatā Gopālena' invariably gives the designation of Rājan to him.[20]

3. The fragmentary Jhansi stone inscription of Sallakṣaṇasimha points out that the saviour of Kīrttivarman was a king of Kanauj.[21]

4. Lastly the term 'Pratāp', 'Puruṣārtha', 'Asilatāmātramitreṇa', 'Pauruṣabhūṣaṇapuruṣaḥ etc. are generally used for the kṣatriya ruler and these terms are obviously ascribed to Gopāla. This fact gives strength to the proposed view that Gopāla belonged to the kṣatriya race.

Cunningham[22] interpreted 'Gopāla' as an appellation of Viṣṇu and opined that Kīrttivarman had thrown off the yoke of Kalachuri subjugation by the grace of Gopāla (Viṣṇu). But the epithet 'सकलसामन्तचक्रचूडामणिमरीचिमञ्जरीनीराजितचरणकमलेन' given to him in the drama[23] far from indicating his feudatory status, suggests that he had his own circle of sāmantas.[24]

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14. (Bombay 1946), p. 7 & 12.
15. (Benaras, 1955), p. 4.
16. p. 9.
17. p. 4.
18. 1.92.1.
19. p. 11.
20. *Prabodhacandrodaya*, p. 12, note 'श्रीमता महानुभावेन गोपालेन राज्ञा'
21. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 216, Lines 20-21.
22. *A.S.R.*, Vol. II, p. 453.
23. *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 697, 700; *Struggle for empire*, p. 58; *History of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty*, p. 19.
24. p. 4.

Prbodhacandrodaya describes Gopāla as *Sahaja-Suhṛt*[25] of Kīrttivarman. According to M.M. Ganapati[26] Sastri the term *Sahaja-suhṛt* or *sahajamitra* means either the ruler of the friendly state situated beyond the borders of the immediate neighbouring state (ari) or one's cousins. Dr. S.K. Mitra[27] prefers to place Gopāla in the second category, on the ground that the drama neither styles him king nor does it indicate the territory over which he was ruling. However, he has himself quoted with approval Naṇḍillagopālaprabhu, who designates him as rājña.

M.L. Mathur[28] identifies this Gopāla with the homonymous Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler of Kanauj (Gādhipurādhipati) mentioned in the Sahet-Mahet[29] and Badaun[30] inscriptions. He also points out that the unknown ruler mentioned in the Jhansi stone inscription of Sallakṣaṇa is Gopāla, who and whose predecessors, before their defeat at the hands of Gahaḍavāla ruler Chandra were the feudal lords of the Chandellas under mighty Dhaṅga. The rise of the Chandellas as first rate power greatly disturbed the political equilibrium of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. This disturbance was responsible for the rise of a new power in the territories under some Chandra. This may have happened in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D.[31] It seems possible that after the return of Mahmud of Ghazna, Chandra Rāṣṭrakūṭa also brought Kanauj under his influence.

In the glorious days of the Chandellas their rulers maintained the supremacy of the neighbouring territories, but the death of Vidyādhara, the

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25. सहजसुहृदो राज्ञः कीर्त्तिवर्मदेवस्य पृ० ४.
26. Kauṭilya *Arthaśāstra* (ed. G. Sastri), p. 233.
27. *Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, pp. 96-99.
28. *IHQ*, Vol. XX, (1944), p. 154 ff.
29. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 61-64; XXIV, p. 176.
30. *EP. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 61-66.
31. The Sahet-Mahet inscriptions mention Mandanpāla Raṣṭrakūṭa as ruling in V.S. 1176 i.e., 1118-19 A.D. Hence by giving twenty years for each reign, his great grandfather chandra would have reigned in the 1st quarter of the 11th century dying before 1038 A.D. Where as Chandra Gāhaḍavāla died actually in 1100 A.D. (*JRAS.*, jan 1930, p. 11). He was the contemporary of Gopāla and his son Trilochanapāla. Ray, Tripathi, Ojha and D.D. Bhardwaja all agree in assigning the 1st quarter of the 11th century to Chandrapāla of Badaun record (*IHQ*, 1944, p. 160).

last imperial sovereign of the line, the Chandella sovereignty was seriously threatened by the contemporary Kalachuri king Karṇa. The latter dethroned the Chandella ruler Kīrttivarman, who was enthroned by the above mentioned Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Gopāla, the great grandson of Chandra.

Dr. Roma Niyogi[32] has raised serious difficulties about the proposed identification. In her opinion Gopāla mentioned in the *Prabodhachandrodaya* and proposed to be identified with Gopāla of the Sahet-Mahet inscription of Vidyādhara of V.S. 1176 and the undated Badaun inscription of Lakhanpāla is extremely doubtfull for these records do not refer to his most glorious achievement viz., the defeat of Kalachuri king Karṇa and the restoration of Kīrttivarman. Secondly, *Prabodhacandrodaya* does not connect this Gopāla with Kanauj. Thirdly, the Jhansi inscription of Sallakṣaṇa, which has been quoted in support of the theory, is extremely unreliable ,due to its fragmentary character.

The statements of Mathur, Roma Niyogi and Dikshit may be revived in the light of recently acquired Kuṇḍeśvara copper plate of Vidyādhara Chandella. This copper plate was discovered in the vicinity of Kuṇḍeśvara in the Tikamgarh district of Madhya Pradesh and is preserved in the Basic Training Institute, Kuṇḍeśvara. The first five lines of the copper plate are as follow :

1. उं नमः। श्री परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीधंगदेवपादानुध्यातः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज परमे-
2. श्वर श्रीगण्डदेवपादानुध्यातः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीविद्याधरदेवपादानां महीप्रवर्द्धमा-
3. न कल्याणविजयराज्येआस्य पादपद्मोपजीवीवाह चन्द्रात्रेयगोत्रे महाराजपुत्रो श्रीगोपाल---श्रीवच्छैकसु-
4. तौतेयेर्म्मेता महाराज्ञी सत्यभामया श्रीम--जस्य दुहितयातयाश सम्वत्सर सहस्त्रेषट्यधिके सम्वत १०६०
5. श्रावणी अमावस्यो सूर्यग्रहणे ब्रह्मशिलायां स्नात्वा गंगोजलेदेयपित

In the above mentioned passage one Mahārājaputra Gopāla is described.His gotra was Chandrātreya (Chandella) and he gets पादपद्मोपजीवी of P.M.P. Vidyādhara Chandella. Since he gets the epithet श्रीपादपद्मोपजीवी it is quite obvious that he might have been a local chief ruling in the area around Tikamgarh and Jhansi districts. He was a kṣatriya. His daughter Satyabhāmā was married to P.M.P. Vidyādhara, the imperial sovereign of the Chandella dynasty. He was the son of P.M.P. Gaṇḍa and grandson of P.M.P. Dhaṅga. Thus this Gopāla was the father-in-law of Vidyādhara. As this copper plate

32. *History of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty,* pp. 18-24.

was issued from Brahmaśilā (the ancient name of Kuṇḍeśvara) it seems possible that the Mahārājñī Satyabhāmā came to her father's house at Brahmaśilā and on the auspicious occasion of Solar eclipse after taking bath in the holy waters of river Jāminī at Brahmaśilā (Kuṇḍeśvara) donated land to learned Brāhmaṇas in V.S. 1060 (1003 A.D.).

Now we can reconstruct the history of Gopāla. He seems to be the ruler of Tikamgarh-Jhansi region. As he was the father-in-law of ruling sovereign, he must have become a considerably important person in the Chandella court . The collapse of Sāhis opened the way to the heart of India and in 1018 A.D. Mahmud started on that expedition to Ganga-Yamuna valley of which he had been dreaming for years. After crossing the Yamuna he reached Kanauj. The Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Rājyapāla realising the futility of resistance fled away from the inperial capital. This ignominious escape of Rājyapāla displeased the Chandella king Vidyādhara. The Dubkuṇḍ inscription of Kachchhapaghāta prince Vikramasiṁha tells us that his great grandfather, Arjuna "anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyādharadeva, (had) fiercely slain in a great-battle the illustrious Rājyapāla, with many showers of arrows that pierced his neckbone."[33] We get a curious confirmation of this episode in the writings of Muslim Chroniclers, who reveal that Rājyapāla, killed in a battle against Vidyādhara in 1019 A.D. was the ruler of Kanauj.[34] Gopāla took active part in this episode and after the death of Rājyapāla was appointed the ruler of Kanauj on behalf of Vidyādhara Chandella.[35]

The Jhansi stone inscription of Sallakṣaṇasimha[36] refers to this Gopāla as the ruler of Kanauj. In the 20th line of the above mentioned record we are

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33. Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 237, Line 15.
श्रीविद्याधरदेवकार्यनिरतः श्रीराज्यपालं हठात्कंठास्थिच्छिदनेकबाणनिवहर्हत्वामहत्याहवे ।

34. A1- Tarikhul Kamil., (Bulak), IX, pp. 115-16; Tabqat-i-Akbari (De), Vol. I, p. 12; Tarikh-i-Firishta (Briggs), I, pp. 63, 67; Kitab-jain-ul-Akhbar, p. 76.

35. After the death of Rājyapāla, Kanauj seems to be the integral part of Chandella empire till the establishment of Gahadavāla supremacy. The Jhusi grant of Trilochanapāla (V.S. 1087 = A.D. 1027, Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 33-35), and the Kara inscription of Yaśahpāla (V.S. 1093 = A.D. 1036, JRAS, 1927, pp. 694-95), appear to suggest that after the devastation of Kanauj and Bari, the Gurjara Pratihāras have retired to the eastern part of their dominions and held a portion of the Allahabad district from 1027 to 1036 A.D. after which the existence of the dynasty cannot be traced in north Indian records.

36. EP. Ind., Vol. I, p. 216 सकलक्ष्मापालचूडामणेस्तस्माद्रक्षितकीर्त्तिवर्म्मनृपति दत्त्वा स्वयं शासनम् ।

informed that somebody (name lost i.e., Gopāla) protected Kīrttivarman. The record mentions that the ruler of Kānyakubja along with Kīrttivarman Chandella and Udayāditya of Malwa formed a confederacy against the mighty Karṇa. This Gopāla was the great grand maternal uncle of Kīrttivarman. So he was a *sahaj-Suhṛt* to him.

It is noteworthy that the saviour of Kīrttivarman seems to be a centenarian. At the time of issuing the Kuṇḍeśvara copper plate (1003 A.D.) he might have been forty years old and at the time of enthroning Kīrttivarman he was a century old. An usually long span of life is not a strange thing to the Chandrātreyas. We know that Dhaṅga lived for more than a century and abandoned his earthly life at the holy confluence of Saṅgam.[37]

Thus it may be pointed out that it was Mahārājaputra Gopāla Chandratreya (Chandella) the great grand maternal uncle of Kīrttivarman, who organised a large army and defeated the Chedi king Lakṣhmīkarṇa Kalachuri. Kīrttivarman Chandella, therefore, permitted the drama entitled *Prabodhachandrodaya* to be staged in his own presence.[38]

It is relevant to note here that the accounts of the inscriptions and *Prabodhachandrodaya* widely differ to each other. The play give full credit for reviving the Chandella power to Gopāla, while the inscriptions to the Chandella king. However, the incident known by both the sources is one and the same. It appears that the inscriptions were engraved after half a century of the commencement of the episode. It is, therefore, possible that the ruling line of the Chandellas would have forgotten it.

Date of Victory

Lakṣhmīkarṇa Kalachuri succeeded the royal throne sometime before 1073 A.D.[39] Hence the incident must have taken place before this

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37. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 146, V. 55 जीवित्वा शरदां शतं समधिकं श्रीधंगपृथ्वीपतिः।
रुद्रं मुद्रितलोचनः स हृदये ध्यायञ्जपञ्जाह्नवी
कालिंद्योः सलिले कलेवरपरित्यागादगान्निर्वृतिं।।

38. pp. 6-7.

39. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 207.

date. The Chalukya Bhīma I and the Paramāra Udayāditya also claim similar victories over him.[40] The former ceased the throne in A.D. 1064 and the latter succeeded the Paramāra throne in 1059 A.D.[41] It seems that this victory over Karṇa took place at the beginning of the career of this Chandella sovereign, most probably between C. 1060 and 1065 A.D.

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40. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 238, *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 181; *Ibid.*, p. 303.

41. H.C. Ray (*DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 780) gives the names of the following sovereigns, who defeated the Chedi ruler:

(i) Someśvara, the Chalukyan king of Kalayāṇī, C. 1040-69 A.D.

(ii) Bhīma, the Chalukyan king of Anhilapattana, C. 1021-64 A.D.

(iii) Vigrahapāla, the Pāla king of Bihar & Bengal, C. 1055-81 A.D.

(iv) Udayāditya of Mālwa, C. 1059 A.D.

CORPORATE BODIES IN EARLY MEDIEVAL RAJASTHAN

DR. LALIT PANDEY

Udaipur

The corporate bodies of different nature were popular in ancient India. Among them the guilds were the most popular and important organisations. The Jātakas and Kauṭilya *Arthashāstra* refer to the guilds of traders and craftsmen. The main objective of the guilds was to promote the business and industry. These guilds had their certain rules and regulations to regulate the business. The guilds,continuing from the Mauryan period, became an even more important factor of urban life, both in organising production and shaping the public opinion.[1] An epigraph of Usavadata speaks itself in cave 10 at Nasik:

"....And those Kahapanas have been invested in guilds dwelling at Govardhana (as follows):

2000 at a (monthly) rate of one padika per hundred (12 percent annually) with a guild of weavers: and 1000 in another guild of weavers at the interest of 3/4 padika (9 percent per year) per hundred......"

During the Gupta period, guilds continued as the major institution in the field of manufacturing goods and in commercial enterprise. But the sphere and the activities of the guilds had become restricted during this period as compared to their position till the 2nd century A.D. According to Koshambi, these guilds or srenis in general faded away, to be replaced by another type of association of the required needs, namely goshthi, which was restricted to period and special purposes, without the bond of caste or kinship.[2] Dr. Sarkar has defined it as an assembly or a corporate body.

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1. Romila Thapar, *A History of India,* p. 109.
2. D.D. Koshambi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History,* p. 335.

The present paper is an attempt to discuss the corporate bodies in early medieval Rajasthan. We find the references of different kinds of corporate bodies in the inscriptions of Rajasthan. The description of these bodies are as follows:

Goshthi :

The Vasantgadh inscription of Varmalata is the earliest example of it. This inscription bears the date V.S. 682 i.e. 625 A.D. The inscription describes the event as follows:

"........while the chief (rajan) was governing, the temple of the goddess (Kshemarya) was caused to be made by the *goshthi* at Vatakarasthana.

According to Prof. Bhandarkar the word *goshthi* no doubt, signifies by itself, a *paṇch* or committee entrusted with the management of the religious endowments, as was first pointed out by Prof. Bühler, though in compound words, such as *pandita-gosthi*, *pana-goshthi*, and so forth, it has the general sense of "assembly".[3]

The Kaman inscription[4] also tells us about the *goshthi*. According to it, 'these temples were evidently placed in the charge of Saiva acharyas of Pasupata sect, though the actual management of them was carried out by a committee (*Goshthi*) appointed for the purpose.' It is clear from the above description that the *goshthi* was not similar to the guilds (*srenis*). The composition of the *goshthi* as referred to in Vasantgar inscription also does not equate the guild with *goshthi* because the purpose of *goshthi* was to manage the affairs of temples or any religious matter.

The second inscription of Kaman also consists of a collective record of a number of donations and endowments made on different dates in favour of certain deities. The last document of the second inscription[5] from Kaman specifically clarified that *goshthikas* were responsible for the utilization of certain incomes of the temples in meeting the expenses of white washing, vermillion and light. It seems from the above description that *goshtikas* had a prominent role in the religious matters. Perhaps they had maintained the economic affairs of the temples.

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3. *Epigraphia India,* Vol. IX, p. 189.
4. *Epigraphia India,* Vol. XXIV, p. 333.
5. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXXVI, Part II. p. 52.

Mahajana -

The Samoli inscription[6] gives the information that a *Mahajana* (community) headed by Je (nta) ka who had migrated from Vatanagar, started an agana (mine) in Aranyakupagiri which became a source of livelihood for the people.

Further, the inscription tells us that Mahatara Jentaka, at the command of the *Mahajan*, found at the place a temple of Aranyavasini. It is clear from the above description that *Mahajana* was a community organisation and Jentaka was the head of this organisation. He was called Mahatara.

Sreni -

The Kaman inscription[7] is a very good example of guilds. It reflects side-light on some transactions of guilds. The document III of the Kaman inscription gives this information that a guild of potters decided to pay one 'pana' per wheel every month from each potter for Kamyakesvara temple. In document III[8] it records that the guild of gardeners was living in Kamyaka shrine of Vishnu and Chamunda. In document IV[9], it records that the guild of artisan's made a permanent endowment. It was decided in this accord that each artisan, who worked in the place, shall pay one 'dramma' per month.

On the basis of the above description the procedure of transactions[10] was as follows:

(i) When a donor intended to make a permanent provision for the maintenance of a temple or the supply of materials for the worship of deity, he either invested the necessary amount in landed property or deposited it with a guild.

(ii) Sometimes the guild had not paid out of its common fund, but levied a small cess on every member of it working in that particular locality.

It is clear from the above description that guilds were in existence during this period in Rajasthan.

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6. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XX, p. 97-99.
7. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXIV, p. 331.
8. *Ibid., Vol. XXIV,* p. 333.
9. *Ibid,* Vol. XXIV, p. 333.
10. *Ibid.* Vol. XXIV, p. 333.

The Somanath temple inscription[11] which was found in Shergadh reflects the light that the third donation was made by Thaiyaka on the 12th of January, 1028 A.D. The inscription is described him Thaiyaka-Raja. Probably, he was the chief of the guild of oilmen and had assigned to temple the entire production of two of the oil mills owned by him.

Somedeva has also described the two terms *Goshthi*[12] and *srenis*[13] in his famous work. The *Bṛhaspati*[14] *Smṛti* tells us that the guilds could impose a fine or even exile a member who refused to perform his part agreement. It also gives the information that the construction of a house of assembly, shed for travellers were also constructed by the guilds. The welfare activities were also conducted by the guilds. A fifteenth century manuscript *Kanhadahe Prabandh*[15] also describes about the eighteen different professional groups. It also refers that these groups worked together in a group form.[16]

Desi -

The Harsha stone inscription[17] of the Chahamana Vigraha-raja has the following line :

'तथा समस्तश्रीभम्मह (दे) श्या शाकम्भर्यां लवणकूटकं प्रति विंशोपकमेकं दत्तं'

The translation of the above line is as follows. Likewise one 'vimsopaka' on every *kutaka* of salt was assigned by the most illustrious ...... at Sakambhari.

Prof. F. Kielhorn says that the word here left untranslated is 'bhammahadesya'. According to Kielhorn here the word 'Desi' denotes 'a guild' and in that case bhammaha should denote a class of traders. Dr. Dashrath Sharma[18], has also translated this word ' भम्मह (दे) श्या' as the 'Desi of Bhammahas'.

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11. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXIII, p. 138.
12. Nītivākyāmṛtam, 28, 35, 37.
13. *Ibid,* 28, 45.
14. *S.B.E.* 17, 5-24.
15. घांची, मोची सूई सूतार वसई मांहि वर्ण अढ़ार KP. 4, 19.
16. आपापणि काजि सहू मिलई, चहुट हईइ हईउं दलई .P. 4, 20.
17. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. II, p. 130.
18. *Rajasthan, Through The Ages,* p. 496.

In Peheva[19] inscription the word *Desi* also appears. Prof. Bühler has translated this word by foreman means literally, 'guide', instructor and at last he equates term *Desi* with *Sreni* or guild.

The Nadlai stone inscription[20] of Rayapaladeva (V.E. 1202) also contains the word "Desi". Prof. Bhandarkar has also expressed his views that the Vanjarbas of Abhinavapuri, Badari and Nadlai used to assemble together into a guild (*Desi*). The *Kuvalayamālā* also mentions a desi-vanik-meli[21] or (association of merchants).

These above mentioned inscriptions do not reflect any light on the composition of this term *Desi.*

It is clear from the above stated description that *Goshthi, Mahajan, Sreni* and *Desi*, the four types of corporate bodies were prevalent in early medieval Rajasthan.

□□□

19. *Epigraphia Indica, Vol.* p. 186.
20. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XI, p. 42.
21. *Rajasthan through the Ages,* 495.

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19. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol I, p. 186.
20. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, p. 42.
21. *Rajasthan through the Ages*, 491.

वैदिक इतिहास-अवधारणा के मुख्य तत्त्व

डॉ० अजय कुमार मिश्र

इलाहाबाद

वैदिक इतिहास-अवधारणा के मुख्य तत्त्वों का दर्शन आर्ष–चिन्तक की चिन्तनधारा में उपलब्ध होता है। वेदों को मात्र धर्म का मूल निर्झर मानना समीचीन नहीं है वस्तुतः ये प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास के निर्मायक तत्त्वों के निधान हैं। इतिहास–लेखन के मुख्यतः चार रूपों का ज्ञान हमें वेद से होता है। ये केवल इतिहास–विधायक तत्त्व हैं। इन सभी तत्त्वों का समायोजित स्वरूप इतिहास अतएवं पंचम वेद नाम से अभिसंज्ञित किया गया । नारद का कथन प्राप्त होता है– भगवन्! मैंने **ऋग्वेद** पढ़ा है, **यजुर्वेद**, **सामवेद** चौथा **आथर्वण**, पांचवाँ इतिहास– पुराण, वेदों के वेद अर्थात् जिससे वेद स्पष्ट हो जाते हैं।[1] वेदों का स्वाध्याय विविध फल प्रदायक है। अनुशासन, विद्या, वाकोवाक्य, इतिहास–पुराण, गाथा, नाराशंसी के स्वाध्याय द्वारा देवों को मधु–मिश्रित आहुतियां प्राप्त होती हैं।[2] इस उद्धरण से संकेतित है कि इतिहास, पुराण, गाथा, नाराशंसी का अध्ययन किया जाता था। महत्त्वशाली सूत्रग्रन्थ भी कल्प, गाथा, नाराशंसी, इतिहास–पुराण की इयत्ता स्वीकार करते हैं।[3] इतिहास की पंचमवेद संज्ञा (इतिहासपुराणं पंचमम्) उसकी वेद से समबद्धता तथा इतिहास–प्रकृति के द्योतक गाथा, नाराशंसी आदि का वेदान्तर्गत उल्लेख इस तथ्य का प्रमाण है कि भारतीय इतिहास का मूल, वैदिक साहित्य में ही ढूंढ़ना संगत है। इतिहास–प्रकृति गाथा, नाराशंसी आदि का प्रथमतः उल्लेख वेद में इस प्रकार उपलब्ध है– "वह बृहती दिशा की ओर प्रस्थित हुआ। उस समय पुराण, इतिहास, मनुष्यों की

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१. ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि, यजुर्वेदं, सामवेदमाथर्वणं चतुर्थमितिहासपुराणं पंचमं वेदानां वेदं सर्पदेवजनविद्यामेतद् भगवोऽध्येमि। (छान्दो० उपनि०) ७–१–२

२. यदनुशासनानि विद्या वाकोवाक्यमितिहासपुराणं गाथानाराशंस्यः । य एवं विद्वान् अनुशासनानि विद्या वाकोवाक्यमितिहासपुराणं गाथानाराशंसीरित्यहरहः स्वाध्यायमधीते। मध्वाहुतिभिरेव तद् देवांस्तर्पयति– **शतपथ ब्रा० ११–५–६–८**

३. यदृचोऽधीते पयसः कुल्या अस्य पितृन् स्वधा उपक्षरन्ति यद्यजूंषि घृतस्य कुल्या यत्सामानि मध्वः कुल्याः यदथर्वांगिरसः सोमस्य कुल्या यद्ब्राह्मणानि कल्पान् गाथा नाराशंसीरितिहासपुराणा–नीत्यमृतस्य कुल्याः।। **आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र ३–४–३**

प्रशंसात्मक गाथाओं (गाथा, नाराशंसी) ने उसका अनुगमन किया। इस तथ्य का ज्ञाता ही पुराण, इतिहास एवं गाथाओं का प्रिय धाम होता है।"[४]

इतिहास– लेखन के रूपों में प्राचीनतम रूप गाथा है। गाथा[५] का शाब्दिक अर्थ गीत है, जिससे हम विशेषतः प्रशंसात्मक कथन का बोध ग्रहण करते हैं। यह प्रशंसात्मक कथन देव विशेष, ऋषि विशेष, नृपति विशेष से सम्बन्धित हो सकता है। *ऋग्वेद संहिता* में प्रायशः यही अर्थबोध प्राप्त है–'हे काण्व (कण्वगोत्रीय ऋषि) यशगान के उपरान्त जब इन्द्र शक्ति से पूर्ण हो जायें तो तुम उनके कर्मों का अनुगान करो' । ऐसे अन्य स्थल[६] भी हैं। सर्वाधिक गाथाएं अन्तरिक्ष देवता इन्द्र से ही सम्बन्धित हैं। इन्द्र को सर्वशक्तिमान् एवं प्रायः सोम पान करने वाला, धन सम्पत्ति प्रदाता के रूप में ही स्तुत किया गया है ७ 'ऋत्विजों ! सोमपायी इन्द्र का स्तुतिगान करो । वे सबको वशवर्ती बनाने वाले, शतशः कर्मसंपादक, सर्वाधिक धन प्रदायक हैं। अनेकजनों द्वारा आहूत, अनेकजनों से स्तुत, गान करने योग्य देवता को सनातन इन्द्र कहो। इन्द्र हमको धन देने वाले, अन्नप्रदायक, सभी को नचाने वाले, महान् हैं, हमारे सम्मुख आकर धन प्रदान करें। सुन्दर किरीटधारी इन्द्र ने जौ से युक्त सोम का भलीभाँति पान किया है। यह सोम इन्द्र को बढ़ाने वाला है, अतः सोम–पानार्थ इन्द्र से प्रार्थना करो'। इन्द्रगाथाएं प्रायः काव्यमयी शैली में विशाल रूप में उपलब्ध हैं।[७]

नाराशंसी संज्ञक एक अन्य रूप भी गाथा का प्राप्त होता है। उन गाथाओं का विषय लोकानुरंजनी–प्रवृत्ति से सनाथ मानव[८] का अथवा इन्द्रेतर अग्नि, मरूतादि के मानवीकरण का यशोगान है। 'सभी मनुष्यों में प्रशंसार्ह अग्नि हमारे इस यज्ञ को प्रज्ज्वलित करे।[९] हम सभी द्वारा प्रशंसित मधुजिह्व, निसर्गतः वर प्रदाता देव को आवाहित करते हैं'। ब्राह्मण, आरण्यक संहिता, श्रौतसूत्र, धर्म ग्रन्थों से पता चलता है कि यज्ञानुष्ठानों, विविध धर्म तथा संस्कार–संपादक, नृपतियों द्वारा उपलब्ध वीरोचित सैनिक विजय के अवसर पर गाथा का अनुगायन, संगायन और वाचन करने की परम्परा रही। गाथा वेद में 'पुराणी' विशेषण–सहित भी प्रयुक्त हुआ है।[१०] इससे संकेतित है कि ऋग्वेद–युग में अति पुरातनी गाथाएं अस्तित्व में थीं और यह

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४. स बृहतीं दिशमनुव्यचलत्।।
तमितिहासश्च पुराणं च गाथाश्च नाराशंसीश्चानव्यचलत्।।
इतिहासस्य च स वै पुराणस्य च गाथानां च नाराशंसीनां च प्रियं धाम भवति, य एवं वेद।। **अथर्व०** १५–६–१०–१२ **शत० ब्रा०** ५–६–४–८, **तैत्ति० आरण्यक** ११–१० **आश्व० सूत्र** ३–३

५. वी० एस० आप्टे **संस्कृत हिन्दी कोश**, पृ० –३४२

६. ऋग्वेद ३–५१–१–१५, ४–२३–१–३, २६–१–४, ५–३४–१–४ आदि।

७. ए० ए० मैकडॉनेल : वैदिक **माइथालोजी**, पृ० १०२।
(हिन्दी अनुवाद : डा० रामकुमार राय, चौखम्बा, विद्याभवन, वाराण्सी, १९६१) ।

८. हिन्दी अनुवाद : डा० रामकुमार राय, चौखम्बा, विद्याभवन, वाराण्सी, १९६१ ।

९. नाराशंसः सुषूदतीमं यज्ञमदाभ्यः। कविर्हि मधुहस्त्यः।।–**ऋग्वेद** ५–५–२ ।

१०. तं गाथया पुराण्या पुनानमभ्यनूषत। उतो कृपन्त धीतयो देवानां बिभ्रतीः ।।
ऋग्वेद ९–९९–४

तथ्य हमें इस दिशा का भी बोध कराता है कि हम कह सकें–भारतीय मनीषा की इतिहास–दृष्टि सर्वथा प्राचीन रही है। गाथात्मक इतिवृत्त कथन के सातत्य–परिप्रेक्ष्य को यदि हम इतिहास–लेखन का मूल स्वीकारें तो भारतीय इतिहास रचना की कल्पना काफी प्राचीन प्रतीत होती है। यह महत्त्वपूर्ण तथ्य है कि जहाँ भी गाथा को इति शब्द से समाप्त किया गया है, वहाँ उसकी स्व–इयत्ता एक इतिहास–दृष्टि को विवृत चित्रित करती है। गाथा, नाराशंसी और रैमी तीनों ही सामान्यतः धार्मिक गीत संरचना के रूप में मान्य रहे।

नाराशंसी जिसे हम गाथा का ही एक स्वरूप स्वीकार करते हैं, हमारे लिये इतिहास रचना का दिग्बोधक तत्त्व है। क्योंकि इतिहास मानवीय–चरितास्थान का समायोजन करता है, नरदेही से इतर चरित इसकी सीमा से परे हैं। नाराशंसी की निष्पत्ति नराशंस (जिसका अर्थ मनुष्य का यशगायन अथवा कर्म विशेष की प्रशंसा है) शब्द से हुई है– यह सोम–स्तोताओं की प्रातः कालीन स्तुतियों द्वारा जाने जाते हैं। यह द्यावा–पृथ्वी के मध्य गमन करने वाले मनुष्यों देवताओं द्वारा सोम देवता और पृथ्वी के प्राणियों को कर्मों से संलग्न करते हैं।

इसी प्रकार एक अन्य ऋचा में–दोग्ध्री धेनु के स्तन की भाँति परहितेच्छा के भावों से पूर्ण करने की प्रार्थना है और एक स्थान पर अग्नि तथा त्रित की स्तुति करने के लिये उल्लेख है–'हे स्तोता ! पूषन देवता धन देकर पुष्ट करने वाले और शत्रुओं के लिए दुर्धर्ष हैं। तुम उनका स्तवन तथा पूजन करो । जो अग्नि सब देवों में तेजस्वी हैं उनकी स्तुति करो'। याज्ञवल्क्य द्वारा प्रयुक्त नाराशंसीश्च गायिकाः पद हमारी–इस अवधारणा को पुष्ट करता है कि नाराशंसी कथमपि पृथक् विधा न होकर ऋषियों,नृपतियों अथवा राज्यों के वीरोचित तथा लोकोपकारक कार्यों का प्रशंसात्मक स्तवन–रूप था। गायिकाः बहुवचनान्त पद है जो गीतार्थ का बोध कराता है – नाराशंसीश्च गायिकाः से नाराशंसी गीत अर्थ ग्राह्य है। इस विवेचन से यह कह सकते हैं कि भारतीय इतिहास–लेखन की विकास–यात्रा यहीं से आरम्भ हुई होगी । यदि गाथा को हम भारतीय इतिहास संरचना का प्रथम चरण स्वीकार करते हैं तो काण्वों को प्रथम इतिहासकार रचनाकार के रूप में श्रेय है। **ऋग्वेद** का अनुशीलन हमें यह सहज निष्कर्ष प्रदान करता है । दानस्तुतियां एक विशिष्ट छन्द प्रगाथ में रचित है। यह प्रगाथ गाथा का ही रूप है।[११] कतिपय उद्धरण समीचीन होंगे–'हे काण्वों, तुम सत्गुरुओं के रक्षक हो, अन्न की कामना वाले विविध स्थानों में गतिशील हो, वेगवान तथा यशस्वी इन्द्र का स्तवन करो। इसी प्रकार पुण्यकर्मों के रक्षक, स्तुति–उत्प्रेरक, मुक्ति तथा आल्हाद प्रदान करने वाले देव का आवाहन करें'। एक प्रकार से **ऋग्वेद** का अष्टम मण्डल समग्रतः काण्वों की रचना प्रतीत होता है।

इतिहास–निर्मिति का द्वितीय निर्मायक–तत्त्व आख्यान है। आख्यान का शाब्दिक अर्थ किसी पुरानी कहानी की ओर निर्देश करता है– आख्यानं पूर्ववृत्तोक्तिः। पुरुरवा तथा शुनःशेप आदि आख्यान हमें पुराणों तथा परवर्ती वैदिक साहित्य में उपलबध होते हैं। इनका मूल निर्झर **ऋग्वेद** के संवादात्मक शैली में रचित सूक्त हैं। **अथर्ववेदादि** में भी संवादशैली के सूक्त हैं।

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११ . गाथश्रवसं सत्पतिं श्रवस्कामं पुरुत्मानम्। कण्वासो गात वाजिनम्।। **ऋग्वेद**, ८–२–३८

संवादशैली में प्राप्त सूक्तों में ग्रथित आख्यान हैं[१२] इन्द्र–मारुत–संवाद,इन्द्र– अगस्त्य संवाद, अगस्त्य–लोपामुद्रा–संवाद,विश्वामित्रसरित्–संवाद,इन्द्र–अदिति–वामदेव–संवाद,वसिष्ठ–वसिष्ठपुत्र संवाद, इन्द्र–नेमि–संवाद, यम–यमी–संवाद, इन्द्र–वसुक्र पत्नी– संवाद,[१३] अग्नि–देवगण–संवाद, इन्द्र–इन्द्राणी वृषाकपि–संवाद, पुरुरवा उर्वशी –संवाद, भक्त–वरुण संवाद। ये संवाद सूक्त भी आख्यान–प्रकृति के परिचायक हैं। इन संवादात्मक सूक्तों के अतिरिक्त सरमा–पणि आख्यान भी संवादशैली में हैं। **ऋग्वेद** में ग्रथित शुनःशेप का आख्यान श्रौत सूत्रों में उल्लिखित है।

ब्राह्मणग्रन्थ प्रायः ऋग्वैदिक संवादात्मक आख्यानों को भी अभिनिवेश देने में उदारता का परिचय देते हैं। स्पष्ट है कि आख्यान एक प्रतिश्रुत विधा रही है। इसीलिए एक आख्यान–विचक्षण साहित्यिक वर्ग का उल्लेख आख्यानविद प्राप्त है।[१४] वस्तुतः आख्यान एक इतिवृत्तात्मक परिष्कृत रचना–विधा के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित रहा । इसी परिष्कृत रचना विधा ने सम्भवतः इतिहास–निर्मिति का रूप ग्रहण कर लिया हो।[१५]

गाथा एवं आख्यान दोनों ही कथक (कहने वाला) श्रावक (सुनने वाला) के विषय रहे। विशिष्ट अवसरों–अश्वमेध–यज्ञानुष्ठान, चक्रवर्ती नृपति का राज्याभिषेक, उनके द्वारा सम्पन्न किये जाने वाले विभिन्न यागों के आयोजन, राजवर्णन तथा संस्कार–समारोह, के अवसर पर गाथाओं और आख्यानों का श्रवण होता था। **पारस्कर गृह्यसूत्र** में विवाहावसर पर गाथा–श्रवण का उल्लेख उपलब्ध है। एवमेव आख्यान विषयक सन्दर्भ भी प्राप्त होते हैं। अश्वमेध–यज्ञानुष्ठान के प्रकरण में एक दस–आख्यानात्मक विशद पारिप्लवाख्यान एवं देवासुरम् का उल्लेख है। विशेषता यह होती कि प्रतिदिन वक्ता, श्रोता एवं कथ्य पृथक्–पृथक् होते थे।[१६] दस दिवसों में पूर्ण होने वाले इस आख्यानानुष्ठान की वर्षपर्यन्त (प्रतिदिन) प्रावित्तियों के सातत्य में छत्तीस आवृत्तियाँ होती थीं। आख्यान की प्रकृति तथा वृत्ति द्वारा हम यह दिशाबोध ग्रहण करने में समर्थ हैं कि यह एक ऐतिहासिक वर्णन विधा रही है, जिसका सूत्र–शरीर ब्राह्मण, उपनिषद् आदि ग्रन्थों में विकसित हुआ। वैदिक-परम्परा में यह ऐतिहासिकों का मात्र एक विषयक रहा होगा। पारिप्लवाख्यान का ही एक अंश और **वायुपुराण** में समायोजित एक सन्दर्भ हमारी इस धारणा को बलवती करता है कि इतिहास–लेखन–परम्परा में आख्यान का सबल सम्पृक्त्व स्वीकारना पड़ेगा। अष्टम दिन मत्स्य को राजा बनाया जाता है। जलचर प्राणी उसकी प्रजा। मात्स्यहन्ता गण प्रतिनिधि के रूप में जुटते हैं। उनको उपदिष्ट किया जाता है

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१२ . **ऋग्वेद : १'१६५,१७०,१७६, ऋग्वेद : ३–३३, ऋग्वेद ४–१८,७–३३,८–१०० ऋग्वेद : १०–१०,तथा अथर्व० : १८–१–१–१६, ऋग्वेद : १०–२८**

१३ . **ऋग्वेद : १०–२८,१०–५१–५३,१०–८६,१०–६५ अथर्व० १५–११**

१४ . **ऐतरेय ब्रा० : ३–२५–१ तथा निरुक्त : ११–१६**

१५ . **निरुक्त : ५–२१,७–७ और १०–४४**

१६ . **शतपथ० ब्रा० / ११–५–६–८, मैत्रा० सं० १–३–७–३,शतपथ ११३–४–३, पार० गृह्यसूत्र तथा शतपथ ब्रा० १३–४–३–१५,११–१६–६**

इतिहास वहीं वेद है, इसी इतिहास का कथन होना चाहिए।[१७] **वायुपुराणान्तर्गत** समायोजित सन्दर्भ के अनुसार उस महायज्ञ में शास्त्रीय विधि–सम्मत आख्यान आदि के लिये पांच सुवर्ण निर्मित आसन स्थापित किये गये थे। कुशपवित्रित तीन आसन, एक कुश राशि, पाँचवें पर फलक स्थापित । चार मुख्य पुरोहितों हेतु स्थापित। सर्वश्रेष्ठ पॉचवॉ आसन होता के लिये। यह आसन पूर्णरूपेण सुवर्ण निर्मित था, सुन्दर आस्तरण से शोभित। कश्यप की पत्नी सुवर्ण स्वरूपा गर्भवती दिति पार्श्व में आसीन थी। उसी क्षण दस सहस्रों वर्षों से पल रहा गर्भ उनके उदर से निकलकर होता के लिये निर्दिष्ट आसन पर विराजित हो गया। अपने पिता महर्षि कश्यप के ही सदृश वेद तथा आख्यानात्मक पॉचवें वेद का व्याख्यान करने लगा।[१८] सन्दर्भित उद्धरणों से आख्यान एवं इतिहास के प्रकृत्यात्मक सामीप्य, सहधर्मिता के स्पष्ट संकेत प्राप्त होते हैं।

शतपथ ब्राह्मण में आगत–**इतिहासो वेदः** (इतिहास वेद है) एवं **वायुपुराणान्तर्गत-आख्यानपंचवेद** (आख्यानात्मक पॉचवां वेद) दोनों ही पद आख्यान–इतिहास के परस्पराश्रित भाव को उद्घाटित करते हैं। इतिहास का पंचमवेदत्व बहुसम्मत प्रमाणित है। **छान्दोग्योपनिषद्** में इतिहास को पांचवां वेद अभिसंज्ञित किया गया है। **वायुपुराण** आख्यानपंचवेद उद्घोषित करता है।

भारतीय इतिहास–निर्मिति के अंग–स्वरूप तत्त्वों में आख्यानोपरान्त उपाख्यान, अन्वाख्यान एवं आख्यायिका को भी परिगणित किया जा सकता है। इन तीनों की भी प्रकृति, आख्यान–समानधर्मी हैं, किन्तु रूपात्मक अन्तर स्पष्ट है। अन्वाख्यान (अनु+आख्यान) जैसा कि शब्द पर विचार करने से द्योतित होता है, आख्यान का अनुवर्ती है। पूर्व कथा को अधिकाधिक विवृत करने के लक्ष्य से प्रयुक्त होता रहा । उपाख्यान, आख्यानात्मक–प्रकृति–सनाथ लघु रूप है। आख्यायिका, एक ऐसी सुगठित रचना है जो गद्यविधा में हो। कथा–प्रकृति–विभूषित आख्यायिका में कवि वंश आदि तथा अन्य कवियों का भी यत्र तत्र वर्णन होता है। आख्यायिका का प्रथम उल्लेख हमें आरण्यक में प्राप्त हुआ। भाष्यकारों का, कात्यायन तथा पतञ्जलि द्वारा आख्यायिका का अस्तित्व स्वीकारा गया। वस्तुतथ्य यह है कि आख्यायिका एक ऐतिहासिक–विधा का रूप रही है। पतञ्जलि ने तो नामतः तीन आख्यायिकायें उल्लिखित कीं। यदि हम आख्यायिका को परम्परा विश्रुत ज्ञान की कोटि में स्वीकारें, तो असंगत नहीं है। इस विधा के संदर्भ भामह रचित **काव्यालंकार** एवं **अग्निपुराण** में भी प्राप्त हैं।[१९] आख्यान, उपाख्यान एवं गाथा तीनों को ही पुराण संहिता के निर्माण में संयोजित किया गया ।

आख्यान, अन्वाख्यान, उपाख्यान तथा आख्यायिका चारों ही रूप–कलेवर में पृथक् परिलक्षित होते हैं तथापि हम भारतीय इतिहास की संरचना–परम्परा को शृंखलाबद्ध करने वाले

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१७ . **शत० ब्रा०** : १३–४–३–१२ एफ० ई० पार्जिटर, **ऐन्शियेन्ट इन्डियन हिस्टारिकल ट्रेडिशन**, पृ० ५६

१८ . **वायुपुराण** : ६७–५४–६६

१९ . वासवदता, सुमनोत्तरा एवं भैमरथी।**(काव्यालंकार)** १–२५–२६**(अग्निपुराण)** ३३७–१२

सूत्रों से किसी एक को भी अस्वीकार नहीं कर सकते। क्योंकि महाभाष्यकार पतञ्जलि ने न केवल आख्यायिकाएं बल्कि तीन आख्यानों का भी नामोल्लेख किया है।[२०]

विष्णुपुराण (३–६–१५) में आख्यान, उपाख्यान तथा गाथा तीनों का सामञ्जस्यात्मक समायोजन यह संकेत देता है कि इतिहास एवं पुराण दोनों ही के निर्मायक तत्त्व कदाचित् साधर्म्यबोधी रहे। यही कारण है कि दोनों ही विधाएं प्रायशः द्वन्द्व समासात्मक पद के रूप में प्रयुक्त मिलती हैं। दोनों की प्रकृति भी समान कही गयी है– इतिहास–पुराण लोकवृत्त को उपस्थित–उपस्थापित करते हैं।[२१] कतिपय विद्वानों ने तथा **निरुक्त** और **बृहद्देवता** ग्रन्थों ने ऋग्वैदिक काल में ही पारम्परिक विधा या काल्पनिक कथा ज्ञान के रूप में इतिहास की संस्थिति स्वीकारी है, किन्तु सर्वप्रथम, आधिकारिक रूप में उसका अस्तित्व–ज्ञान हमें **अथर्ववेद** से होता है– 'उसने बृहती दिशा की ओर गमन किया । तब पुराण, इतिहास, मनुष्यों की प्रशंसात्मक गाथाएं उसकी अनुगामिनी हुईं' ध्यातव्य है, यहाँ इतिहास प्रथम स्थान पर है, पुराण का उल्लेख उसके पश्चात् किया गया है। दोनों ही ऐसी स्थितियों में समान प्रकृति हैं।

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२०. **विष्णुपुराण** ३–६–१५; यावक्रीतीक, प्रैयंगविक तथा यायातिक–(अष्टाध्यायी १ सूत्र ६) २–१०३

२१. लोकवृत्तमितिहासपुराणस्य विषयः १–(वात्स्यायन : न्यायभाष्य) ४–१–६१
यू० एन० घोषाल, स्टडीज ऑन इन्डियन हिस्ट्री एण्ड कल्चर पृ० १२
वी० एस० पाठक, ऐन्शियेन्ट हिस्टोरियन्स ऑफ इंडिया पृ० ७

AN EVALUATION OF THE LIMITS OF THE ŚUṄGA KINGDOM

ABHAY KUMAR SINGH

Bareilly (U.P.)

The Mauryan dynasty collapsed with the *coup d'etat* brought about by the General Puṣyamitra Suṅga, who founded his own dynasty.[1] Although there is much information about the genealogy and chronology[2] of the Śuṅgas (187/184-72 BC) scholars except a few, have deliberated little to ascertain the extent and limits of the Śuṅga kingdom and the subsequent changes in its boundaries.[3] This indifference has been partly due to the dearth of information but mostly due to overlooking the importance of this question. A solution to it can be a clue to other important issues *viz.*, (a) the latest limits of the Mauryan empire at the time of the Śuṅga *coup d'etat.*, (b) the identity of the rebel areas and rival competing claimants who rose up at the event, and (c) the possibility of a

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1. The Purāṇas say that : पुष्यमित्रस्तु सेनानीः समुद्धृत्य बृहद्रथम् ....!
   Harṣacarita notes : प्रज्ञादुर्बलं च बलदर्शनव्यपदेशदर्शिताशेषसैन्यः सेनानीरनार्यो मौर्यम् बृहद्रथं पिपेष पुष्यमित्रः स्वामिनम् ।

2. F.E. Pargiter has given the Śuṅga genealogy, *The Puranic Record of the Dynasties of Kali Age* (Oxford, 1913) pp. 30-33 and p. 70; R.S. Tripathi *History of Ancient India* (Delhi, 1977 reprint) p. 190; Deciding the Śuṅga chronology was attempted by Sten Konow who thought that the Śuṅga regime began in 20 4 B.C., *Cf* for discussion, R.P. Chanda, "Puṣyamitra and the Śuṅga Empire", *Indian Historical Quarterly,* Vol. V, No. 3, Sept 1929 pp. 401-404 who corrects it to *circa* 184 B.C. R.K. Mookerji places the Śuṅga dynasty between 187 and 75 B.C., R.S. Tripathi between 184-72 B.C.

3. R.C. Majumdar (see *I.H.Q.* 1925 vol. 1, pp. 91-95 and pp. 214-219 in *IHQ* reprint 1985, Delhi) and R.P. Chanda, *op. cit.,* have paid attention to this aspect; but have been generous and have attributed a larger dominion to the Śuṅga dynasty than it actually seem to have possessed *Cf.* S. Tripathi, Śuṅga *kālīna Bhārat (Varanasi, 1977); S. R. Goyal, Magadha-Sātavāhana-Kusāṇa Sāmrājyoṅ kā Yuga,* (Meerut, 1988) pp. 612-613.

Yavana invasion in those years and the farthest limits the invaders could reach in Śuṅga heartland. Presently, we shall confine our attempt to the task of ascertaining the extent of the Śuṅga kingdom.

Puṣyamitra was military General, an usurper who founded the Śuṅga dynasty by ousting Bṛhadratha Maurya. On the strength of numerous references in literature about Puṣyamitra, he appears as the most notable ruler of Śuṅga dynasty. His fame is due to his revival of Brahmanical rituals especially holding the *Aśvamedha yajñas.* Buddhist texts refer to his notorious persecution of Buddhist Śramaṇas upto Śākala and Jallandhar in Punjab. Trusting the authenticity of these references,[4] Puṣyamitra seems to have touched the farthest Northern limits in India. Whether all this region was part of his kingdom, we shall seek to find presently. However, to the present state of knowledge, it is certain that the successors of Puṣyamitra did not possess wider domains than him.

Let us at first understand how scholars have ascribed the geographical limits to the kingdom of Puṣyamitra. It is a pre-supposition with a *coup* that the sway of power begins to expand from the epi-centre where the *coup* occured. This falls in contrast to an expedition which originates from the fringes of the kingdom *e.g.* as Chandragupta Maurya undertook against the Nandas. Hence, it is logical to accept that Puṣyamitra made a strong foothold in Pāṭaliputra or nearby where the coup originated, but many distant parts of the erstwhile Mauryan empire required to be subdued or reconquered.[5] In the above case Pāṭaliputra could be the eastern limit of the kingdom. This proposition gets supported with the information in the *Purāṇas*, in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* and the history by Tārānātha, who reveal that Pāṭaliputra was a capital town of the Śuṅga.

The northern limits of the Śuṅga kingdom have been fixed upon the testimony of the Buddhist text, The *Divyāvadāna* and the history by Tārānātha

4. We shall accept for consideration every historical source/evidence however weak it may be, in order to retain objectivity. Verifying the strength and reliability of the source is the secondary, but the more important stage.

5. "It is a well known fact that Puṣyamitra did not inherit the Maurya empire in its entirety". R.C. Majumdar, 'Some observations on Puṣyamitra and his Empire', *I.H.Q.* vol. 1, 1925 (1985) p. 214.

(c XVI C.A.D.). Tārānātha noted that Puṣyamitra burnt a number of monasteries "*von Madhyadesa bis Dschalamdhara*",[6] *i.e.,* from Madhyadesha as far as Jālandhara. Mazumdar is inclined to accept the account.[7] Further, the concluding portion of the *Divyāvadāna*[8] gives the story that Puṣyamitra, with the aim to make his name immortal, and upon the advice of his Brāhmin priest attempted to uproot the religion of the Buddha and went on persecuting the monks till he reached Sākala (Sialkot) and there issued his notorious proclamation about a reward of one hundred Dīnārs as the price for the head of each Śramaṇa.[9] Chanda noted that "this legend clearly indicates that Puṣyamitra....... dominion extended as far as Śākala".[10] This has been an accepted northern limit of the kingdom.

Kālidāsa places Agnimitra in Vidisā. He mentions an uncertain river Mandākinī, which has luckily been found to be a reference for Narmadā. As the kingdom to the south were independent; *viz.,* the Āndhras and Vidarbha (Berar), the southern limit of the Śuṅga kingdom has been marked at River Narmada. Merutunga also records Puṣyamitra's name among the kings of Ujjayini.[11] Mazumdar is satisfied to put a limit for the kingdom upto river Narmada.[12]

The farthest western limit is indicated in the *Mālavikāgnimitram*[13] where the episode of the Aśvamedha horse of Puṣyamitra is mentioned. The horse was intercepted by the *Yavanas* on the "*Sindhordakṣiṇā*"[14]. Wilson took it as River Indus, but Cunningham and Smith believed it to refer to a rivulet Sindhu in Narwar region of Madhya Pradesh. Mazumdar, by his brilliant arguments ended the controversy and identified it as Indus of Punjab.[15] He

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6. Schiefner's version quoted by V. Smith, *Early History of India,* p. 20.
7. R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.,* p. 219.
8. *Divyāvadāna,* xxix; quoted by R.P. Chanda *op. cit.*, p. 397.
9. The prolamation : यो मे एकं श्रमणशिरो दास्यति तस्याहं दीनारशतं दास्यामि !
10. R.P. Chanda, *op. cit.*, p.398.
11. Merutuṅga (circa XIV C.A.D.) names "*Pussamitta*", Cf. Bühler's translation in *Indian Antiquary,* xliii, 1914, p. 120.
12. R.C. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 214.
13. *Mālavikāgnimitram,* Act V passage 15 in R.P. Tripathi Shastri (ed.), *Kālidāsa Granthāvali* (Allahabad) 2022 Sam. Vikrami) p. 343.
14. *Ibid.* Recently M.V.D. Mohan, " the Sunga Victory on the Sindhu" in *Vajapeya : Prof K. D. Bajpai Felicitation Volume* (New Delhi) p. 307-311.
15. R.C. Mazumdar. *op. cit.* , pp. 215-219.

concluded that "the power of Puṣyamitra seems at one time to have extended to the Indus."[16]

At this stage, if we accept that the Śuṅga dominion extended to these boundaries, from Sindhu to Pāṭaliputra and from Sialkot to Narmada, it may aptly be termed as an Empire; and so has been the case. However, a scholar like Mazumdar qualified the conclusions with the remark that "it is one thing, however, to conquer a country while it is altogether a different thing to permanently administer it,"[17] thereby accepting the subsequent changes in the territorial limits.

We propose to analyse the information about the kings of Śuṅga dynasty and their sources with reference to their domains.

Ruler/King in Puranic List[18]		Associated with territory		Source
1. Puṣyamitra	...	Pāṭaliputra	...	Purāṇas/*Divyāvadāna/ Mālavikāgnimitram.*
	...	Sāketa	...	Ayodhyā Inscription.[19]
	...	Avanti/Vidisā	...	*Mālavikāgnimitram.*
	...	Sindhu=Indus	...	*Mālavikāgnimitram.*
	...	Śākala/Sialkot	...	*Divyāvadāna*
	...	Jālandhara	...	Tārānātha
2. Agnimitra	...	Avanti/Vidisā	...	*Mālavikāgnimitram*
3. Vasujyeṣṭha	...	?	...	Purāṇas
4. Vasumitra	...	?	...	*Harsacarita*

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16. *Ibid.*, p. 215. He saw "no inherent improbability in the assumption". see p. 216.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 219.

18. The list of the dynasty is from F. E. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32 and p. 70.

19. The Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva has been edited in *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, (April 1929) pp. 54-58. See also, *Prācīn Bhārat ke Pramukha Abhilekha* pp. 96-98; D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions.* Vol. 1 (Delhi, 1986) IIIrd edition, pp. 94-95.

5. Āndhraka/ Odraka	...	Avanti/Vidisā	...	Besnagar Inscription.[20]
6. Pulindaka	...	?	...	Purāṇas
7. Ghosa	...	?	...	Purāṇas
8. Vajramitra	...	?	...	Purāṇas
9. Bhagvata	...	Avanti/Vidisā	...	Besnagar Inscription.[21]
10. Devabhumi	...	?	...	Purāṇas

Besides these Śuṅga dynasts who are enumerated in the Purāṇic genealogy, some other kings are mentioned in some epigraphs who seem to have some connection either with the Śuṅgas or with their territory. The figure given below will explain the point.

Ruler/King referred		Territory	Source
1.	Dhandeva, 'Lord of Kosal's s/o of Phālgundeva and Kausiki; and sixth from Senāpati Puṣyamitra.	Sāketa	Ayodhyā Inscription[22]

20. The Besnagar Garuḍadhwaja inscription of Heliodorus from Taxilā names the king Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra as ruling in his fourteenth regnal year. R.K. Mookerji believes that this king Bhagabhadra is the fifth Śuṅga king, named as Bhadraka. R.K. Mookerji, "The fall of the Magadhan Empire' in *The age of Imperial Unity,* (Bombay, 1960, Vth ed.) p. 98. For the text of the inscription, see, *J.R.A.S.,* 1909 pp. 1053-56; D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions. op. cit.* 88-89; *Prācīna Bhārata ke Pramukha Abhilekha,* pp. 83-88; A.K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks,* (OUP, Delhi, 1980) plate VI and opposite. Narain rejects the identification with the fifth Śuṅga. See, Narain, *op. cit.* 119 and also fn. 7 and 8.

21. The Second Garuḍadhwaja inscription from Besnagar is dated in the twelfth regnal year of King Bhāgavata, who is believed to be the ninth Śuṅga king of the Purānic lists. R. K. Mookerji ascribes this to this king's regime; Narain and Goyal believe that both these Besnagar inscriptions belong to the reign of Bhāgavata, the ninth Śuṅga . See, Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 98; Narain, *op. cit.,* p. 119; S.R. Goyal, *op. cit.,* p. 620. For the text, see, *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India,* 1913-14. p. 190; *Memories of the Archaeological Survey of India,* No. 5. p. 152.

22. The relevant portion reads : कोसलाधिपेन द्विरश्वमेधयाजिनः सेनापतेः पुष्यमित्रस्य षष्ठेन कौशिकीपुत्रेण धन.................................. ।

2.	Bahasatimitra of Magadha		Pabhosā Inscription[23]
3.	Bahasatimitra referred	Magadha/ Rajgṛha	Hāthīgumphā Inscription[24]
4.	One Agnimitra referred	Vaiśāli	Vaiśāli sealing[25]
5.	Refers to Śuṅga regime "Suganāmrāje"	Bharhut	Bharhut Inscription[26]

A survey of these classifications will reveal that Pāṭaliputra, Sāketa, Avanti, śākala, Sindhu, Jālandhara have been associated with Puṣyamitra on the strength of different sources. Remaining Śuṅga kings are explicitly connected with Vidisā only. Their connection with Magadha rests only by virtue of their mention in the Purāṇic list of Śuṅga scions. Any evidence about the control of the later Śuṅga's over Śākala, Jālandhara or the region east of Indus is not forthcoming. However, we shall closely evaluate the Śuṅga connection with all the places enumerated above. Primarily, the key centres appear to be Vidisā, Pāṭaliputra and Ayodhyā.

A group of scholars are inclined to accept humbler limit of the Śuṅga Kingdom. Mazumdar had noted in bold italics, "It is a well known fact that Puṣyamitra did not inherit the Maurya empire in its entirety".[27] Narain endorses the view when he says that the Śuṅgas "had neither the strength nor the resources to reclaim all parts of the Mauryan empire".[28] Recently, Sinha,[29]

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23. D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96. It reads : राज्ञो गोपाली-पुत्रस बहसतिमित्रस ।
24. *E.I.* xx. January 1930, pp. 71 f; D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.*; The relevant lines read : म ( ) धं च राजानं नहसतिमितं पादे वंदापयति।
25. See, S.R. Roy, "A Terracotta Sealing of Agnimitra from Vaisali and its Bearing on Vaisaligarh" in *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, vol. x1v, 1959, pp. 313-17.
26. Bharhut Pillar Inscription reads : सुगतं रजे रञो गागीपुतसविसदेवस पोतेण गोतिपुतस............. ।
See, D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-88.
27. R.C. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 214.
28. Narain, *op. cit.*, p. 9. "The Śuṅgas, though in possession of some key centres of power, probably had neither the strength nor the resources to reclaim all parts of the Maurya empire, though Puṣyamitra's two Aśvamedhas indicate that they attempted it".
29. K.K. Sinha noted, "Puṣyamitra Śuṅga and his successors had to contend with.....well established local rulers". "The chronology of early cast coins, *SPLC*, p. 69 Quoted in K.M. Shrimali, *History of Pancala*, vol. i, (Delhi, 1983), p. 59.

Sahi,[30] Chattopadhyaya,[31] Nisar Ahmad[32] have suggested the existence of Sovereign Pāñcāla kings flourishing in the Gangetic doāb within the time period generally ascribed to the Śuṅgas. Arora[33] has shown that some tribal republics also existed within the centralised Mauryan empire and they were free in their internal affairs, Overlooking these above suggestions, recent scholars also credit the Śuṅgas with a much larger kingdom than they actually possessed, or retained. A closer scrutiny of the sources at first, and the inferences drawn in past, as next, may be necessary to resolve the problem.

The epigraphic source like the Besnagar inscription clearly demonstrates the Śuṅga stronghold over Vidisā during the middle years of that dynasty.[34] The Bharhut and Bhilsa (Besnagar) inscription attest their control. However, the Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva although speaks truely about Puṣyamitra, it does not testify about the limits of the Śuṅga kingdom, because it is neither dedicatory to the Śuṅga, nor is the author (Dhanadeva) a contemporary of Puṣyamitra. Dhanadeva's dates range from c. 1st century B.C. to c. 1st century A.D.[35] and in both cases, he lived after the downfall of the Śuṅga dynasty. The

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30. M.D.N. Sahi, "Bearing of Excavations on the Chronology of Mathura Coins *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*, A.K. Narain (ed) *Memoirs of the Deptt. of Ancient History, Culture & Archaeology, BHU, Varanasi,* No. 2 pp. 65-66. Sahi maintains that Mathura and Pancala emerged independent kingdoms.

31. S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India.* (IIIrd. ed.), Delhi, 1976, pp. 24 ff. See also, E.J. Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1, pp. 627. However, these scholars have given wider extent to the Śuṅgas, Chattopadhyaya accepts upto Indus, Rapson from Kosam to Ahicchatra.

32. Nisar Ahmad implies and supports K.K. Sinha. N. Ahmad, "Uninscribed cast and inscribed coinage", *JAIH,* IV, 1-2, 1970-71, pp. 175-80, quoted in K.M. Shrimali, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

33. U.P. Arora, "Form of state Power in Mauryan India-Megasthenese Evidence", in S.P. Gupta & K.S. Ramachandra (ed.) *Facets of Indian History, Culture and Archaeology,* (Delhi, 1991) pp. 164-171.

34. Scholars are divided on the identification of Bhāgabhadra. Mookerji, Rapson, believe that he was the fifth Śuṅga king Āndhraka/Odraka. See, supra, nn. 20; 21.

35. Sircar, Dani, T.P. Verma have assigned the inscription to the early or first half of first century A.D., but B.B. Lal and K.K. Sharma places Dhanadeva "around the middle of the first century B.C. "*Cf.* Lal and Sharma, The Date of King Dhanadeva of Kośala, *Purātattva*, No. 19; 1988-89, pp. 38-42. Earlier, Chattopadhayaya had, on reason of palaeography, expressed that "the record can hardly be pushed back earlier than the last quarter of the first century B.C.", Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.,* p. 25.

king Bahasatimitra, mentioned in the Pabhosā inscription corresponds well with a namesake king of Magadha, who is also mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela.[36]Jayaswal tried to identify this king Bahasatimitra with Puṣyamitra, but the suggestion was rightly rejected by scholars.[37] Khāravela tried many years after Puṣyamitra[38] and could safely be dated after the decline of the Śuṅga dynasty. King Bahasatimitra has nowhere been mentioned as a Śuṅga scion nor do the Puranic records mention about him. Bahasatimitra appears to belong to the local dynasty, possibly the Mitras,[39] who were spread from Pāñcāla to Magadha. The sealing bearing the name Agnimitra,[40] found at Vaisali, too, appears to belong to a local king. The name of Agnimitra the Śuṅga, strangely, is not even mentioned in the Śuṅga genealogical list in many purāṇas.[41] He probably never was associated with the politics of north India and was contended with his control over Vidisā, and the comfortable life he was leading there, as Kālidāsa presented in *Mālavikāgnimitram.*

The literary evidence comes from pseudo-religious texts and a poetic-drama. The latter, *Mālavikāgnimitram,* was composed by the great Kālidāsa, who lived at Ujjaini in 5th century A.D. about five hundred years after Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra.[42] As expected of this great poet, the core of the story

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36. Supra n. 23 and 24. One/king's coins were found in Kosam, but the two are considered different persons. *Cf*. Chanda, *IHQ*, vol. V, no. 4, As "Brihatsvatimitra" Mookerji and Sircar in *A.I.U., op. cit.,* pp. 98 and 214.

37. H.C. Raychaudhrui, R.P. Chanda, A.K. Narain rejected this proposal. See Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, VIth. ed, Cal. 19 pp. 373 f., Chanda, *IHQ*, V. 1929 Dec. No. 4., p. 594 f.

38. K.P. Jayaswal, E.J. Rapson and Sten Konow recognised Khārvela as a contemporary of Puṣyamitra, but this was rejected by Chanda on sound arguments; Chanda, *Ibid.* p. 587-602. Also seȩ, Sircar, *AIU*, p. 215.

39. To the Mitras of Ahicchatra, Sircar, *AIU*, p. 172; but he was different from the namesake king of Kosambi, of the Pabhosā record. p. 175; For Pancala king, see, Shrimali, *op. cit.,* p. 116.

40. Agnimitra was a Pancala king. K.D. Bajpai, *JNSI*, 24, 1962, pp. 9-19; K.M. Shrimali, *op. cit.,* p. 116; he places him between c. A.D. 80 to AD 100. Also, views of Allan, Rapson, Raychadhuri in S. Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.,* p. 29.

41. Agnimitra is mentioned only in the *Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas, not in *Matsya Purāṇa.* F.E. Pargiter, *op. cit.,* p. 31. Later Purāṇas have borrowed the lists from these earlier Purāṇas.

42. Date of Kālidāsa is a problem of history. He is ascribed dates from circa 57 B.C. to late IVth - early Vth century A.D.

and the presentation of the characters could be true but the shades of the events may well be expected to have been heightened by the necessity of dramatics. The conflict of Vasumitra with the *Yavanas* at the bank of river Sindhu, could be one such instance.[43] Kālidāsa gave a farther western limit to the Śuṅga dominion for two reasons; one for the sake of dramatic necessity as stated above, and the other reason could be the genuine information to Kālidāsa that the *Yavanas* lived near river Indus; because they did live there in his own time. However, the proposal of Sindhu being the western boundary of the Śuṅga kingdom cannot be discarded outright; yet it cannot be the sole conclusive determination of the north-western boundaries of the kingdom.

The northern limits upto Śākala and Jālandhara are based upon *Divyāvadāna* and Tārānātha, and both have their own shortcomings. *Divyāvadāna's* story had high emotional content. It clearly states that Puṣyamitra could not destroy the near at -hand Kukkutārāma monastery, which was saved, because a miraculous roar dreaded him away; while the text goes on to say that Puṣyamitra could reach upto Śākala destroying the *stūpas* and monasteries and putting a price for the head of Śramaṇas. The failure at the nearby Kukkutārāma monastery and the destruction upto Śākala is by the contrast of the picture, quite unbelievable. No such story of persecution at the hands of the Śuṅgas is found in the Jain literature. Further, the evidences of flourshing Buddhism at Bharhut and Sāñchi give an altogether different picture.[44] Tārānātha lived in Tibet in *circa* sixteenth century A.D., and his history of Buddhism may have borrowed the story about Puṣyamitra from the earlier texts, may be, the *Divyāvadāna* itself. Being a very late, and not a contemporary author, Tārānātha does not seem to be a very reliable source for this historical reconstruction particularly when the

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43. The relevant passage in Kālidāsa's drama reads as follows : योऽसौ राजयज्ञदीक्षितेन मया राजपुत्रशतपरिवृतं वसुमित्रं गोप्तारमादिश्य वत्सरोपात्तनियमो निरर्गलस्तुरंगो विसृष्टः। स सिन्धोर्दक्षिणरोधसि चरन्नश्वानीकेन यवनेन प्रार्थितः।

It is interesting to note that the author of the inscription of the Iron Pillar at Mehrauli, while recounting the exploits of king Candra, mentions the seven mouths of river Indus as the western end. See, Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* (Cal. 1888) Vol. iii, no. 32. p. 141., v. 1.

44. The existence of Buddhism at Sāñchī and Bharhut has been attested by archaeological testimony belonging to the pre-Śuṅga and post-Śuṅga period. Sanchi has inscriptions belonging to Aśoka and a Gupta general, Āmrakāradeva; Bharhut one refers to the Śuṅgas. Other remains of Buddhist art of the Śuṅga period are also present. *Cf.* Susan Huntington, *The Art of India,* New York/Tokyo, 1985, pp. 61-74.

other sources are meagre and rational comparative interpretations do not permit us to accept this information. It is possible that the source of the story may lie in the tale given by some Buddhist fugitives who fled the court of Mauryas at the time of the *coup*. We have all reason to doubt the Śuṅga connection with Śākala and hence, the ascribed northern limits.

In the Purāṇic sources out of the ten Śuṅga kings enumerated, the existence of four kings (Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra, Vasumitra and Devabhumi/Devabhuti) is corroborated by literary accounts and of three kings (Puṣyamitra, Āndhraka/Bhāgbhadra, Bhāgwata) by epigraphical records. Rest of the kings of Purānic list are unheard of elsewhere and it is quite likely that they ruled over petty domains. Their connections with Pāṭaliputra and northern Indian plains need to be verified heir mere mention in the *Purāṇas* does not establish their control over Pāṭaliputra. The Śuṅga dynasty succeeded the Mauryas of Pāṭaliputra and the first ruler Puṣyamitra started his career from that city, hence it is not amazing that the Śuṅga successors also find place in the Puranic list, though their sway over the Pāṭaliputra region is not established by the mere fact of their mention in that list. It is a fallacy that the Purānic records were concerned with the dynasties of Pāṭaliputra only. The same *purāṇas* have noted about the dynasties of Vidisā and about kings and kingdoms of places as far as Surāshtra, Sindhu, Campāvatī, Kaśmira, Kaunti, Mahīsī, Mekalā, Candrabhāga, *etc.*,[45]

We shall put our arguments later. While verifying the territories included in the Śuṅga kingdom we shall begin with the more certain ones to the doubtful ones.

Vidisā was a Śuṅga stronghold. While Puṣyamitra has been associated with Pāṭaliputra, his son Agnimitra has been shown ruling at Vidisā.[46] Again, while Puṣyamitra has never been called as the king of Vidisā as Cunningham

45. F.E. Pargiter, *op. cit.,* pp. 44-55; 73-74. Also, K.G. Goswami, "Buddhist in the Śuṅga Period, *IHQ* xxxiii, nos. 2 & 3, June & Sept 1956, p. 211.

46. *Mālavikāgnimitram* shows the two Śuṅgas at different places. This picture mislead Sankar Pandurang Pandit and Wilson to suppose the Puṣyamitra usurped the Mauryan kingdom if in favour of Agnimitra. Mazumdar believed that the generalissimo was growing in power but nominally retaining allegiance to the Maurya empire, he and his son managed to rule different provinces and kingdom subject to the empire. Agnimitra was already a king subordinate to the Maurya emperor until Puṣyamitra brought about the *coup*. See, IHQ, i, 1925 (1985) p. 93.

supposed,[47] Meıutuṅga had included the name as a ruler of Ujjaini in the *Therāvali* on the basis of the Jaina *gāthās*.[48] The second Śuṅga scion, Agnimitra; the fifth Śuṅga king Āndhraka *alias* Bhāgabhadra; and the ninth Śuṅga king Bhāgavata are difinitely associated with Vidisā region which can safely be attributed to the Śuṅga kingdom throughout the heydays of the dynasty. The *Purāṇas* further adduce that the Āndhras ousted the remaining Śuṅgas from the region after the decline of the dynasty of the Kaṇvas.[49]

Puṣyamitra's early association with Pāṭaliputra is certain as we have seen on the evidence of the literary sources. But what needs a scrutiny is the possibility of the continuance of this control till the later kings, over Magadha. *Divyāvadāna* treats Puṣyamitra as the last Mauryan king.[50] This has been taken to be a mistake of the records. However, we propose that the mention of the Śuṅga as the last Mauryan king and not as the first king of another dynasty could be a mistake of the Buddhist records only because of the absence of any succeeding Śuṅga scion at Magadha after Puṣyamitra. It is very likely that no Śuṅga could keep the region in his control. Beginning with the disenchantment of Agnimitra, Pāṭaliputra passed on either to local dynasties or to anarchy. We propose this hypothesis on the basis of the following facts.

(i) Puṣyamitra's claim to the throne of Magadha was *de facto*, and he attempted Vedic *yajñas* to make it a *de jure* hold. However sources show that till his last he styled himself as '*Senāpati*'.[51] This is unusual and creates a doubt

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47. A. Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1870, pp. 226-227. This is rejected and corrected by Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 216. However, Kālidāsa has referred to Puṣyamitra as '*Vaidiśa*'; Chanda, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

48. Merutuṅga (c. XIV. C.A.D.) mentions "*Pussamitta*", but J. Charpentiar doubts that this composition belongs to Merutuṅga himself. See, *Indian Antiquary*, xliii, 1914, p. 120.

49. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 and 71.

50. *Divyāvadāna*, xxix.

51. We beg to disagree with Mazumdar who tries to resolve the controversies regarding (i) the discrepancy of duration of Puṣyamitra's reign in Purāṇas, and (ii) his title of '*Senāpati*', by referring to this ruler's *de facto* and *de jure* regimes. *Cf.* Mazumdar *op. cit.*, p. 93. Epithets and titles were generally simple before the advent of the Indo-Greeks and the Śaka-Kuṣāṇas.... Even in the Besnagar edict, while the king of Taxila is "Mahārājas" Amtlikitas (Antikalcidas), the Indian counterpart is "Rajo" Kāśiputras Bhāgabhadras. Aśoka, the Great had a simple title, 'Piyādassi'. Hence 'Senāpati' falls quite in line. Yet, it is not very improper to ask why the Śuṅga did not take the title of a royal type. For Indian titles, see, D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi 1965, pp. 330-333.

whether he wanted to convey to the people about his *bonafides* and of his desire to act as an interim arrangement, till a worthy, valiant king could be put on the throne. By not assuming a royal title even after the *yajñas*, leaves a serious doubt about the claim of the Śuṅga dynasty to the throne of Magadha, the imperial core.

(ii) Puṣyamitra's title of *Senāpati* suggests his dependance upon the military forces that brought about the *coup*. He could never relinquish this title in favour of any royal title or other title by which the support of the people could be expressed. In contrast, Agnimitra has been spoken of as the king at Vidisā, by Kālidāsa. This comparison presents the precarious position of the Śuṅga at Magadha, where the support of the rebel army group was keystone to power.

(iii) The lack of popularity in North India is evident from the fact that Puṣyamitra could not be forgiven for his deeds even centuries later. Royalists like Bāṇabhaṭṭa (c. VII century A.D.) called him an "*Anārya*" because of his disloyality towards the Mauryan king.[52] The hostility of the Buddhists towards him can be well estimated, on the strength of the Kukkutārāma episode as well as, the opinion of the Buddhist writers, however prejudicial they may be.

(iv) Again, the celebration of the *Aśvamedha yajña* does well suggest that Puṣyamitra tried to, and did successfully, win over some part of adjoining kingdoms (which possibly belonged to the erstwhile Mauryan empire). But if there was only one *Yajña* to his credit, it would have been more conclusive of his strength. Two *Aśvamedha Yajñas* suggest constant struggle to maintain the hold over north India. The reference to any expansion to the eastern India by means of the *Aśvamedha* campaign is absent, and creates a doubt about the Śuṅga strength at the Pāṭaliputra base.

(v) There is a conspicuous lack of epigraphical evidence about the Śuṅgas in Magadha region. Inscriptions like that of Bharhut (which is not specific, but of a general nature) nor (specific ones like) Besnagar have not come to light so far. No piece of literature (play/drama/tradition) like *Mālavīkāgnimitram* (where the main characters are Śuṅga scions) has been available from Magadha or north India.

(vi) It is not out of place to refer to the numismatic evidence indicating the presence of 'later Maurya' in North India. Further, the coins of the large

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52. *Harṣacarita* :
Jagganatha feels it does not refer to the 'caste' but the 'low deed' of treachery to the master; *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. 2, 1957 (ed. K.A.N. Shastri) pp. 95-96.

dynasty often referred to as the 'Local' kings, to which Bahasatimitra lord of Magadha, belonged, seems to have taken over Magadha from the Śuṅga after Puṣyamitra.

(vii) It is noteworthy that king Ādhraka/Odraka/Bhāgabhadra, who stands in the middle generation of Śuṅga dynasty, held his court at Vidisā and received the Taxilian envoy there, and not at Pāṭaliputra, the city with which the Greeks were so well familiar.

(viii) The siege of Sāketa as uṇderstood from Patañjali[53][54] and the attack on Pāṭaliputra as understood from the *Yugapurāṇa*[55] if can be considered to have happened during Śuṅga regime, well indicate the insecure position of Pāṭaliputra and the lack of any effective reign there and around.

On the basis of these arguments it is suggested that the area of Magadha slipped off the Śuṅga kingdom, may be in that years of Puṣyamitra.[56] A Buddhist source records that Puṣyamitra died on a campaign in north west; were it so, it is possible that Magadha seceded early.[57]

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53. See S. Chattopadhayaya, *op. cit.,* p. who agrees with Barua in placing Bahasatimitra as king of Magadha, but rejects Allan's proposals about the existence of two namesakes. As king of Magadha, Bahasatimitra has been mentioned as the contemporary of Khāravela in the Hāthīgumphā inscription; D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. 1., IIIrd edition, Delhi, 1986.

54. *Mahābhāṣya*, 3.2.111 : अरुणद् यवनः साकेतम्........ ।

55. D.R. Mankad, 'The Critically Edited Text of the Yuga Purana '*JUPHS* (1947) Vol. XX, pt. i &ii., 11.94-97. These lines have been variously interpreted, K.P. Jayaswal, *JBORS*, XIV, 402, A.K. Narain, *op. cit.,* p. 17 177; J.E. Mitchiner, *The Yuga Purana*, (Calcutta, 1986), pp. xvii-xviii verses 47 and 48. All later editors have accepted that Mathurā and the Pāñcāla were independent powers who sided with the *Yavanas* in the attack.

56. Regarding the control over Pāṭaliputra and nearby, Rapson was very clear in his opinion that the successors did not hold away over it. Which Chattopadhyaya agrees to the fact that Vidisā became the dominion, and Bhadraka received the Taxilian envoy at that place, *op. cit.,* p. 29-30, he believed that Puṣyamitra repulsed the invasion of Indo-Greek king, Demetrius in circa 187 B.C., and ousted the *Yavanas* for good, pp. 8; 1. He therefore, doubts little the Śuṅga control over Ayodhyā region, and avoids a discussion over the kingdom's extent in Ganges- Yumanā valley.

57. It is said that Yakṣa Kṛmisa/Kṛmisena killed Puṣyamitra to protect Buddhism. P.C. Bagchi, *IHQ*, xxii, pp. 81 ff.; Chanda, *IHQ*, v. no. 3 (1929) p. 398. We believe that Magadha was lost about the same time, since Vasumitra was also not heard of at Pāṭaliputra, not to say about Agnimitra.

The Śuṅga jurisdiction over Ayodhyā/Sākéta has been inferred from two sources (i) the Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva and (ii) the illustration in *Mahābhāṣya* about a siege of Sākéta. The Ayodhyan inscription records a true account about Puṣyamitra; his title and his *Yajñas.* The author Dhanadeva proudly presents himself as the "*ṣaṣṭhena*" = sixth descendant" of/from Puṣyamitra. He calls himself as 'lord of Kosala' and mentions that he was the son of Kauśikī and Phālguṇadeva and dedicated a '*ketana'* to his father.[58] B.B. Lal and K.K. Sharma feels that he was related to Puṣyamitra from his mother's side, due to fact of her mention.[59] However, the text does not link the dedication to Puṣyamitra so that it could be shown that Dhanadeva or his immediate successors were suzerains of *Senāpati* Puṣyamitra. Even if it may be accepted that Kośala was a Śuṅga principality in the time of Puṣyamitra, the dearth of any mention to the relation with any other Śuṅga successor king suggests that Dhanadeva belonged to an independent principality and Ayodhyā/Kośala must have been independent soon after Puṣyamitra, at the latest.

The illustration about the siege of Sāketa in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* is difficult to be placed in the time of Puṣyamitra. The event (if it is a fact) happened either in the lifetime of the last Maurya, Bṛhadratha, as Shastri proposed, or after the reign of Puṣyamitra.[60] It is difficult to imagine that a siege could be laid in the heartland of a kingdom whose ruler could perform two *Aśvamedha yajñas.* Moreover, there is no mention anywhere that Puṣyamitra liberated sāketa[61] or even to suggest that Ayodhyā was a seat of vice-royalty.

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58. See, D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions., op. cit.,* pp. 94-95.

59. Lal and Sharma, *op. cit.,* p. 41. For a discussion on Dhanadeva, see, Chanda *op. cit.,* 602-603.

60. This author has discussed the problem elsewhere; (Paper under publication). Scholars have taken different views about the identity of the invader and the date of the event. Earlier, Mm. H.P. Shastri and recently, J.E. Mitchiner have placed the invasion in the last phase of the Maurya regime, Mitchiner favouring c. 190 B.C.Sen, de la Vallee-Poussin, Chattopadhyaya seem to support this view, but Narain and Romila Thapar are inclined to place it during the last years of Puṣyamitra's reign.

61. Patañjali does not mention the liberator of the besieged Sāketa and Mādhyamikā. The *Yuga Purāṇa* says that the invaders of Pāṭaliputra had a conflict among themselves and due to pressing reasons in their own land returned. There is no indication that the invasion (or invasions) were foiled by some hero. The Śuṅga get the credit since the scholars rely on Patañjali's mention of the *Yajana,* as a consequent event. See Bharati Roy, "The Prakara of Ayodhya as noticed by Patanjali" in B. Sahai (ed) *History & Culture : B.P. Sinha Felicitation Volume,* Del 1987, pp. 101 f., for defence of Ayodhya in case of a siege.

We are hence, not inclined to include Ayodhyā/Kośala in the Śuṅga kingdom. It could be an ally to the Śuṅga after the control of Puṣyamitra ended there.

Recent researches indicate that it is very unlikely that the Śuṅgas controlled the regions of Pāñcāla and Mathurā. Earlier S. Chattopadhyaya had noted "the combined testimony of Pabhosā records and the coins show that Pāñcāla and Kauśambi were two independent kingdoms that arose on the ashes of the empire of Puṣyamitra".[62] But recently Sahi has concluded, "the empire of Puṣyamitra was very much circumscribed than is usually supposed... Panjab, Mathurā and Pāñcāla do not appear to have been included in the empire of Puṣyamitra.[63] P.L. Gupta has also held that local powers sprang up immediately after the fall of the Mauryas.[64] Bajpai has accepted the presence of Pāñcāla kings *viz.*, Vaṅgapāla, Damagupta, Jayagupta, Rudragupta and Yajñapala during c. 225 B.C. -85 B.C. He places the rest of the Mitra kings after c. 140 B.C.[65] He has accomodated Puṣyamitra during the interregum, which is possibly uncalled for. Among the scholars who are guided by the bias for the Śuṅga, Dani says, "if the inscribed coins of Kauśāmbī, Ayodhyā, Mathurā and other places are assigned to early second century B.C., it would mean that the Śuṅgas had no authority at all even in the main Gangetic Valley".[66] However, K.K. Sinha has argued for an earlier date for Pāñcāla cast coins and has refuted Dani's dates. K.M. Shrimali supports Dani's views but the scholars like Sircar and Nisar Ahmad have argued against Dani and have expressed doubts about the plausibility of his theory.[67] Much earlier, Allan had assigned the Pāñcāla coins to period from about 200 B.C. to the end of the first century B.C., on palaeographic consideration.[68] If the *Yugapurāṇa* section of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā* could be considered to have been composed in/about the Śuṅga period, the

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62. Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

63. M.D.N. Sahi, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

64. P.L. Gupta has observed that local powers came into existence since c. 215 B.C.; quoted in K.K.M. Shrimali, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

65. K. D. Bajpai, "New Pancala coins and the problem of Pancala chronology *JNSI*" 24, 1962, pp. 18 f.

66. Quoted by K.M. Shrimali, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

68. J. Allan, *A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Coins of Ancient India*, London 1936, pp. cxx ff.

Mathurās and the Pāñcāla were independent powers, who sided with the *Yavana* invaders against Pāṭaliputra. Scholars have generally come to the compromise that the Pāñcāla kings were not Śuṅga scions; Chanda suggested Pāñcāla as semi independent princes in the Śuṅga federation.[69] Law also made the Pāñcāla kings as feudatories to Śuṅgas.[70] Bajpai feels that the Mitras of Pāñcāla, Ayodhyā, Mathurā and Kauśāmbī were related to the house of Śuṅgas,[71] and Bela Lahiri also gives a similar suggestion.[72] In brief, it is safe to conclude on many grounds that the Mathurā-Pāñcāla-Kauśāmbī region was ruled by independent kings (at worst, feudatories) and these regions were not ruled by Śuṅga scions nor were under their direct immediate, effective control. Hence, we may exclude this region from the Śuṅga Kingdom.

If the poetic drama is a good source, the reference to the *Aśvamedha* campaign in the western/north-western is clearly mentioned and river Indus would be the western limit that was attempted to be achieved. The same play suggests that the *Aśvamedha* expedition was taken up in the early years of the reign of Puṣyamitra, soon after the Mauryas were ousted by the *coup*. This is indicated for two reasons : firstly that the second *Aśvamedha* of which we learn from the Ayodhyan inscription is not referred here and secondly, that the Vidarbha has been shown as the sapling, *i.e.* recently freed/formed.[73] Hence, Puṣyamitra's first *Aśvamedha* expedition that reached the river Indus was either a campaign to re-unite the erstwhile Mauryan territories, or to threaten the Buddhist opposition seeking support elsewhere in the north, *or*, to rid himself of the tarnish of an usurper and lay a claim to the throne of Magadha. But it appears

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69. Chanda suggests a loose federation of Śuṅga principalities . His clue is the general manner in which the Śuṅgas are mentioned and their regime referred in Dhanabhuti's Bharhut gateway inscription. Chanda thinks Devabhumi/Devabhuti was also such a nominal head. He took Pancala and Kosala as Śuṅga principalities. Chanda, *op. cit.,* p. 611-613.

70. 70. B.C. Law, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India,* no. 67. p. 9.

71. K.D. Bajpai, *INC,* iv, pt. 2, 1965-66, p. 127 f. quoted in K.M. Shrimali, *op. cit.,* p. 63.

72. Bela Lahiri, *JNSI,* 20, 1958, pp. 126-127. For a learned discussion Shrimali, *op. cit.,* pp. 62-63. J. Allan had remarked long ago the scholars have tried in vain to identify the authors of the Mitra coinage with the Śuṅga, wherein only Agnimitra is a common name in both these dynasties. Allan, *op. cit.,* p. cxx.

73. Vidarbha is mentioned as : अचिराधिष्ठित ; नवसंरोपणशिथिलस्तरुः ।

that there was some opposition to it from the *Yavanas.* Whether the region came under the effective control of the Śuṅga or did it at best remain an ally, can be best answered on the authority of the Besnagar inscription where the relations of the Śuṅga king at Vidisā and the indo-Greek king at Taxilā are friendly and the relationship is equal in protocol and the Indo-Greek does not appear to be of a vassal/suzerain. May we then conclude that Puṣyamitra's campaign (lead by Vasumitra) was like that undertaken by Samudragupta a few centuries later, where the defeated kings were returned their kingdoms on token allegiance ? Unfortunately there is no evidence about the 'return of conquered territory' in case of Puṣyamitra, nor there is any evidence of the 'conquering' either. Further, the existence of free states in the intervening Gangetic plains lessen the chances of the Śuṅga kingdom to extend upto river Indus. Hence, it is not possible to include the region in the Śuṅga territorial limits.

On the basis of the above arguments, we feel that the Śuṅga kingdom comprised of the Vidisā region throughout the tenure of that dynasty. Puṣyamitra, with his grandson Vasumitra tried to extend the sway upto river Indus, and for some time could retain effective control over Pāṭaliputra. But after his reign the grip weakened and the feudatory links with the vassals broke, the principalities became independent of whatever nominal allegiance they owed to Puṣyamitra. No Śuṅga king could reclaim the prestige and the limits of their kingdom shrank to around Vidisā. They entertained their courtly business at Vidisā and seem to have maintained friendly alliances with local and foreign kings. Their own strength and ambition had also deteriorated as is evident from the facts that firstly, they could not conquer the nearby Vidarbha in an outright manner and instead could divide that kingdom by policy only.[74] Secondly, their own political set-up was not unitary or centralised from the very onset; they were a dynasty with a loose confederation of principalities. The *Vāyu Purāṇa*[75] remarks that "all the eight sons of Puṣyamitra shall rule simultaneously" and the example of Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra ruling at two different centres suggests the possibility of such pattern and policy. Besides the lack of strength of the Śuṅga power, the political climate of those times was equally inconducive to the

74. Agnimitra won over the enemy king Yajñasena's cousin named Madhavasen to his side and Vidarbha was apportioned between the two cousins. *Mālavikāgnimitram* in R.P.T. Shastri (ed) *Kālidāsa Granthāvali, op. cit.,*

75. Quoted in R.S. Tripathi, *op. cit.,* p. 187; *Cf.* Chanda, *op. cit.,* p. 608 f.

formation of an empire. The local chiefs were long subdued under the Mauryan centralised administration; they were aspiring for a free hand since the days of the weaker Mauryan kings. Kalingas, Āndhras and chiefs of far off places must have been restive. So was the rise of local powers in Gangetic valley, an indication that they would resist the formation of another empire.[76] Pressure from the north-west also did not make it a feasable proposal to weld the areas into an empire. The Śuṅga empire could not be possible and north India soon became a land of small principalities and paved way for foreign incursions.

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76. 76. The rise of Khāravela in Kalinga and Sātavāhanas/Andhras in Deccan Matched with the tone of the two Separate Edicts of Aśoka, at Dhauli and Jaugada, suggests some, discomfort brewing there. Rise of Pāñcāla, Kausambi, Mathurā, Kośala, and states of Yaudheyas, Arjunāyānas, Audumbarās and Kunindas suggest of the climate that was against the formation of a centralised empire. We may quote the conclusive words regarding this issue, borrowing from S. Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29, as follows "there was no empire of the Śuṅga after the death of Puṣyamitra.......... North India was, in fact studded with various petty local states without any political cohesion". We beg to disagree with the scholar only to the extent that we doubt the existence of a Śuṅga empire even during the reign of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. Whenever an empire breaks, it disintegrates at once on all sides, and not in a gradual manner. So was the case with the Mauryan empire, and the first Śuṅga could not arrest the break-up, which ironically he had started himself by his act, and though he attempted another empire by his Aśvamedha campaigns, could not attain it.

श्रमण-परम्परा का उद्भव - एक विवेचन

प्रो० विश्वम्भर शरण पाठक

गोरखपुर

गए से भावु-ज्जोए दब्बु-जोयं करिस्सामो। (कल्पसूत्र १.१२८)

'वह भाव–ज्योति बुझ गयी। अब हम मृण्मय दीप–ज्योति प्रज्ज्वलित करेंगे।'

बौद्ध–धर्म और संघ के उद्भव के कारणों का अनेक–विधि अन्वेषण किया गया है। इस विषय में विविध मान्यतायें हैं– यह कहा गया कि ब्राह्मण कर्मकाण्डीय संस्कृति की प्रतिक्रिया–स्वरूप इसका उदय एवं विकास हुआ। षष्ठ शती ईसा पूर्व में विश्व के अनेक भागों में वैचारिक क्रान्ति हुई। भारत में इसकी अभिव्यक्ति श्रमण–दर्शन में दिखाई देती है। पशुपालन–अर्थवृत्ति की कृषि-जन्य अर्थ-व्यवस्था में संक्रान्ति भी इस विषय में चर्चित हुई ; लोहे के कृषि–कार्य में प्रयोग से उत्पाद्य–अधिशेष के कारण एक नवीन जीवन-पद्धति प्रारम्भ होती है जो श्रमणों के दर्शनों में प्रतिफलित हुई– ऐसा भी कहा गया। यह भी मान्यता है कि गणराज्यों के विघटन के संत्रास ने जिस स्वप्न–राज्य की सृष्टि की, उसी का भौतिक रूप बौद्ध–संघ है। ब्राह्मण–क्षत्रिय वर्ग संघर्ष का प्रतिफलन भी इसमें देखा गया । इन उपस्थापनाओं की समीक्षा भी हुई। कर्मकाण्डीय संस्कृति का केन्द्र सारस्वत प्रदेश था और इसलिए मध्य गांगेय क्षेत्र में उत्पन्न श्रमण संस्कृति से इसका कार्य–कारण सम्बन्ध नहीं हो सकता। भारत में षष्ठ शती ईसा पूर्व के पहले विभिन्न दार्शनिक मतों की उपस्थापनायें और समीक्षायें नहीं हो रही थीं – इसका कोई प्रमाण नहीं। अर्थव्यवस्था में संक्रमित, उत्पाद्य–अधिशेष, नागरीकरण प्रवृत्ति, वाणिज्य का उदय और विकास केवल मध्यगांगेय क्षेत्र की विशेषतायें नहीं हैं। लोहे की उपलब्धि का प्राथमिक प्रमाण मध्य गांगेय क्षेत्र से उपलब्ध नहीं हुआ। पण्य, आपण, विपणि, कार्षापण–मुद्रा आदि के रूप में वाणिज्य के विकास के प्रमाण ईसा–पूर्व प्रथम सहस्राब्दि से षष्ठ शती तक भारत के पश्चिमी प्रदेश में उपलब्ध होते हैं।

वैदिक धर्म और श्रमण धर्म के पारस्परिक सम्बन्धों और सम्पर्कों के विषय में भी अनेक विवाद हैं। इनमें शाश्वतिक विरोध के पक्षधर श्रमण धर्म को वैदिक धर्म की प्रतिक्रिया और विरोध से उत्पन्न मानते हैं। विद्वानों का दूसरा वर्ग मुनि और यतियों की परम्परा से श्रमण–धर्म को जोड़ने का पक्षपाती है किन्तु ये दोनों सिद्धान्त पुर्नविचारणीय हैं।

विद्वानों के इस विपुल अनुसन्धान–संकलन से मैं निश्चय ही आतंकित था । किन्तु जहाँ विशेष शक्तिशाली देवदूत जाने में हिचकते हैं वहाँ मेरे समान व्यक्ति अपनी मुग्धता में

निःसंकोच प्रवेश करने का दुस्साहस कर बैठता है। बौना यदि चाँद को पकड़ने के लिए अपने हाथ ऊपर उठाये तो आप हँस भले ही लें किन्तु अन्तर्मन में चाँद के प्रति उसके आकर्षण की धारणा को बनायेंगे ही। अतः मैंने प्रतिपादित किया कि आदिम आर्यों में संचरण–शील युग से ही दो भिन्न परम्परायें विकसित हुईं–एक चरण की और दूसरी श्रमण की । वैदिक **चरण** के समान ही **श्रमण** था। यदि चरण संचरणशीलता का अभिधान है तो श्रमण भी (क्रम श्रम् पाद–प्रक्षेप)। पुनः श्रमण परम्परा में अर्हत, तीर्थंकर, तप आदि की लाक्षणिक विशेषताओं की भी वैदिक और आवेस्तिक साक्ष्यों के आधार पर परिभाषा की । विविध साक्ष्यों के आधार पर श्रमण–संस्कृति की प्राचीनता ईसा पूर्व प्रथम सहस्राब्दि के करीब स्थिर की और उसके विकास के विभिन्न स्तरों का उपन्यास किया। आजीवक, जैन, बौद्ध धर्म इसी पुरातन श्रमण–संस्कृति का षष्ठ शती में अभिव्यक्त उत्थान है। मुनि और यति से इस आदिम श्रमण–संस्कृति का सम्बन्ध नहीं था। इस मत को डा. श्रीराम गोयल की सद्यः प्रकाशित पुस्तक **'ए हिस्ट्री आफ इण्डियन बुद्धिज्म'** के प्राक्कथन के रूप में व्यक्त किया गया ।

प्राक्–ऋग्वेदीय काल में भी पूर्वाञ्चल में आर्य–संस्कृति प्रवहमान थी । इसमें अनेक उप–संस्कृतियाँ थीं, जिनका विशकलन अद्यावधि नहीं हो पाया है। श्रमणों के अतिरिक्त मुनि, यति, व्रात्य, परिव्राजक आदि की अपनी विशेषतायें थीं। मुनि प्राग्वेदीय आर्य शब्द और जीवन–पद्धति है। यति भी प्राग्वेदीय थे और उनका उत्स भारतेरानी काल तक जाता है। पालि–प्राकृत साहित्य के खत्तिय ऋग्वेदीय वर्ण–व्यवस्था के क्षत्रिय के समकक्ष नहीं थे किन्तु प्राचीन क्षत्र–क्षथ–क्षायथ्य परम्पराओं की परिणति थे। समण–ब्राह्मण युग्म में प्रयुक्त ब्राह्मण भी ब्राह्मण वर्ण से भिन्न था।

जन-गेनोस्-जेनीस की परम्परा का भारत में द्विधा प्रचलन हुआ। एक तो वह परम्परा वर्ण में क्रमशः परिवर्तित हो गयी और दूसरी ओर वह **खत्तिय-गण**, श्रमण–संघ और श्रेणी में संक्रान्त हो गयी। इसका किंचित् विवेचन अपेक्षित है।

अधिकांश विद्वान् श्रमण परम्परा के उद्‌भव को ऋग्वेदीय मुनियों और यतियों से सम्बद्ध करते हैं। यह सच है कि मुनि शब्द दोनों वैदिक और श्रमण परम्पराओं में समादृत है, किन्तु उपलब्ध साक्ष्य से मुनि–तत्त्व उस अतीन्द्रिय ज्ञान की स्थिति का द्योतन करता है जो विभिन्न सम्प्रदायों में आध्यात्मिक महापुरुषों की होती है।

मुनि शब्द के दो अर्थ हैं – मौन–व्रत–धारी **'वाचंयमो मुनिः'** (अमरकोष २.४२) और **'अतीन्द्रियार्थदर्शी'** (ऋ. १०–१३६.२ पर सायण)। मौनी के अर्थ में मुनि की व्युत्पत्ति संदिग्ध है। मौन शब्द ही संस्कृत के मूक और यूनानी के मुन्दोस् का सगोत्र है, किन्तु इसका 'अतीन्द्रियार्थदर्शी' मुनि से व्याकरण की दृष्टि से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं (द्रष्टव्य टर्नर, **ए कम्पेरेटिव डिक्शनरी ऑफ इण्डो-आर्यन लेंग्वेजेज**, १०३७१)।

दूसरे शब्द मुनि का अर्थ ज्ञानी है। सायण इसे अतीन्द्रियार्थदर्शी, (बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद् ४.४.२२) **'विदित्वा मुनिर्भवति'**, पालि–साहित्य **'धम्म-दस्सिस मुनिनो'**(अपदान, १०.१३६.२) और अर्धमागधी वाङ्मय **'नाणेण मुणी होई तवेण होइ तावसो'** (उत्तराध्ययन सूत्र २५.३२) कहते हैं। संस्कृत वैयाकरण मन् = ज्ञाने से इसकी व्युत्पत्ति करते हैं– **मननात् मुनिः**। मन् धातु

भारतेरानी आध्यात्मिक साहित्य में महत्त्वपूर्ण है। इसने **मनीषा, मति, मन्-धा मज्दा,** आदि विशिष्ट शब्द दिये, किन्तु मन् धातु से मुनि शब्द व्युत्पन्न नहीं हो पाता। अतः वैयाकरणों ने उणादि वर्ग में इसे डालकर **मनेरुच्च** (४.१२३) सूत्र बनाया और विधान किया कि मन् में उ स्वर का आगम होकर मुनि शब्द बनता है। स्पष्टतः यह दूरारूढ़ प्रयास है।

मुनि शब्द **मृण्** प्रतिज्ञाने अथवा पालि मुन् ञाने से व्युत्पन्न होता है। धम्मपद (२६६) में मुनि की यही व्युत्पत्ति इंगित है– **यो मुनाति उभो लोके मुनि तेन पवुच्चति।** मुण् धातु के विषय में यह अवलोकनीय है कि वैदिक साहित्य में मुण् धातु विरल है और संभवतः लौकिक संस्कृति में यह उपलब्ध नहीं होती है। **तैत्तिरीय आरण्यक** (१.२७.६) में 'नृ मुणन्तु' की भट्टभास्कर व्याख्या करते हैं **'नरः प्रतिजानन्तु'** । प्राकृत वैयाकरण संस्कृत की मुण् धातु को न जानने के कारण संस्कृत 'जानाति' के लिए प्राकृत में 'मुण' का आदेश करते हैं– **जानातेर्जाण मुण इत्यादेशौ भवतः** (हेमचन्द्र ४.७)। प्राकृत और पालि में इस धातु का विपुल प्रयोग है। पिशेल ने अपने **प्राकृत व्याकरण प्रखण्ड** ४८६ में **मुणइ, मुणादि, मुणेयव्व, मुणेदव्व** आदि का विभिन्न प्राकृत ग्रन्थों में सन्दर्भ दिया है। अपभ्रंश में भी यह धातु मिलती है– **सरह-सेस-हर मुणहु सत्ताइस खंधाण** (प्राकृत–पैंगलम् १.७५), 'हे शरभशेषधर कवि इसके सत्ताइस भेद जानो'। छान्दस् और लौकिक संस्कृत में इसके अत्यन्त विरल प्रयोग के साथ ही प्राकृत–पालि–अपभ्रंश में इसके विपुल सन्दर्भों की उपलब्धि यह द्योतित करती है कि मुण् धातु और उससे व्युत्पन्न मुनि शब्द वैदिक साहित्य में उस प्राक् ऋग्वेदीय भारतीय आर्य शब्द–भण्डार से उधार लिया गया जिसकी धरोहर प्राकृत भाषाओं में मिलती है। धार्मिक साहित्य के इतिहास के लिए यह एक महत्त्वपूर्ण तथ्य है।

इस निष्कर्ष का समर्थन इससे भी होता है कि वेद और ब्राह्मण साहित्य में केशी सूक्त (ऋ. १०.१३६) को छोड़कर मुनि शब्द के केवल १२ सन्दर्भ हैं जबकि पालि और प्राकृत में मुनि के अगणित उल्लेख हैं। इस प्रकार मैकडोनल और कीथ (**वैदिक इण्डेक्स**, २, पृ० १६८) के इस मत के विरुद्ध कि वैदिक साहित्य में मुनि शब्द के विरल प्रयोगों के कारण वैदिक काल के मुनियों के अस्तित्व की विरलता अनुमानित करना चाहिए; भाषावैज्ञानिक साक्ष्य वैदिक समाज में मुनि को आगन्तुक तत्त्व मानने का संकेत देता है।

मुनि–तत्त्व की प्रारम्भिक स्थिति के बोध के लिए केशी सूक्त असाधारण महत्त्वशाली है। साथ ही यह एक ऐसा प्रायद्वीप है जिसका मुनि के अन्य प्रसंगों से साक्षात् सन्दर्भ नहीं है। इस सूक्त में मुनियों की अनेक लाक्षणिक विशेषतायें इंगित हैं, जिनकी अनेकविध व्याख्यायें हुई हैं और इसलिए यह विशेष रीति से विवादास्पद बन गया है। अतः इसका गंभीर विवेचन आवश्यक है।

मुनियों के विषय में कहा गया कि वे **'पिशंगावसते मला'** 'पिशंग मल धारण करते हैं'। पिशंग मल की अनेक व्याख्यायें की गईं। इसी सूक्त में उल्लिखित सप्तम मंत्र में रुद्र के प्रसंग के कारण मल का अर्थ भस्म किया गया क्योंकि पश्चाद्वर्ती पाशुपत तपस्वी भस्म–शयन और भस्म–लेपन करते थे। किन्तु वस् धातु का प्रयोग प्रायः 'वस्त्र पहनने' के अर्थ में **ऋग्वेद** में मिलता है; उदाहरण के लिए **अवसिष्ट वासः** (१.१५२.१)' सिन्धुराज ने कपड़े पहने' **युवं वस्त्राणि**

पीवसा वसाथे (१.१५२.१) ' हे मित्रा वरुण, आप पुष्ट वस्त्रों को पहनते हैं।' अधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण है **भद्रा वस्त्राणि अर्जुना वसाना** (३.३१.२) 'भद्र एवं साफ वस्त्रों को पहने हुए'। यहाँ 'अर्जुना वस्त्राणि ' में मल (वस्त्र) का विलोम है। **स तु वस्त्राण्यध पेशनानि वसानो** (१०.१.६) अग्नि "सोने की जरी के वस्त्र पहने हुए" – इसमें पेशन वस्त्र और पिशंग मल में इतना साम्य है कि पेशन और पिशंग एक ही धातु पिश् के ही दो रूप हैं। 'मल' शब्द निश्चय ही वैदिक साहित्य में मैल के अर्थ में प्रयुक्त हुआ, यथा **आपः मलमिव प्राणैक्षीत् (अथर्ववेद २.७.१)** 'जैसे जन मल को अच्छी तरह से धो देता है';। इस मैले अर्थ का विस्तार हुआ और मल का अर्थ 'पाप' भी हो गया किन्तु भारोपीय **मेल, संस्कृत, म्ला** का अर्थ रंगना और मल का प्राथमिक अर्थ है 'रंगीन'। यूनानी में 'मेलस्' का अर्थ काला है और **'मिल्तोस'** रक्त वर्ण के लिए प्रयुक्त है। इसी प्रकार लातीनी **मुलियस्** की अभिधा रक्ताभ है।

विशेषतः स्मरणीय है कि प्रारम्भ में मल का अर्थ रंगीन ही नहीं, रंगीन वस्त्र होता था। इसका कारण है कि **'म्ला'** धातु पहले चमड़े के रंगने के अर्थ में प्रयुक्त होता था। चमड़े रंगने वाले को वैदिक साहित्य में 'चर्मम्न' कहा गया जहाँ 'म्ल' का ही रूप 'म्न' है (मैक्डॉनल, **वैदिक ग्रामर,** पृ० २४६, पाद–टिप्पणी ४)। इसका समर्थन 'म्लातानि चर्माणि' (ऋ. ८.५५.३) 'रँगे हुये अजिन वस्त्र' के उल्लेख से होता है। बाद में जब ऊन, कपास, शण आदि से कपड़े बनने लगे तो वस्त्र मात्र को **'मल'** कहने लगे। ओ. श्राडर ने (**प्रिहिस्टॉरिक एण्टीक्विटीज़**, पृ०. ३३३ की पाद–टिप्पणी में) लिथुआनी **'मालोस्'** (भद्र–वस्त्र) और यूनानी **'मेल्लोस'** (ऊनी वस्त्र) से प्रयुक्त 'मल' को समीकृत किया है। प्रस्तुत प्रसंग में 'मल' रंगीन वस्त्र हैं। बिना रँगे हुये वस्त्र को अर्जुन वस्त्र (३.३१.२), सफेद कपड़े को **अनभिम्लात** (२.३५.१३) कहते थे।

इन सन्दर्भों में **वसते मलाः** की तुलना **तैत्तिरीय संहिता** (२.५.१.६) के **'मलवद्वाससं'** और **शतपथ ब्राह्मण** (१४.६.६.७), के **'मलोद्वाससं'** से करणीय है। **शतपथ ब्राह्मण** में कथन है–

अथ यद्युदक आत्मानं पश्येत्तदभिमन्त्रयेत् मयि तेज इन्द्रियं यशो द्रविणं सुकृतं श्रीर्ह वैष स्त्रीणां यन्मलोद्वासास्तस्मान्मलोद्वाससं यशस्वनीमभिमन्त्रयेत।

'अब जल में अपने को देखें और यह मंत्र पढ़ें – मुझमें, तेज, इन्द्रिय, यश, सम्पत्ति और पुण्य हो। जो स्त्रियों का मल–उद्वास है वही उनकी श्री है। अतः मलोद्वास से युक्त यशस्विनी के पास जाकर उसको आमंत्रित करें, यहाँ **मलोद्वास** से अभिप्राय है (रजस्राव से) रंजित वस्त्र, और इसको स्त्री की श्री कहा गया है। यह अवसर–विशेष पर विशेष शक्तिशाली माना जाता था।

इसका पुनः समर्थन होता है पिशङ्ग विशेषण से । **पिशङ्गं द्रापिं** (४.५३.२), **पिशंग-भ्रष्टिं** (१.१३३.५), **पिशंगाश्वा अरुणाश्वा** (५.५७.४) में पिशंग का अर्थ रक्ताभ अथवा ताम्र है और इसलिए गैरिक वस्त्र से इसका तात्पर्य होगा।

ऋग्वेद में पिशंग वस्त्रों का उल्लेख तो नहीं मिलता है किन्तु इसकी सम्भावना है कि विरल रूप से सही, पिशंग–वस्त्रों का निर्माण होता था। **अथर्ववेद** में 'खृगल में पिशंग–सूत्र से बांधने' का उल्लेख है। **–पिशंगे सूत्रे तद् खृगलं बध्नन्ति वेधसा** (३.६.३)। सारांश में **पिशंगा वसते मलाः** का अर्थ है कि वे मुनि गैरिक वस्त्र धारण करते थे।

ये मुनि **वातरशन** भी कहे गये। वातरशन की भी अनेक व्याख्यायें हुई हैं। मैकडोनेल और कीथ इसका वातमेखला से युक्त अर्थात् नग्न अर्थ करते हैं। अवान्तरकालीन टीकाकार यथा श्रीधरस्वामी की **भागवत** (५.५.३२) में यही व्याख्या है – **वातारशनाः दिग्वाससः।** वंशीधर और भी स्पष्ट करते हैं, **वातो वायुस्स एव रशना कटिसूत्रं येषां ते** । किन्तु यह अर्थ समीचीन प्रतीत नहीं होता । वैदिक साहित्य में कहीं भी रशना का अर्थ कटिबन्ध नहीं । उसके लिए मेखला शब्द ही है।

रशि नियमने, बंधने से व्युत्पन्न शब्द रशन का अर्थ है बन्धन, संयम (निघण्टु २.५.६) । इसलिए अंगुलियाँ जो पकड़ती हैं अथवा रज्जु जो बांधती हैं उसको रशना कहा गया– **रशनाभिर्दशभिरभ्यधीतां** (१०.४.६) "दश रशनाओं से शिकार प्राप्त कर लिया गया" । दुर्गाचार्य (नि. ३.१४) की व्याख्या है – **रशनाभिः अंगुलीभिः दशभिः, दश संख्या योगिनीभिः अभ्यधीतां प्रतिनिबध्नीताम्। वाजसनेयी संहिता** (२८–३३) में रशनां विभ्रतं पर महीधर का कथन है– **रशनां रज्जुं विभ्रते स्वभावानुवादः यूपे हि पशुबन्धाय रज्जुर्बध्यते।**

किन्तु रशना का मुख्य अर्थ है घोड़े की लगाम, जीन अथवा रथ में उसके संयोजन के लिए रज्जु। **अश्वं न रशनाभिर्नयन्ति (ऋ.** ६.८७.१)"जैसे घोड़े को रशनाओं से पकड़कर ले जाते हैं"; **जग्राह वाचमश्वं रशनया यथा** (१०.१८.१४) "जैसे रशना से घोड़े को पकड़ा वैसे ही वाणी को पकड़ा"।

अश्व–रशना एक वैदिक प्रतीक है। अश्व का अभिधेय अर्थ घोड़ा है; किन्तु इसका प्रतीकार्थ है प्राणवायु। **अश्** व्याप्नोति से अश्व का अर्थ किया गया वह प्राण–वायु जो सम्पूर्ण शरीर में परिव्याप्त होता है। प्राण वायु के लिए ऋग्वेद में प्रचलित शब्द था वात। **वातो हि प्राण उच्यते (अथर्ववेद** ११.४.१४) । इसलिए अनेकविध **वाताश्वः** का प्रयोग मिलता है। **वातस्याश्वा ऋजात्मना वहध्यै** (१०.२२.५) "वातरूपी अश्व आत्मना, बिना किसी सारथी के, सीधे वहन करते हैं" । प्राण–वायु के नियमन के लिए रूपक था, वात–अश्व को रथ में जोतना, रथ से योग करना। विशेष रीति से द्रष्टव्य है – **वातस्य युक्तान्सुयुजश्चिदश्वान्कविश्चिदेषो अजगन्नवस्युः** (५.३२.१०) 'अवस्यु नाम प्राज्ञ ने वात के अच्छी तरह जुते हुये घोड़ों को प्राप्त किया'।

वातरशन का इस प्रकार अर्थ था 'प्राण–वायु का नियमन करने वाले'। इसी साधना को योग के नाम से बाद में जाना गया जब वात–अश्व–रशना का विस्तार वात–अश्व–रशना के माध्यम से रथ का योग करना हो गया।

यह वात–रशन प्रकार की योग साधना केशी–तत्त्व से संयुक्त है। केशी का भले ही अभिधेय अर्थ प्रलम्ब–केश–युक्त पुरुष हो, इस प्रसंग में यास्क, शौनक, सायण आदि द्वारा दिया गया प्रतीकार्थ ही सार्थक और समञ्जस है।

निरुक्त का निर्वचन है–

केशी केशाः रश्मयः। तैस्तद्वान् भवति। १२.२५

पुनः

ज्योतिषी केशिनी उच्यते। २.२६

बृहद्देवता की भी यही व्याख्या है–

प्रकाशं किरणैः कुर्वन्स्तेनैनं केशिनं विदुः।। २.६५.

पुनः यह सूक्त स्वयं व्याख्या करता है– केशीदं ज्योतिरुच्यते,

'यह मण्डलस्थ ज्योति, प्रकाश है उसको केशी कहते हैं'।

जैसे ज्योतिष्मान् अग्नि को शिखी अर्थात् केश से युक्त कहते हैं वैसे ही केश के समान रश्मियाँ विकीर्ण करने वाले सूर्य, विद्युत् और अग्नि की ज्योति को केशी कहा गया ।

ृह प्रकाश ही प्राण और अपान का संचालक है। इस प्रकाशमयी प्राणोपासना के कुछ तत्त्व ऋग्वेद में भी हैं –

अन्तश्चरति रोचनास्य प्राणादपानती।
व्यख्यन्महिषो दिवम् ।। १०.१८६.२

'द्युलोक के महिष सूर्य की रोचना–(रोशनी, दीप्ति) शरीर के मध्य में संचरण करती है जो प्राण से अपान की ओर जाती है'।

सायण भाष्य करते हैं – अस्य सूर्यस्य रोचना रोचमाना दीप्तिः अन्तः शरीरमध्ये मुख्यप्राणात्मना चरति वर्तते। किं कुर्वती। प्राणादपानती। मुख्यप्राणस्य प्राणाद्याः पञ्च वृत्तयः तत्र प्राणनं नाडीभिरूर्ध्वं वायोर्निर्गमनम्। तथाविधात् अपाननं अवाङ्मुखं वायोर्नयनम्।

इस ज्योतिष्मयी प्राणोपासना के तत्त्व यजुर्वेद, अथर्ववेद और उपनिषदों में भी हैं। यहाँ प्रश्नोपनिषद् से पिप्पलाद का एक वचन ही उद्धृत है–

आदित्यो ह वै प्राणो। अथादित्य उदयन्प्राचीं दिशं प्रविशति तेन प्राच्यान्प्राणान् रश्मिषु संनिधत्ते;(१.५–६)। द्रष्टव्य है मैत्रायण्युपनिषद् (६.८) का कथन–

विश्वरूपं हरिणं जातवेदसं ज्योतिरेकं परायणम्।
रश्मिः शतधा वर्तमानः प्राणः प्रजानामुदयत्येष सूर्यः।।

अतः निष्कर्ष निकलता है कि ये केशी वातारशन ज्योतीष्मती प्राणोपासना के योग का साधन करते थे। किन्तु ऐसा प्रतीत नहीं होता कि इस स्थल पर वातरशन कोई सम्प्रदाय की संज्ञा थी।

इन केशी वातरशन को स्वादुर्मदन्तिमः के विशेषण से अभिहित किया गया । वह मधुरसपायी और अत्यन्त उन्मादक है। यह रस–निर्माण योगी के शरीर में वायु के माध्यम से होता है। वायुरस्मा उपामंथत् पिनष्टि स्मा कुनंनमा- 'वायु उस योगी के शरीर में द्रव्यं और रस का मंथन कर पेय (मंथ) का निर्माण करती है। वह पीसती है। वह (मध्यमा वाक् ? प्रकाशरूपी सोमलता को ?) नीचे करती है।' मंथ से तात्पर्य है 'द्रव्याद्रव्ये प्रक्षिप्त मथितः' अथवा पेय–रस। 'मन्थस्ते शं हृदे' (ऋ. १०.८६.५) 'हे इन्द्र, तुम्हारे हृदय में जो मंथ (रस) है वह शुभंकर हो'। उपामन्थत् का इसलिए सायण ने अर्थ किया रसं उपश्नाति 'रस–पान करता है' अथवा 'मथ्नाति' 'मंथन करके रस–निर्माण करता है'। संक्षेप में वायु–निरोध से, प्राणायाम से, शरीर में

रस–संचार होता है, उन्मादक आनन्द की उत्पत्ति होती है। इसी रस को, विष को, **'रुद्रेण सह पिबत्'** रुद्र के साथ योगी पान करता है। विष शब्द का यहाँ अर्थ जहर नहीं अपितु मादक औषधि है। **अथर्ववेद** (४.६.३) की उक्ति है –

सुपर्णस्त्वा गरुत्मान्विष प्रथममावयत्।
नामीमदो नारूरुप उतास्मा अभवः पितुः।।

"हे विष, गरुत्मान् सुपर्ण ने तेरा पहली बार पान किया। तूने उसे उन्मदित नहीं किया, तूने उसे क्षुब्ध नहीं किया, किन्तु तू उसका भोजन बन गया"।

पुनः कथनीय है कि विष साधारण औषध के लिए भी प्रयुक्त होता था – हे विषातकी, तू विष (औषध) है, इसलिए यहाँ से व्याधियाँ दूर हो जायँ (**प्रेतो यन्तु व्याधयः, अथर्ववेद** (७.११८. २–३)। अन्त में कथनीय है कि ये औषधियाँ रुद्र से निर्गत मानी गईं –

आस्रवभेषजम्। रुद्रस्य मूत्रम्। ६.४४.२-३

प्राणोपासना से माध्यमिका वाक् अथवा प्रकाश के मन्थन से विष–मन्थ निर्मित होता था। ऊर्ध्व–मंथी के ऊर्ध्व–मंथन से यही तात्पर्य है। इसी कारण से मौनेय वृत्ति से उन्माद होता है– **उन्मादिता मौनेयेन।**

उनका यह दिव्योन्माद **'अप्सरसां गन्धर्वाणां मृगाणां चरणे'** 'अप्सराओं, गन्धर्वों और पशुओं के **'चरण'** में होता है। चरण का अर्थ है 'आचरण के आधार पर निर्मित सम्प्रदाय और उसका स्थल'। रुद्र का यह चरण मौजवत पर्वत के दूसरी तरफ था। **वाजसनेयी संहिता** में कहा गया – **एतत्ते रुद्रावसं तेन परो मूजवतोऽतीहि** (३.६१) 'यह रुद्र का वासस्थान है जो मूजवत के पार है, वहाँ रुद्र तुम जाओ'। इसको ही उद्धृत करता हुआ **शतपथ ब्राह्मण** का कथन है– **अस्य परो मूजवद्भ्यश्चरणम्** (२.६.२.१७) 'इसका (रुद्र का) मूजवत के पार चरण है'। मूजवान् गिरि गन्धर्वों का भी स्थान है जहाँ से गन्धर्वों से खरीदकर सोम लाया जाता था। मूजवान् पर्वत वाह्लीक और महावृष प्रदेशों के समीप था। यहाँ ही रुद्र–चरण, गन्धर्व–चरण था।

इस सन्दर्भ में यूनानी साहित्य में वर्णित डॉयनोसियस के दिव्योन्माद तथा नीसा नगर में अप्सराओं के मण्डल में दिव्य उत्तेजना से प्रेरित रहस्यमय कृत्य चर्चनीय हैं। सुकरात ने दिव्य उन्माद (**थिया मेनिया**) के व्यक्तिगत जीवन और समाज में मांगलिक योगदान का वर्णन किया है तथा डेल्फी की भविष्यवाणियों को दिव्योन्माद–जनित प्रतिभाज्ञान से सम्बद्ध माना है (फिएद्रुस, २४४ अ)। होमर, सोफोक्लीज, यूरोपिडीज़, डॉयनोसियस आदि लेखकों के उद्धरण के साथ नीसा नगरी में डॉयनोसियस के दिव्योन्माद और रहस्यमय कृतियों की चर्चा स्ट्रेबों ने अपने ग्रन्थ **ज्याग्राफिकान** (१५.१.७–८) में की है। यह नीसा नगरी सिन्धु– नद के पार गान्धार और महावृष के पार्श्व में स्थित मूजवान् गिरि के परिसर में होनी चाहिए। डॉयनोसियस के उत्सव का वर्णन, जिसे फेल्लेफोरिया अर्थात् लिंगोद्वहन कहते थे, अनेक यूनानी लेखकों ने किया है। प्लूटार्क (२. ३५५ c) के अनुसार इस उत्सव में **फेल्लोफेरो** (लिंग की प्रतिकृति वहन करने वाले व्यक्तियों का समूह) एक जुलूस निकालते थे। मदिरा–पान और उन्मत्त स्त्रियों का विशिष्ट आचार इसकी विशेषता थी । इस उत्सव में **'फेल्लिकोस'** (लैंगिक नृत्य और गायन) होता था। लिंग–प्रतिकृति

से डॉयनिसियस का इतना गहरा सम्बन्ध था कि उसे फेलिनॉस डायनिसियस् का अभिधान दिया गया। वह अप्सराओं के, विशेषकर नीसा वासिनियों के द्वारा पोषित हुआ और इसलिए नीम्फ–गेनिज, अप्सरा–जात कहा जाता है। यह एक विस्मयकारी तथ्य है कि प्राचीन भारतीय साहित्य और पुरातन यूनानी वाङ्मय में रुद्र और फेलिनॉस डायनिसियॉस के अप्सराओं के सान्निध्य में दिव्योन्माद की चर्चा मूजवान् और उसके सन्निकट नीसा के प्रसंग में उपलब्ध होती है। इस यूनानी साक्ष्य के बलाबल पर विमर्श की सम्भावना है तथा इसकी ऐतिहासिक संरचना के लिए उपयोगिता की आशंका हो सकती है, किन्तु मूजवान् के पार रुद्र–चरण की स्थिति निश्चित है और रुद्र के अनुयायी वातरशन मुनियों का उससे सम्बन्ध साधारणतः निर्णीत निष्कर्ष है।

यहाँ ऐतिहासिकों के द्वारा वातरशन योगियों के सम्बन्ध में प्रवर्तित एक सिद्धान्त पर विचार करना आवश्यक प्रतीत होता है। उनके अनुसार केशी सूक्त के वातरशन, **तैत्तिरीय आरण्यक** के वातरशनों से साक्षात् अथवा परोक्ष रूप से जुड़े हुए हैं।

यह सच है कि केशीसूक्त की रचना के करीब एक हजार वर्ष पश्चात् **तैत्तिरीय आरण्यक** में वातरशनों का तीन बार उल्लेख हुआ है। प्रथम स्थल (१.२३.२) में स्वस्तिवाचन के पश्चात् अरुणकेतव और वातरशन का उल्लेख मात्र है। दूसरे स्थान पर वातरशन ऋषियों की उत्पत्ति का वर्णन है–

स प्रजापतिरेकः पुष्करपर्णे समभवत्। तस्यान्तर्मनसि कामस्समवर्तत। इदं सृजेयम्।.... स तपोऽतप्यत्। स तपस्तप्त्वा शरीरमधुनत। तस्य मांसमासीत्। ततो अरुणा केतवः वातरशना ऋषयः उदतिष्ठन्। ये नखास्ते वैखानसाः। ये वाला ते वालखिल्याः। १.२४.४–५.

"वह प्रजापति पुष्कर – पर्ण में एकाकी उत्पन्न हुआ। उसके अन्तर्मन में इच्छा उत्पन्न हुई–इसका मैं सृजन करूँ। उसने तप किया। तप करने के पश्चात् शरीर को प्रकम्पित किया। उसका जो मांस था उससे अरुण केतव वातरशनों की उत्पत्ति हुई। जो नख थे वे वैखानस हैं। जो बाल थे वे वालखिल्य हैं।"

तीसरा उल्लेख कूश्माण्ड ब्राह्मण के अन्तर्गत कूश्माण्ड होम से सम्बद्ध है–

वातरशना ह वा ऋषयश्श्रमणा ऊर्ध्वमंथिनः बभूवुः।
तानृषयोऽर्थमायंस्ते निलायमचरंस्तेऽनुप्रविविशुः कूश्माण्डानि। २.७

"वातरशन ऋषि निश्चय ही श्रमण ऊर्ध्वमंथी (ऊर्ध्वरेता ?) हुए। जब अन्य ऋषि आये तो वे छिपकर विचरण करते हुए कूश्माण्ड में प्रविष्ट हो गये।"

उपर्युक्त विवरण से ज्ञात होता है कि वातरशन आरण्यक तपस्वी थे और सम्भवतः (विष्णु–सम्प्रदायी) वैखानसों से सम्बद्ध थे। वे अग्नि–चर्या करते थे और कूश्माण्ड होम उनकी अपनी विशेषता थी।

अभिधान सादृश्य के अतिरिक्त केशी–सूक्त के वातरशन और **तैत्तिरीय आरण्यक** के वातरशनों में कोई सादृश्य नहीं दिखायी देता। न तो आरण्यकीय वातरशन रुद्र से सम्बद्ध हैं, न

मौनेय से उन्मदित और न ही वे पिशंग–मल धारण करते हैं। दूसरी ओर ऋग्वेदीय वातरशन न तो अग्नि–चर्या से सम्बद्ध हैं और न कूश्माण्ड होम से। अतः केशीसूक्त और **तैत्तिरीय आरण्यक** के आधार पर वातरशन–परम्परा के सातत्य का इतिहास संरचित नहीं हो सकता।

इसी प्रसंग में शैव, वैष्णव और जैन मतों की त्रिविध परम्पराओं में समादृत ऋषभदेव के विषय में **भागवत** का निम्नोक्त विवरण भी विचारणीय है –

धर्मान्दर्शयितुकामो वातरशनानां रमणानामृषीणामूर्ध्वमंथिनां शुक्लया तनुवावतार (५.३.२०)।

'वातरशन श्रमण ऊर्ध्वमंथी ऋषियों के धर्मों के आचरणों के लिए ऋषभ देव ने तात्त्विक वृत्ति से शरीर धारण किया।'

तैत्तिरीय आरण्यक की रचना के करीब एक हजार वर्ष बाद लिपिबद्ध भागवत परम्परा में 'वातरशन ऊर्ध्वमंथी श्रमण ऋषि' का यह उल्लेख निस्सन्देह ही विस्मयकारी है। इस लम्बे अन्तराल में आरण्यक की यह समन्वित पदावली अन्यत्र दृष्टिगोचर नहीं होती है। ऋषभदेव के चरित्र की त्रिपथगा शैव, वैष्णव और जैन पुराणों में मिलती है और उससे यथेष्ट भिन्नता है। शैव पुराणों में ऋषभदेव पर भागवतीय प्रभाव परिलक्षित होता है, जब कि इन दोनों से यथेष्ट रूप में भिन्न जैन **'आदिपुराण'** में ऋषभदेव का चरित्र व्याख्यात है। **भागवत** के इस विवरण में विसंगतियाँ भी हैं। शतपुत्र उत्पन्न करने वाले गृहमेधि–धर्म का अनुवर्तन करने वाले नरेश ऋषभदेव को वातरशन ऊर्ध्वमंथी और श्रमण कहना सुसंगत तो नहीं। यहाँ स्पष्टतः वैखानस आदि भागवतीय सम्प्रदाय के ढाँचे में जैन आख्यान को प्रस्तुत करने का प्रयास दिखाई देता है। वातरशन, ऊर्ध्वमंथी यह पदावली जैन परम्परा में स्वीकृत नहीं, वैखानस में प्रचलित रही होगी। अतः **भागवत** के इस उद्धरण से न तो वातरशनों के सम्प्रदाय की अविच्छिन्न परम्परा का साक्ष्य ही मिलता है औन न जैन धर्म का वातरशन सम्प्रदाय के मौलिक सम्बन्ध का आधार ही दिखाई देता है। मेरा यह निष्कर्ष श्रीधरस्वामी के भाष्य से समर्थित भी है। उनका कथन है कि **वातरशनानां दिग्वाससां पाषण्डिव्यावृत्त्यर्थमाह,** "जैनमत के दिगम्बर वेषधारी ऋषभदेव से विभिन्न दिखाने के लिए उनसे व्यावृत्ति के लिए वातरशन पद का प्रयोग किया गया"। अस्तु, केशीसूक्त से करीब एक हजार वर्ष पश्चात् संरचित **तैत्तिरीय आरण्यक** और उसके प्रायः एक सहस्राब्दि पश्चात् लिपि–निबद्ध **भागवत** के आधार पर वातरशन श्रमणों की परम्परा के इतिवृत्त के सर्जन का साहस सम्भवतः इतिहासकार जुटा न पाये और न यह साक्ष्य–परम्परा वातरशनों का आदिम श्रमणों से सम्बन्ध स्थापित करने में सक्षम ही है।

पुनः मुनि–तत्त्व के विषय पर लौटते हुए वैदिक वाङ्मय में उपलब्ध इतर साक्ष्यों का संक्षिप्त सर्वेक्षण कर लिया जाय। **ऋग्वेद** के **धुनिर्मुनिः** (७.५६.८) की सायणीय व्याख्या **'बहुविधशब्दोत्पादक मुनिः'** समीचीन ही है और यह **ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण** (६.३३)` मुनि ऐतश के प्रलाप से सुसंगत है। **इन्द्रो मुनीनां सखा।** (ऋ. ८.१७.४) और **ताण्ड्य ब्राह्मण** (१०.१४.४७) के मुनि–भरण और वैखानस रक्षण से सम्बद्ध प्रतीत होता है। शौनकीय **अथर्ववेद** के दोनों सन्दर्भ (७.७८.१; ८.६.१७) अतीन्द्रियार्थदर्शी मुनि से अप्रसक्त प्रतीत होते हैं। **पैप्पलाद अथर्ववेद** (५.३४.५) का मुनि–चक्षु प्रज्ञाचक्षु का समानार्थक प्रतीत होता है। **ऐतरेय आरण्यक** (२.२०.१) मुनियों की गंगा–यमुना के अन्तरालवर्ती प्रदेश में अवस्थिति का द्योतन करता है–

गंगायमुनयोर्मुनिभ्यश्च नमः।

किन्तु इन सन्दर्भों से कहीं अधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण होता है मुनि तुर कावषेय का प्रसंग। तुर कावषेय के सम्बन्ध में दो प्रकार के आख्यान मिलते हैं– प्रथम तो **ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण** (७.३४) के राजसूय–प्रसंग में फल–चमस–भक्ष्य के माहात्म्य का जनमेजय को प्रकाशन और जनमेजय को ऐन्द्र महाभिषेक से अभिषिक्त (८.२१) करना तथा दूसरे **शतपथ ब्राह्मण, ऐतरेय आरण्यक** और **बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद्** में तुर कावषेय का ब्रह्म विद्या से सम्बद्ध विवरण। ये दोनों तुर कावषेय एक ही हैं अथवा दो भिन्न व्यक्ति, यह समस्या प्रसंग में महत्त्वपूर्ण नहीं जो विशेष सार्थक है, वह है मुनि कावषेय के ब्रह्म विद्या–सम्बन्धी उपदेश और उनका मुनि तत्त्व से सम्बन्ध।

शतपथ ब्राह्मण (१०.६.५६) और **बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद्** (६.५.४) ब्रह्मविद्या के शिष्य–प्रशिष्य परम्परा की क्रमशः संक्षिप्त और विस्तृत सूची उपलब्ध होती है और दोनों में तुर कावषेय को प्रथम मानव आचार्य माना गया–ब्रह्म से प्रजापति ने, प्रजापति से तुर कावषेय ने, तुर कावषेय से यज्ञवच राजस्तम्बायन ने, कुश्रि ने राजस्तम्बायन से, शाण्डिल्य ने कुश्रि से इत्यादि यह विद्या प्राप्त की।

इन मुनि कावषेय का एक महत्त्वपूर्ण सिद्धान्त **शतपथ ब्राह्मण** (६.५.२.१५–१६) में सुरक्षित है –

अथाह स्म शाण्डिल्यः। तुरो ह कावषेयः कारोत्यां देवेभ्योऽग्निं चिकाय तं ह देवाः पप्रच्छुर्मुने यदलोक्यामिमामग्निचित्यामाहुरथ कस्माद् चैषीरिति।

"ऐसा शाण्डिल्य ने कहा। तुर कावषेय ने 'कारोति' नामक स्थल में देवों के लिए अग्नि–चयन किया। उससे देवों ने पूछा "मुनि, जब तुम यह कहते हो कि अग्नि चिति से (स्वर्ग) लोक नहीं मिलता है तो तुमने अग्नि–चयन क्यों किया ?"

तुर कावषेय के उत्तर का एक अंश है – **स होवाच। किं नु लोक्यम्। किमलोक्यम्।** उसने कहा "स्वर्ग क्या है? अस्वर्ग्य क्या है ? यहाँ पुर कावषेय के लिए 'मुनि' सम्बोधन विशेष रूप से अवधारणीय है।"

यहाँ स्पष्ट ही मुनि कावषेय द्वारा अग्नि–चयन के महत्त्व की और स्वर्ग्य की स्थिवि की अस्वीकृति अथवा अवहेलना ध्वनित होती है।

इस निष्कर्ष का समर्थन **ऐतरेय आरण्यक** (३.२.६) से भी परोक्ष रीति से होता है–

आहुर्ऋषयः कावषेयाः किमर्थं वयमध्येष्यामहे किमर्थं वयं यक्ष्यामहे
वाचि हि प्राणं जुहुमः प्राणे वा वाचम्। यो ह्येव प्रभवः स एवाप्ययः।

"ऋषि कावषेयों ने कहा हम वेद का स्वाध्याय क्यों करें ? हम यज्ञ क्यों करें ? हम वाणी में प्राणों की आहुति दें। प्राण में वाणी का होम करें। जो उत्पत्ति है, वही अन्त है।"

यहाँ भी कावषेयों द्वारा वैदिक स्वाध्याय और अग्नि–चयन की निरर्थकता के साथ प्राणोपासना का महत्त्व प्रदर्शित है। किन्तु कहीं अधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण है– संन्यासियों के लिए विहित

आन्तर अग्निहोत्र अथवा प्राणाग्निहोत्र के सिद्धान्त का सूत्र । ऐतरेय आरण्यक का उपर्युक्त वचन **कौषीतकि उपनिषद्** (२.४) के प्रसंग में व्याख्येय है–

अथातः सायंमनं प्रातर्दनमान्तरमग्निहोत्रमित्याचक्षते।
यावद्वै पुरुषो भाषते न तावत्प्राणितुं शक्नोति,
प्राणं तदा वाचि जुहोति, यावद्वै पुरुषः प्राणिति,
न तावत् भाषितुं शक्नोति वाचं तदा प्राणे जुहोति।
एते अनन्ते अमृताहुती।

"अब हम प्रतर्दन के संयमन सिद्धान्त जिसे आन्तरिक अग्निहोत्र कहा जाता है (विवेचन करेंगे)। जब तक पुरुष बोलता है तब तक प्राणोच्छ्‌वास लेने में असमर्थ रहता है। उस समय वह वाक् में प्राण का होम करता है। जब तक पुरुष प्राणोच्छ्‌वास करता है तब तक वह बोलने में असमर्थ रहता है। उस समय वह वाणी का प्राण में होम करता है। ये अनन्त अमृत आहुतियाँ हैं।"

यद्यपि यहाँ आन्तर अग्निहोत्र को प्रतर्दन के द्वारा प्रवर्तित सिद्धान्त बताया गया किन्तु प्रतर्दन स्वयं कहता है **एतत् ह वै पूर्वे विद्वांसोऽग्निहोत्रं न जुहुवांचक्रे** (कौषीतकि उपनिषत् २.५) "यह जानकर पूर्व कालीन विद्वान् अग्निहोत्र नहीं करते थे"। अतः प्रो० बेनीमाध्व बरुआ (**प्रि-बुद्धिस्ट फिलोसफी**, पृ. १११–११२)का ऊपर उद्‌धृत **ऐतरेय आरण्यक** के आधार पर यह निष्कर्ष ठीक है कि आन्तर अग्निहोत्र का यथार्थ प्रवर्तक मुनि कावषेय था।

इस प्रकार मुनि कावषेय ब्रह्मविद्या का प्रथम आचार्य था। उसने वैदिक अग्निचिति के महत्त्व को अस्वीकृत किया, वैदिक स्वाध्याय की महिमा का निषेध किया और इनसे भी महत्त्वपूर्ण है कि उसने पश्चाद्वर्ती संन्यासियों के लिये आन्तर अग्निहोत्र के सिद्धान्त का प्रवर्तन किया।

इसी शृंखला में **बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद्** द्वारा की गई मुनि की परिभाषा का विमर्श किया जाय–

तस्मात् ब्राह्मणः पाण्डित्यं निर्विद्य बाल्येन तिष्ठासेत्। बाल्यं पाण्डित्यं च निर्विद्याथ मुनिः (३.५.१) "(लोक–सम्मान के परित्याग से) ब्राह्मण पाण्डित्य से विरक्त होकर बालक के समान भोलेपन से रहने की इच्छा करे। बाल्य और पाण्डित्य युक्त होकर वह मुनि की स्थिति प्राप्त करता है।" बाल्य से तात्पर्य है कि लौकिक ज्ञान का अभाव और पाण्डित्य से अभिप्राय है कि लौकिक वैदुष्य। ज्ञान की प्राप्ति के साथ साथ जब बालक की निष्कलुषता तथा भोलापन जुड़ जाता है, तो मुनि भाव सम्पन्न होता है।

शंकराचार्य ने इस स्थल पर पाण्डित्य और मुनि–भाव को समानार्थक माना है। उनका कथन है **'मुनिशब्दस्य ज्ञानातिशयार्थत्वात् मननान्मुनिरिति च व्युत्पत्तिसम्भवात् मुनीनामप्यहं व्यासः' इति च प्रयोगदर्शनात्** (वेदान्त–सूत्र ३.४.४७ पर शांकरभाष्य)। तात्पर्यार्थ है कि व्युत्पत्ति और प्रयोग दोनों आधारों पर मुनि का अर्थ ज्ञानातिशय है। इसी अर्थ में **बृहदारण्यक** (४.४.२२) की उक्ति है–

एतमेव विदित्वा मुनिर्भवति। एतमेव प्रव्राजिनो लोकमिच्छन्तः प्रव्रजन्ति।..... लोकैषणायाश्च व्युत्थाय भिक्षाचर्यं चरन्ति।

'ब्रह्म–तत्त्व को जानकर वह मुनि होता है। ब्रह्मलोक की इच्छा करते हुए ये परिव्राजक प्रव्रज्या धारण करते हैं। लोक–सम्मान की इच्छा त्यागकर भिक्षाचरण करते हैं।

इसके पश्चात् ही सूत्रग्रन्थों में मुनि, भिक्षु, परिव्राजक और सन्यासी समानार्थक हो गये – मुनि शब्द चतुर्थाश्रमवाची हो गया। बौधायन सन्यासी को परिव्राजक, आपस्तम्ब मुनि और गौतम भिक्षु कहते हैं। इस प्रकार मुनि–परम्परा संन्यास में निमज्जित हो जाती है।

वैदिक वाङ्मय में अतीन्द्रियार्थदर्शी मुनि की दो परम्परायें हैं। प्रथम केशी सूक्त में उपनिबद्ध हैं और द्वितीय मुनि तुर कावषेय के सन्दर्भ में दिखाई देती हैं। ये परिव्राजक पिशंग (काषाय) वस्त्रधारी थे। प्राणोपासना इनकी केन्द्रीय साधना थी। ये वैदिक स्वाध्याय और अग्निचर्या के महत्त्व को स्वीकार नहीं करते थे। ब्रह्म विद्या ही इनका ध्येय था।

दूसरी परम्परा यतियों की थी जिससे श्रमणों के मूल सूत्र का सन्धान किया जाता है। यदि मुनि भारतीय–आर्य अवधारणा है तो यति भारतेरानी धार्मिक परम्परा का एक प्रमुख तत्त्व ।

प्राचीन भारतीय मनीषियों तथा आधुनिक विद्वानों ने यतियों के विषय में विविध मतों का उपन्यास किया है। अधिकांश इनको इन्द्र–विरोधी वेदेतर तापसों के रूप में स्वीकार करते हैं। इनको 'आसुरी प्रजा' मानकर अथवा उनके असुर–सम्बन्ध को ध्यान में रखकर उनके प्रति अनार्यता भी ध्वनित की गई। कुछ विद्वानों ने उनको श्रमणों का मूल रूप भी माना। इन सन्दर्भों के परिप्रेक्ष्य में यतियों के स्वरूप का संक्षिप्त अनुसन्धान अपेक्षित है।

यत्–यात् धातु से व्युत्पन्न यति निश्चित ही आर्य शब्द है। बांवेनिस्ते, बेली और तोपोरोव ने जो सम्प्रति शोध–कार्य किया है उससे स्पष्ट होता है कि इस धातु का मूलार्थ है 'उचित स्थान निर्धारित करना' अर्थात् नियति निश्चित करना और अनुवादार्थ रूप से इष्ट पदार्थ प्रदान करना'। इससे ही दूसरा अर्थ निकला ' श्रद्धा–पूर्वक कृत्य करना, सादर अपने को देव के समक्ष उपस्थित करना, बलि–उपहार देना। इन दुहरे सम्पृक्त अर्थों के कारण यति शब्द के भी दो अर्थ हो जाते हैं – देव विशेषतः मित्र जो नियति–निर्धारण करता है और देव–पूजक जो श्रद्धापूर्वक देव–समक्ष अपने को उपस्थित करता है। इन देव–वाची और मानव–अभिधायक यमल अर्थों के कारण मैकडोनेल–कीथ (**वैदिक इण्डेक्स**, खण्ड २.पृ० १५०) को भ्रान्ति हो गई। देव–वाची को उन्होंने मिथक समझा और मानव को अभिहित करने वाले सन्दर्भों को ऐतिहासिक। ऋग्वेद में दोनों अर्थ हैं–

यद्देवा यतयो यथा भुवनान्यपिन्वत् (१०.७२.७).

"जिस प्रकार यति देवों ने लोकों को (रश्मियों से अथवा वृष्टि से) आपूरित कर दिया।" यहाँ यति देववाची हैं। पुनः **तुर यतिषु तुरयनृजिप्यो भ्रुवोः किरते रेणुकृञ्जन्।** ४.३८.७.

"यतियों के भ्रू पर ऋजुगामी धूलि का प्रसाधन करते हुए विकीर्ण करता है।" किन्तु यत्–यात् धातु की एक विशेषता ऋग्वेद में दृष्टिगोचर होती है। मित्र, मित्रावरुण तथा आदित्य के प्रसंग में इसका प्रायः उल्लेख हुआ है।

जनं च मित्रो यतति ब्रुवाणः ७.३६.२.

"आवाहन करने पर मित्र देवजन पर कृपा करता है।"

मित्रो जनान् यातयति, ३.५६.१ आदि अनेक ऐसे सन्दर्भ हैं। इस तथ्य का सार्थक उद्‌घाटन मित्र का एक विशेषण **'यातयज्जन'** स्पष्टता के साथ करता है। चार प्रसंगों में मित्र, मित्रावरुण अथवा सहयोगी देवों को इस विशेषण से विभूषित किया गया–

गृणीहि विप्र शुष्मिणम्। मित्रं न यातयज्जनम्। ८.१०२.१२.

"हे विप्र, तुम शुष्मी (बलवान् ?) करो जैसे यातयत्– जन मित्र की करते हो"

सायण ने यातयत्–जन की विविध सन्दर्भों में विभिन्न व्याख्यायें की हैं। **हत-शत्रु-जनं** 'जिसने शत्रुजन को मार डाला' (८.१०२.१२). **यातयन्ति लोकं यदीया जनाः प्रेष्याः स तादृशः** 'जिसके सेवक लोक की यातना करते हैं, **नरके निपात्यमानाः जनाः येन** 'जो मनुष्यों को नरक में भेजता है' (१.१३६.३), इत्यादि।

दैवात् **मिहिर यश्त** के एक सन्दर्भ से इसका अर्थ स्पष्ट हो जाता है। तोपोरोव ने इसकी ओर ध्यान आकृष्ट किया था –

तूम् ता दञ्हावो निपाहि
या हुबरतीं यातये इति
मिथ्र हे .....। १०.७८.

"तुम उन जनों (दञ्हुओं–दस्युओं = जनों) की रक्षा करते हो जो मिथ्र–मित्र के हु–बरतीं (सुभृतिं) श्रद्धा–युक्त (बलि–उपहार) अर्पित करते हैं (उनके समक्ष रखते हैं)।" यहाँ 'हुबरतीं यातये इति' की ओर ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ। 'यातये इति' निस्सन्देह वैदिक यात यति का आवेस्तिक रूप है। **'हुबरतीं'** मनोरञ्जक और तथ्योद्‌घाटक है। हुबरतीं का वैदिक रूप है **'सुभृतिं'।** सु+भृ के अनेक वैदिक रूप हैं, जिनमें मुख्य हैं ' सुभृत' और यह देव–यजन के प्रसंग में बलि–उपहार निवेदन के लिए प्रयुक्त होता है। इसका अर्थ है कि "आदर सहित उपहार"। यथा–**सुभृतं विभर्ति वल्गूयते वन्दते च** "सादर उपहार लाता है, स्तवन करता है, नमस्कार करता है" (४.५०.७)। हखामनी अभिलेखों में इसका 'उबरतं' रूप मिलता है। दारायवौष के बहिस्तून प्रथम की २१–२२ पंक्ति है–

इमा दह्याव मर्तियाह्य आगरिय आह अवम् उबर्तम् - "इन देशों के मनुष्य जो मेरे साथ (भक्त) थे उनको मैंने सादर बख्शीस (उबर्तम्) दी"। अतः हुबरतीं यातये इति से तात्पर्य है श्रद्धापूर्वक बलि–प्रसाद अर्पित करना– सामने रखना।

यातयत्–जन में भी यही अर्थ अभिप्रेत है।

प्रथमतः अवलोकनीय है कि यह असामान्य समास है जिसके कुछ उदाहरण ऋग्वेद में मिलते हैं। जैसे प्रथम मण्डल में उषा का विशेषण है **यावयद्-द्वेषा।** सायण इसकी व्याख्या करते हैं **यावयन्ति अस्मत्त पृथक्कृतानि द्वेषांसि राक्षसाणि यथा स तथोक्ता।** इसी प्रकार **यातयत्-जनः** का विग्रह होगा **यातयन्ति जनाः यं सः** जिसको 'जन श्रद्धासंवलित उपहार अर्पित करते हैं'।

पञ्चम मण्डल में मित्रावरुण को **ध्रुवाक्षेमा** (स्थायी निवास में स्थित) **यातयज्जना** (५.७२.२) कहा गया। इसी प्रकार प्रथम मण्डल (१.१३६.३) में **मित्रस्तयोर्वरुणो यातयज्जनो** में मित्रावरुण के

लिए यह विशेषण प्रयुक्त होता है। यातयत–जन में जो श्रद्धाभिव्यक्ति की प्रक्रिया है उसकी किंचित् छाया तृतीय मण्डल की एक ऋचा में दिखाई देती है–

नमसोपसद्यो यातयज्जनो गृणते (३.५६.५)

नमस्कार करने के पश्चात् देव को आसन दिया जाता था–

(नमस्कारेण उपसद्यः उपसदनीयः) तथा फिर उनकी स्तुति की जाती थी (गृणते स्तोत्रं कुर्वते)।

सारांश में, यत्–यात् धातु का **ऋग्वेद** में मित्रावरुण के प्रसंग में अनेकशः प्रयोग के साथ ही अवेस्ता में भी **मिथ्र-मिहिर** के प्रसंग में इस धातु का उल्लेख, यति के मित्रावरुण और मिथ्र–मिहिर के प्रति घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध की प्रबल सम्भावना उपस्थित करता है।

इस सम्भावना को और भी बल मिलता है जब हम देखते हैं कि मित्रावरुण के साथ सम्बद्ध भृगुओं को भी यति कहा गया। **ऋग्वेद** में दो प्रयोग हैं जहाँ यति भृगु से सम्बद्ध हैं– **यतिभ्यो भृगवे धने हिते** (८.३.६) तथा एक ऋचा में भृगुओं को स्पष्टतः यति कहा गया–

यतयस्त्वा भृगवो ये च तुष्टुवुः। ८.६.१८.

हे इन्द्र भृगु यतियों ने तुमको सन्तुष्ट किया।

अथर्ववेद (२.५.३) **जघान् यतीन्। विभेद बलं भृगुर्न** में भी भृगु और **यति** साथ–साथ प्रयुक्त हैं, किन्तु इसका पाठ सन्दिग्ध है। **सामवेद** (२.१०.४) में पुनः भृगु और यति का समीकरण उपलब्ध होता है।

भृगुओं का वरुण से सम्बन्ध सुविख्यात है। **शतपथ ब्राह्मण** (११.६.१.१) में भृगु को वरुण का पुत्र ही कहा गया– **भृगुर्वै वारुणिः।** भृगु और यति इस सम्बन्ध से मित्रावरुण के उपासकों के रूप में यतियों के होने की सम्भावना पुष्ट होती है।

साथ ही परम्परा में यतियों को आंगिरस भी कहा गया। सायण अनेक प्रसंगों में कहते हैं–

आंगिरसाः यतयः (८.३.६.;५.४५.७ आदि पर भाष्य)। भृगु और आंगिरस यहाँ का प्राचीनतम पुरोहित वर्ग था और दोनों में अत्यन्त घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध था यहाँ तक कि **अथर्ववेद** को भृग्वंगिराओं का वेद कहा गया (द्रष्टव्य मॉरिस ब्लूमफील्ड, **हिम्स आफ दी अथर्ववेद** भूमिका पृ. २६. और आगे)।

यतियों को असुरों से भी सम्बद्ध बतलाया गया, और यह पक्ष यतियों के विषय में एक नवीन, महत्त्वपूर्ण और मनोरञ्जक आयाम का उद्घाटन करता है। सायण एक प्राचीन परम्परा का उद्वहन करता है जब वह कहता है कि–

यतयो नाम नियमशीला असुर्याः प्रजाः (अथर्ववेद २.५.३ पर व्याख्या)। मेधातिथि भी एक पुरातन अनुश्रुति को ही दुहराता है जब वह मनु (१२.४८) की टीका में लिखता है **'मेरु-निवासिनः केचिज्जनपदा यतयो नाम'** 'मेरु पर्वत के निवासी किन्हीं जनपदीयों को यति कहा जाता है'। इसी प्रसंग में **तैत्तिरीय संहिता** (२.६.६) के पर्जन्येष्टि–प्रसंग के एक वचन का उल्लेख कर दिया

जाय–"जब यतियों को खाया जा रहा था।" (यतीनां अद्यमानानां) तब उनके सिर गिर पड़े (शीर्षाणि परापतन्) वे खर्जूर हो गये (ते खर्जूरा अभवन्) ; उनका रस ऊपर निकला और करीर बन गये। खर्जूर और करीर यहाँ अवधारणीय हैं। उपर्युक्त सम्पूर्ण सन्दर्भ–परम्परा यतियों का सम्पर्क अथवा सम्बन्ध भारत के पार्श्ववर्ती पश्चिमी देशों से इंगित करती है।

यह पक्ष और भी स्पष्ट हो जाता है इन्द्र के द्वारा त्वाष्ट्र विश्वरूप, यति–समूह और अरुर्मघों के वध के प्रसंगों में। **तैत्तिरीय संहिता** (७.२.७.६) में उक्त–है– **इन्द्रो यतीन् सालावृकेभ्यः प्रायच्छत्** 'इन्द्र ने यतियों को भेड़ियों के समान डाल दिया।' इसका उपबृंहण अनेक ग्रन्थों में हुआ (सन्दर्भों के लिए द्रष्टव्य **वैदिक इण्डेक्स**, २, पृ० १८५, पाद–टिप्पणी ३)। इस कथा का विस्तृत विवेचन अपेक्षित नहीं। यहाँ केवल इस परम्परा में एक भिन्नता की ओर ध्यान आकृष्ट करना आवश्यक है। **ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण** (७.२८), **जैमिनीय ब्राह्मण** (२.१३४) आदि में यतियों ओर अरुर्मघों का पृथक् उल्लेख है–

विश्वरूपं त्वाष्ट्रमभ्यमंस्तः ..... यतीन् सालावृकेभ्यः
प्रादात् अरुर्मघानवधीत् .....(ऐ. ब्रा., ६.२८)

इन्द्र ने "त्वष्ट्रा के पुत्र विश्वरूप को मार डाला। यतियों को भेड़ियों के सामने डाल दिया, अरुर्मघों का वध किया।"

किन्तु कौषीतकी परम्परा में अरूर्मघों को ही यति कहा गया। **तैत्तिरीय संहिता** (२.५.१.१) पर वेदार्थ प्रकाश की टीका पर मध्वाचार्य एक कौषीतकी श्रुति का उद्धरण देते हैं–

अतएव कौषीतकिन इन्द्रवाक्यमेतदामनन्ति
.....त्रिशीर्षाणं त्वाष्ट्रमहं अहनं अरुन्मुखान् यतीन्
सालावृकेभ्यः प्रायच्छम्।

'अतः कौषीतकि परम्परा में इन्द्र के इस वाक्य का उल्लेख होता है ..... मैंने त्रिशीर्ष त्वष्टा–पुत्र(विश्वरूप) का वध किया; अरून्मुख यतियों को भेड़ियों के सामने डाल दिया।

इनका समर्थन **कौषीतकी उपनिषद् ब्राह्मण** (३.१) द्वारा भी होता है।

यहाँ विशेष रूप से है यह महत्त्वपूर्ण तथ्य द्रष्टव्य कि विश्वरूप त्वाष्ट्र यति और अरुर्मुखों को पुरोहित और असुर–संबंधी माना गया। सायण ने **ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण** के उपर्युक्त उद्धरण की व्याख्या में यतियों को **'यतिवेषधरान् असुरान्' ! १ और अरुर्मघों को ब्राह्मणवेषान् असुरान्** कहा । **सायण की व्याख्या अविश्वसनीय हो सकती है, किन्तु यही तो संहिता-साहित्य में भी लिखा गया है। तैत्तिरीय संहिता (२.५.१.१) में कहा गया -**

विश्वरूपो वै त्वाष्ट्रः पुरोहितो देवानामासीत्
स्वस्त्रीयोऽसुराणाम्.....स प्रत्यक्षं देवेभ्यो भागमवदत्
परोक्षमसुरेभ्यः.....।

'त्वष्ट्रा का पुत्र विश्वरूप देवों का पुरोहित था तथा असुरों का भागिनेय। वह प्रत्यक्ष रूप से देवों को बलि देता था और परोक्ष रूप से असुरों को।' यही स्थिति अरुर्मुख यतियों की

भी है। **अरुर्मघ** यति एक अद्यावधि अव्याख्यात समस्या है। इस शब्द के तीन रूपान्तर हैं– **अरुर्मुखान्** (**जैमिनीय ब्राह्मण** २.१३४; **शांखायन आरण्यक** ५.१), **अरुन्मुखान्** (**कौषीतकि उपनिषत्** ३.१), तथा **अरुर्मघान्** (**ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण** ७.२८)। इस समस्त शब्द का प्रथम पद अरुस् के उस् प्रत्यय के स् का वैदिक भाषा में कभी–कभी लोप हो जाता है जैसे अरुस्राण में (**अथर्ववेद** २.३.३ पर ह्विटने की टिप्पणी), और क्वचित् उसके स्थान पर **'न्'** का आगम हो जाता है जैसे **अरुन्** में (बरो, संस्कृत, पृ. १६०)। इस प्रकार **अरुस्** और **अरुन्** दोनों रूप उपलब्ध होते हैं। लौकिक संस्कृत में **अरुस्**, **अरुस्क**, **अरुस्कर** आदि शब्द तो मिलते ही हैं, **अरुन्तुद** (अरुषि–तुदति, घावों को दुखाने वाला, मर्मस्पृक्, **अमरकोष** ३.१.८३) भी उपलब्ध होता है। पाणिनि ने इसके लिए **अरुद्विषत्** (६.३.६७) सूत्र ही बनाया है। इस प्रकार **अरुस्** और **अरुन्** दोनों रूप व्याकरण और प्रवृत्ति के आधार पर शुद्ध हैं।

अरुस/अरुन् का अर्थ है व्रण, घाव अथवा अंग का वह स्थान जहाँ त्वचा न हो। **शतपथ ब्राह्मण** (३.१.३.१०) में आँख में अञ्जन लगाने की सार्थकता बतलाते हुए कहा गया **अरुर्वै पुरुषस्याक्षि** 'पुरुष की आँख एक व्रण है' (क्योंकि उसके ऊपर त्वचा नहीं; अतः औषधि–लेप के समान अञ्जन लगाना चाहिए)।

पुराकाल में अरुस् व्रण की चिकित्सा के लिए असुरों की विशेष ख्याति थी । **अथर्ववेद** (२.३.३)में कहा गया –

नीचैर्खनन्त्यसुरा अरुस्राणमिदं महत्। तदास्रावस्य भेषजम्।

'असुर इस महान् अरुस्राण औषधि को नीचे से खोदते हैं।'

यह रक्त–स्राव का भैषज्य है।

'अरुर्मघ' का द्वितीय पद मघ और आवेस्तिक मग समानार्थक है और इनका अर्थ है पौरोहित्य से वृत्ति (धन) प्राप्त करने वाले। पश्चाद्वर्ती हखामनी–सासानी **मगुस्** और शाकद्वीपी **मग** इसी शब्द–परम्परा से सम्बद्ध हैं किन्तु इनका अभिधेय मूलार्थ से हटा हुआ है। इस विषय पर यहाँ विस्तृत विवेचन का अवकाश नहीं। इस पर विमर्श अन्यत्र किया जा रहा है। यहाँ पर इतना ही कहना यथेष्ट है कि अरुन्मघ वे भारतेरानी देवोपासक थे जो भिषक् थे और विशेषकर रक्त – स्राव की चिकित्सा करते थे।

विश्वरूप त्वाष्ट्र और **अरुन्मघ** यतियों का असुरों से सम्बन्ध बताया गया है। यहाँ पर असुर से तात्पर्य अहुरोपासक प्राचीन ईरानियों से है।

सारांश में, मुनि–परम्परा प्राक्–ऋग्वेदीय भारतीय आर्यों से सम्बद्ध थी। इसकी परिणति ब्राह्मण–भिक्षु–परिव्राजक वर्ग में हुई। यति–परम्परा भारतेरानी युग से प्रारम्भ होकर क्रमशः परिक्षीण हो गयी, केवल यति शब्द के अवशेष को छोड़कर जो बाद में परिव्राजकों और श्रमणों के अर्थ में व्यवहृत होने लगा।

इन दोनों परम्पराओं में श्रमण–संस्कृति की कोई लाक्षणिक विशेषता उपलब्ध नहीं होती है और इसलिए श्रमणों का मूल–सूत्र इनसे निबद्ध करना समीचीन नहीं। इसी सरणि में

ब्राह्मण–परिव्राजकों के प्राचीन इतिवृत्त का अवलोकन करना आवश्यक है। साधारणतः 'चतुर्दिक् भ्रमण करने वाले व्यक्ति को – परितः व्रजति चरति यः– परिव्राजक कहते हैं। पालि – साहित्य में परिव्राजक का किंचित् संकुचित अर्थ है– आगारस्मा अनागरियं पवज्जति जो घर से निकलकर अनिकेत स्थिति में प्रवेश करता है' वह परिव्राजक है। **बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद्** (४.४.१–२) में भी यही अर्थ अभिप्रेत हैं। मैत्रेयी और कात्यायनी नाम की दोनों भार्याओं को और अपनी गार्हस्थिक सम्पत्ति को छोड़ने वाले याज्ञवल्क्य को **अन्यवृत्तमुपाकरिष्यन्** 'गृहस्थ' से भिन्न जीवन–पद्धति को अपनाते हुए' **प्रव्रजिष्यन्** कहा गया। इसी प्रत्यय का पल्लवीकरण करते हुए पुनः कहा गया –

एतमेव प्रव्राजिनो लोकमिच्छन्तः प्रव्रजन्ति। ..... प्रजां न कामयन्ते।
किं प्रजया करिष्यामो येषां नाऽयमात्मायं लोकः। ४.४.२२

"ये प्रव्राजी (ब्रह्म) लोक की ही इच्छा करते हुए (इस लोक को) छोड़ देते हैं। वे पुत्रों की कामना नहीं करते हैं। वे कहते हैं कि पुत्र से हमें क्या मतलब ? उन (ब्राह्मणों) का यह लोक ही नहीं है। आत्मा ही उनका लोक है।"

अतः **बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद्** के अनुसार पुत्र–भार्याओं से समन्वित गृहस्थ की जीवन–चर्या का परित्याग कर, आगार को छोड़कर ब्रह्मलोक अथवा आत्म–साधना के लिए अनागारी हो जाना ही प्रव्रजन है।

इस सन्दर्भ में **निरुक्त** में परिव्राजकों का उल्लेख महत्त्वपूर्ण है। **ऋग्वेद** (१.१६४.३२) की एक ऋचा है–

स मातुर्योना परिवीतो अन्तर्बहुप्रजा निर्ऋतिमा विवेश।

इस ऋचा पर यास्क (**निरुक्त** २.२८) टिप्पणी करते हैं –

बहुप्रजा कृच्छ्रमापद्यत इति परिव्राजकाः । आशय यह है कि परिव्राजक–वर्ग इस ऋचा की व्याख्या करते हुए कहते हैं कि अनेक सन्तानों को उत्पन्न करने वाला दुःख उठाता है'। सायण इसकी विस्तृत व्याख्या करते हुए लिखते हैं–

स तादृशः मातुः जनन्याः योना यौनो अन्तः परिवीतः उल्बजरायुभ्यां परितो वेष्टितः सन् बहुप्रजाः बहुजन्मभाक्। अथवा उत्पन्नः सन् स्वयमपि अपत्योत्पादनेन बहुप्रजाः। एवं गर्भदुःखमनुभवन् निर्ऋत्यभिधानं प्रदुःखमनुभवति यावत् स्वरूपभूतात्मज्ञानम्।

'वह व्यक्ति इस प्रकार माता की कुक्षि के भीतर उल्ब और जरायु से घिरा हुआ अपने अनेक जन्मों अथवा अपने द्वारा उत्पादित अनेक संततियों के कारण गर्भदुःख का अनुभव करता हुआ उस समय तक निर्ऋति नाम के दुःख से पीड़ित होता है जब तक उसे अपने स्वरूप का ज्ञान नहीं हो जाता है'।

परिव्राजकों का यह 'बहुप्रजा निर्ऋतिमाविवेश' का सूत्र **ऋग्वेद** ८.२४.२४ तक पहुँचता है –

वेत्था हि निर्ऋतीनां वज्रहस्त परिवृजम्।
अहरहः शुन्ध्युः परिपदामिव।।

'जिस प्रकार पवित्र करने वाला आदित्य नित्यशः अपने स्थान से निकलकर उड़ने वाले पक्षियों को जानता है उसी प्रकार वज्रहस्त तुम निर्ऋतियों के परिवृज को पहचानते हो।'

इस मंत्र में परिपद का वस्तुतः अर्थ है परिपथिक जो यूनानी **पेरिपेतोस्** का वैदिक रूप है; दूसरे शब्दों में वैदिक चरणों के व्यक्ति। सायण अपनी व्याख्या में विकल्प के रूप से इन्हीं की ओर इंगित करता है–

परितः यजमानानाम्। अतः यहाँ परिपद अर्थात् वैदिक **चरण** के यजमान और निर्ऋति के परिवृज के बीच में अन्तर किया गया है।

निर्ऋति से यहाँ तात्पर्य उपर्युक्त ऋचा के अनुकूल 'कृच्छ्र' अथवा दुःख से, विशेषतः जन्म–मरण के दुःख से है । जो जन्म और मरण से युक्त इस संसार को दुःखपूर्ण मानते हैं वे ही यहाँ निर्ऋतिवादी कहे गये; और **परिवर्ज** का अर्थ है सांसारिक जीवन का परित्याग, परिवर्जन। इन्हीं को **बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद्** (४.४.२) में ब्राह्मण अथवा परिव्राजक कहा गया।

यदि यह विचार–सरणि स्वीकार कर ली जाय तो यह साक्ष्य–परम्परा परिव्राजकों का अस्तित्व ऋग्वेदीय काल तक ले जावेगा। यह स्पष्ट है कि ये परिव्राजक संसार को दुःखमय समझते थे, ऐहिक और आमुष्मिक सुख की प्राप्ति के लिए करणीय कर्मकाण्ड में अथवा एतदर्थ अन्यथा उपासना में विश्वास नहीं करते थे, अथ च वैदिक विचारधारा में अन्तर्भुक्त नहीं थे।

यह विवेचन पालि–साहित्य में बहुशः प्रयुक्त **'समण-ब्राह्मण'** युग्म को भी व्याख्यात करने में समर्थ हैं। दोनो समण और ब्राह्मण समान रूप से समादृत थे। दोनों के लक्ष्य और प्रवृत्तियाँ सदृश थीं–दोनों ही शील, चित्त और प्रज्ञा से अभिसम्पन्न माने जाते थे। दोनों ही अनेक विधियों से और अनेक रूपों से तपश्चर्या करते थे–

अनेक-परियायेन तयो जिगुच्छाय वण्णं भासन्ति (**दीघ निकाय** १.१४४); परम तत्त्व के विषय में अनेकविध विचार करते थे–

अनेक-परियायेन पञ्ञावण्णं भासन्ति (वही); विविध विधियों से विमुक्ति पर विचार करते थे– **समण-ब्राह्मणा विमुक्तिवादा**(वही)। इसीलिए कहा गया **दुक्करं सामञ्ञं दुक्करं ब्रह्मञ्ञम्** 'दुष्कर श्रामण्य है 'दुष्कर ब्रह्मण्य है'। यह समकक्षता और आगे बढ़ती है। यह कहा गया कि **'यतो खो' कस्सप, भिक्खु अवेरं अव्यापज्जं मेत्तचित्तं भावेति, आसवानं च खया अनासवं चेतो विमुत्तिं, पञ्ञाविमुत्तिं दिट्ठेव धर्म्मे समं अभिञ्ञा सच्छिकत्वा उपसमज्ज विहरति, अयं कुच्चति, कस्सप, भिक्खु समणो इति पि ब्राह्मणो इति पि** (वही)। जो भिक्खु वैर–हीनता के सहित चित्त को मैत्री से भावित करता है; जिसके आस्रव का क्षय हो गया है; जिसने धर्म–दृष्टि से अभिज्ञा ज्ञान प्राप्त कर लिया है उसी को श्रमण कहते हैं, उसी को ब्राह्मण कहते हैं।

पुनः श्रावस्ती में जब शाक्यपुत्रीय श्रमण ने एक स्त्री से अभद्र याचना की तो उस स्त्री ने यह कह कर भर्त्सना की कि **अलज्जिनो इमे समणा सक्य पुत्तिया.........नत्थि इमेसं सामञ्ञं नत्थि इमेसं ब्रह्मञ्ञं नट्ठं इमेसं सामञ्ञा, अपगता इमेसं ब्रह्मञ्ञा** (पाराजिक, पृ. १६०–१६१)।

श्रमण के समकक्ष इन ब्रह्म–सम ब्राह्मणों के विषय में बुद्ध का वचन है –

कथं च दोण, ब्राह्मणोव्रह-समो होति ? ..... सो अट्ठचत्तालीस - वस्सानि कोमारं ब्रह्मचरियं चरन्ति.....। सो आचारियस्स आचारिय - धनं निय्यादेत्वा केस - मस्सुं ओहारेत्वा कासायानि वत्थानि अच्छादेत्वा अगारस्मा अनागरियं पवज्जति (अंगुत्तरनिकाय, पृ. ४६८–६६) द्रोण, कैसा ब्राह्मण ब्रह्म–सम होता है? जो अड़तालीस वर्ष तक कौमार्य– व्रत धारण कर ब्रह्मचर्या करता है (और फिर) आचार्य को दक्षिणा निवेदित कर, केशश्मश्रु परित्याग कर एवं काषाय–वस्त्र धारण कर आगार से निकलकर अनागारी हो जाता है।

बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद् (४.४.२२) में भी ब्राह्मण के विषय में यही अवधारणा है –

ब्राह्मणा विविदिषन्ति.....प्रव्रजन्ति.....भिक्षाचर्यं चरन्ति।

यहाँ ब्रह्मानुभूति की साधना में तत्पर ब्राह्मणों से तात्पर्य ब्राह्मण–वर्ण से नहीं है। वर्णान्तर्गत ब्राह्मणों का भी उल्लेख पालि–साहित्य में उपलब्ध है जहाँ वे निन्दा के पात्र ही माने गये। इन द्विविध पक्षों को देखकर रिचर्ड फिक ने **सोशल आर्गेनाइजेशन** (पृ. १६२–१६३) में लिखा कि "मेरा यह मन्तव्य है कि हम लोगों को इन दो प्रकारों के ब्राह्मणों में अन्तर करना पड़ेगा जो बाह्य रूप में अपृथक्करणीय लगते हैं किन्तु जो वस्तुतः भिन्न हैं, तथा जिनमें नाम और जाति की समानता को छोड़कर कोई भी सादृश्य नहीं"।

ब्राह्मण अभिधान समान रूप से व्यवहृत होने पर भी ये दोनों वर्ग सर्वथा भिन्न थे। समण के युग्म में सम्मिलित ब्राह्मण ब्रह्म की उपासना में निरत होने के कारण ब्राह्मण थे, जबकि दूसरा वर्ग चातुर्वर्ण्य–व्यवस्था–ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय, वैश्य और शूद्र की मर्यादा के ब्राह्मण थे।

यूनानी साहित्य में वर्णित भारतीय वृत्तान्त अवान्तरकालीन और कर्णि–कर्णिका से संकलित होने के कारण साधारणतः अविश्वसनीय है, किन्तु गौण–साक्ष्य और समर्थक प्रमाण के रूप से तो उसका विनियोग किया जा सकता है। उनके अनुसार "भारतीय दिव्य ज्ञान–(थिया–सोफ) व्यक्तियों के, जिन्हें यूनानी गिम्नो–सोफिस्ट (**गिम्नो = नग्न, सोफिस्ट =** दार्शनिक) कहते थे, दो वर्ग थे–" **ब्रख्मन और सरमनीय** (मजूमदार, क्लासिकल एकाउण्ट आफ् इण्डिया, पृ. ४२५)। निश्चय ही यहाँ ब्राह्मणों और श्रमणों को युगपत् रीति से **गिम्नो-सोफिस्ट** और **थिया-सोफ** कहा । यह यूनानी शब्द **ब्रख़्मन** अन्यथा भी **महत्त्वपूर्ण** है क्योंकि यह ब्राह्मण को भाषा की दृष्टि से हखामनी अभिलेखों की पुरानी फारसी और आवेस्तिक भाषा में उपलब्ध सगोत्रों से जोड़ता है– **ब्रह्मन्** (संस्कृत) **ब्रख्मन** (यूनानी) **ब्रज़मन** (हखामनी) और **बरख़्द** (वृह् + क्त अवेस्ता)। यहाँ यह नहीं कहा जा रहा है कि यूनानी में ब्रख्मन शब्द था; वह तो निश्चित ही ब्राह्मण का, यूनानी ध्वनि के अनुकूल, रूपान्तर मात्र है; और न यह सुझाव ही है कि हखामनी ब्रज़मन और भारतीय ब्रह्मन्–ब्राह्मण पूर्णतः समानार्थक हैं किन्तु यह अवश्य कहने का प्रयास है कि ब्रज़मन बरख़्द ब्रह्मन् के सगोत्र हैं और इनका आध्यात्मिक अर्थों में प्रयोग होता था। उदाहरणार्थ हखामनी शासक क्षयार्ष के पर्सेपोलस (एच) अभिलेख में **ब्रज़मनीय = ब्रह्मण्य** का प्रयोग तीन बार हुआ। ४१ वीं पंक्ति में कहा गया–

अउरमज़्दां अयदिय अर्ता च ब्रज़मनिय

"अहुरमज़्दा" और ऋता का ब्राह्मण्य रूप (भक्ति पूर्वक) से यजन किया। इसी प्रकार **यस्नें** (३४.६) में आर्मइती को बॅरॅख्ध्रा (बृह् बरॅग + क्त, पूजित) कहा गया।

ब्रह्मण्य की यह धारा ऋग्वेद में भी है। एक ऋचा है –

स वस्वः कामं पीपरदियानो ब्रह्मण्यतो नूतनस्यायोः। (२.२०.४)

"वह (इन्द्र ?) श्रद्धापूर्वक उपासना करने वाले मनुष्य के काम को अच्छी तरह से पूर्ण करता है।"

उत ब्रह्मण्या वयं.....विप्राः (८.६.३३).

ये ब्राह्मण्य ही ब्रह्म–विद ब्राह्मण थे। ऋग्वेद में ब्राह्मण के बारह उल्लेख हैं, और पुरुष–सूक्त को छोड़कर कहीं भी ब्राह्मण–वर्ण का निश्चित उल्लेख नहीं । अपितु वाक् चतुष्पद रूप के प्रसंग में, औषधियों से रोग दूर करने के सन्दर्भ में उनका उल्लेख है। विमर्शनीय है निम्न प्रसंग –

चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणाः ये मनीषिणः । १.१६४.४५.

मनीषी ब्राह्मण वाक् के जिन चार पदों को जानते हैं उनकी अनेकविध व्याख्यायें हैं। एक व्याख्या परा, पश्यन्ती, माध्यमा और वैखरी से सम्बद्ध है जिनमें 'परा' परमतत्त्व के निष्कल रूप का द्योतन करती है।

ब्राह्मणाः व्रतचारिणः (८.१०.२.१.) और औषधियों के सम्वाद में ब्राह्मण का उल्लेख (१०. १७.२२) उनको ब्राह्मण–वर्ण से सम्बद्ध नही कर पाता।

अथर्ववेद में वे ब्रह्मविद् ब्रह्मौदन के प्रसंग में (अथर्ववेद ११.३.२६.) और व्रात्यों के सन्दर्भ में (वही, १५.१८) में उल्लिखित हुए। पुनः उपनिषदों में, विशेषतः **बृहदारण्यक** और **मुण्डक** में, इनका विवरण मिलता है।

चातुर्वर्ण्य व्यवस्था के पूर्व ही इन ब्रह्मविद् ब्राह्मण्य ब्राह्मणों की अवस्थिति रही होगी और समण– ब्राह्मण युग्म में इसी प्रकार के ब्राह्मणों की ओर संकेत है ऐसी प्रबल सम्भावना है।

इन पुरा– ब्राह्मणों में सभी सोमपायी और अग्निपूजक हों, यह आवश्यक नहीं। इनमें यथेष्ट वैविध्य है। इनमें कुछ निश्चित ही मख –मह धार्मिक उत्सवों से सम्बद्ध थे। इन मखों–माहों का विस्तृत विवरण डा० वासुदेव शरण अग्रवाल ने अपनी पुस्तक 'प्राचीन भारतीय लोक–धर्म' में किया है। यक्ष–मह, इन्द्र–मह की पुरानी परम्परा थी। इन उत्सवों में धार्मिक कृत्य सम्पादन करने वाले ब्राह्मणों को **माखण/माहण** कहा जाता था। यद्यपि प्राकृत में **बंभण** = ब्राह्मण, **बंभणी** = ब्राह्मणी, **बंभ-लोय** = ब्रह्म लोक, **बंभयारिय** = ब्रह्मचारी आदि शब्दों का प्रयोग मिलता है तथापि इनके साथ ही ब्राह्मण को **माहण**, ब्राह्मणी को **माहणी**, ब्रह्मर्षि को **माहण-रिसि**, ब्राह्मणत्व को **माहणत** और महाब्राह्मण **महामाहण** भी कहा गया। **उत्तराध्ययन सूत्र** में स्पष्टतः ब्राह्मण और माहण के अभिधानों को समीकृत किया गया–

जे लोए बम्भणो वुत्तो ..... वं वयं बूमि माहणं -

'जिसको अन्य पुरुष ब्राह्मण कहते हैं उनको हम माहण कहते हैं'।

माहण प्रतिष्ठावाची ब्राह्मणत्व था। कल्पसूत्र (१.१) में श्रमण भगवान् महावीर के जन्म का विवरण दिया गया –

भगवं महावीरे चरिमे तित्थमरे पुब्व-तित्थिय-
निद्दिट्ठे माहण-कुण्डगामे नयरे उसभदत्तस्स माहणस्स कोडाल-सगोत्तस्स
भरियाए देवाणंदाए माहणीए जालंधर-सगोत्ताए.....कुंच्छिसि
गब्भताए वक्केते।

पूर्व तीर्थंकर के निर्देश के अनुसार श्रमण भगवान् महावीर ने कुण्ड–ग्राम नामक माहण–नगर में कोडाल–गोत्रीय ऋषभदत्त माहण की जालन्धर–गोत्रीय भार्या देवानन्दा माहणी की कुक्षि में गर्भ के रूप में प्रवेश किया'।

पारम्परिक जैन व्याख्या **'मा हन'** = 'मत मारो'के आधार पर माहण का मौलिक अर्थ अहिंसक करती है। निश्चय ही यह कल्पनाश्रित निर्वचन है। वेबर, जेकोबी आदि वर्ण–विपर्यय के आधार पर बंभण का रूप माहण बताते हैं किन्तु पिशेल का यह कथन सत्य है कि यह समीकरण भाषा–वैज्ञानिक दृष्टि से असम्भव है। उनकी अपनी व्युत्पत्ति (पिशेल, प्राकृत ग्रामर, प्रखण्ड २५०) माखण के आधार पर है– मख (यज्ञ) माख माखण = माहण। किन्तु इसके लिए पूर्वरूप 'माखण' की परिकल्पना करनी पड़ती है। पुनः प्राकृत में जो प्रयोग माहण शब्द के मिलते हैं, उनमें मख = यज्ञ का प्रसंग प्रायः उपलब्ध नहीं होता है। इन्द्र–मह, यक्ष–मह, स्कन्द–मह, रुद्र–यात्रा आदि उत्सवों के सम्पन्न कराने वालों को उसी प्रकार माहण कहते थे जैसे इस समय इसी प्रकार के कृत्यों को सम्पादन कराने वालों को ओझा>उवज्झाय>उपाध्याय कहते हैं। यहाँ अवधारणीय यह है कि प्राकृत में दोनों शब्द मिलते हैं– बंभण और माहण। साथ ही द्रष्टव्य है कि संस्कृत में माहण शब्द सर्वथा अनुपलब्ध है। मह लोक–धर्म था, माहण लोक–जन था।

माहण का यह साक्ष्य ब्राह्मणों में वैविध्य का द्योतन तो करता ही है, इस ओर भी इंगित करता है कि अवान्तर काल में जब चातुर्वर्ण्य–व्यवस्था की प्रक्रिया प्रारम्भ हुई तो ब्राह्मण–वर्ण के अन्तर्गत धार्मिक कृत्यों का सम्पादन कराने वाले सभी समूहों का समावेश नहीं हो पाया, और ये अवशेष वर्ण–व्यवस्था के पूर्व की स्थिति का द्योतन करते हैं। माहण निश्चित ही ब्राह्मण वर्ण में निमज्जित नहीं हो पाये थे। ऐसे अन्य वर्ग थे और विशेषतः **अथर्ववेद** में इनका साक्ष्य उपलब्ध है। माहण केवल दिङ्–निर्देश करता है। अन्य वर्ग में गृहपति ऐसा ही महत्त्वपूर्ण समूह था।

वर्ण–व्यवस्था ऋग्वेदीय परम्परा में क्रमशः विकसित हुई और उस समय विकसित हुई जिसे हम पूर्व–वैदिक–काल का अन्तिम चरण कहते हैं। उसके पूर्व ही पुरावैदिक काल में ब्राह्मण्य– ब्राह्मणों के अनेक रूप प्रचलित और विकसित हो गये थे। इस प्रकार ब्राह्मण इतिवृत्त के दो स्तर हैं पुराकालीन एवं वर्ण–कालीन। समण– ब्राह्मण युग्म में प्रयुक्त ब्राह्मण पुराकालीन था।

इसी प्रकार पालि–प्राकृत साहित्य के **खत्तिय** भी भारतेरानी काल की **क्षत्र-क्षथ्र-क्षायथ्य** परम्परा की अभिव्यक्ति है– वे वर्णान्तर्गत क्षत्रियों से भिन्न थे। ये गण–विशिष्ट खत्तिय थे,

वर्ण–विशिष्ट क्षत्रिय नहीं। भारतेरानी काल के सद्यः पश्चात् जन के परिवर्तन की दो प्रक्रियायें दिखाई देती हैं। एक ओर जन क्रमशः गण में परिवर्तित हुआ और दूसरी ओर वह वर्णों में विभाजित हुआ। प्रथम प्रक्रिया में गण, संघ और श्रेणी की प्रथाओं का उद्भव हुआ। जिस प्रकार शिल्पियों की श्रेणी थी उसी प्रकार खत्तियों और श्रमणों के गण और संघ थे। जैसा अन्यत्र विवेचित किया गया है, श्रमणों में गण और गणी की स्थिति एक लाक्षणिक विशेषता थी । बौद्ध–संघ की प्रतिष्ठा इसी प्रक्रिया का निदर्शन है।

अतः श्रमण–परम्परा वैदिक कर्मकाण्ड के प्रतिक्रिया स्वरूप अथवा वैदिक साहित्य के हाशिए में उल्लिखित 'यति' और 'मुनि' परम्परा से विकसित है– ये दोनों सिद्धान्त साक्ष्यों से परिपुष्ट नहीं होते।

□□□

IDENTIFICATION OF THE NAÑJUK MAṆḌALA

BY

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The discovery of several bronzes from the Candi Rejo hamlet in the Ṅañjuk district (East Java) in 1913 sparked off a ongoing enquiry into their identification. Kempers (1959 : 63) speaks of 90 bronzes of this collection in the Jakarta Museum, some of which were lost in the fire in the Colonial Exhibition at Paris in 1931. Scheurleer and Klokke (1988: 32) reckon 38 bronzes described by Krom in 1913, to which 17 more statuettes were added in 1915, so that the Museum at Jakarta should now have 55 of them. Scholars have felt that it constitutes a maṇḍala. Investigation reveals that the existing statuettes represent a substantial part of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala.

The Vajradhātu-maṇḍala is represented in several configurations, with varying iconography of the individual deities, besides addition or substraction of groups of deities. The fundamental tantra of this maṇḍala is the *Tattva-saṅgraha* (fully: Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha) and therein the basic model is the Vajradhātu mahāmaṇḍala. This is described at length in the *Niṣpanna-yogāvalī* of Abhayākaragupta. The Indonesian text of *Nāgabāyu-sūtra* and *Kalpabuddha* also detail this maṇḍala. It is illustrated in the *Rita-so gyara-gobu-shingan,* a scroll drawn under the personal supervision of Śubhākara-siṁha, who arrived in China in 716 and worked there till his death in 735. Its extant Japanese copy is dated 855.

The mahāmaṇḍala comprises (i) the innermost sanctum, termed *garbha-kūṭāgāra* in the *Niṣp.,* with (ii) an enceinte running around it called *paṭṭikā* in the same text. The 53 deities in this maṇḍala are arranged as follows:

Centre: 1 Vairocana, 2 Sattvavajrī, 3 Ratnavajrī
4 Padmavajrī (Dharmavajrī), 5 Karmavajrī

East: 6 Akṣobhya, 7 Vajrasattva, 8 Vajrarāja
9 Vajrarāga, 10 Vajrasādhu

South: 11 Ratnasambhava, 12 Vajraratna, 13 Vajrateja,
14 Vajraketu, 15 Vajrahāsa

West: 16 Amitābha, 17 Vajradharma, 18 Vajratīkṣṇa,
19 Vajrahetu, 20 Vajrabhāṣa

North: 21 Amoghasiddhi, 22 Vajrakarma, 23 Vajrarakṣa,
24 Vajrayakṣa, 25 Vajrasandhi

Corners: 26 Vajralāsyā, 27 Vajramālā, 28 Vajragītā, 29 Vajranṛtyā

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East: 30 Maitreya, 31 Amoghadarśin, 32 Sarvāpāyajaha
33 Sarva-śoka-nirghāta-mati

South: 34 Gandhahasti, 35 Śūraṅgama (Śauraya),
36 Gaganagañja, 37 Jñānaketu

West: 38 Amitaprabha, 39 Candraprabha,
40 Bhadrapāla, 41 Jvālinīprabha

North: 42 Vajragarbha, 43 Akṣayamati, 44 Pratibhānakūṭa
45 Samantabhadra

Corners: 46 Vajradhūpā, 47 Vajrapuṣpā, 48 Vajrālokā, 49 Vajragandhā

Portals: 50 E. Vajrāṅkuśā, 51 S. Vajrapāśā, 52 W. Vajrasphoṭā (chain)
53 N. Vajrāveśā (bell).

1 Four-faced Mahāvairocana (Krom fig. 1, Scheurleer 33) is the main form in the *Nișp.* 44. His mount is a lion. The other four Tathāgatas are also on their respective mounts. In the *Ṅañjuk maṇḍala,* only the Five Tathāgatas have mounts, while in the Gobu the Tathāgatas as well as the surrounding bodhisattvas are on mounts. The Tathāgatas have seven of each mount in the Gobu: thus Vairocana rides seven lions (Gobu p. 54). Krom has illustrated the backslap separately, while Scheurleer shows it fixed to the back of the image. The backslab in the illustration in Krom shows elephants on both sides. He is one of the six ornaments upholding the throne, known in Tibetan as *Khridrug ḥgyogs*: elephant, lion, black antelope (*kṛṣṇasāra*), sea-monster (*makara*) nāga and garuḍa. While elephant symbolises strength, the nāga denotes

wealth. Five animals have been identified by Scheurleer (1988: 34): "On top it features a kāla, behind which the curving handle of the parasol is attached. At each end is a makara head, its mouth opened outwards. Lower down on both sides of the backslab yet another mythical animal is depicted. A vyālaka, a horned lion, stands on the back of an elephant, which appears to be in the act of kneeling".

6. Akṣobhya (Krom fig. 2, 3), identified by his mount the elephant (*Niṣp.* 44, Gobu 56). His right hand in bhūmi-sparśa mudrā and the left resting on the lap with the palm upwards corresponds to the description in the *Niṣp.* Bosch 1929 pl.IIa identified him correctly.

Krom fig. 8 seems to be an Akṣobhya from another series as its measurements are different (pedestal 3. 5, lotus 1.7). It could also have been done as an individual image, without reference to a maṇḍala.

11. Ratnasambhava (Krom fig. 7), is recognisable by his mount the horse. His right hand holds a jewel in varada mudrā while the left rests upright in the lap. The statuette follows the *Niṣp.* 44 literally. It comes from another set, because it measures 12.9 cm while the previous statuette is 15.7 cm. Krom's identification as Ratnapāṇi needs to be changed.

16. Amitābha (Krom fig. 5) is in Samādhi-mudrā. Like no. 6 his image measures 9.7 cm and pertains to the Five Tathāgatas.

21. Amoghasiddhi (Krom fig. 4). Both his hands are broken. His mount is a Garuḍa, which can be seen on Krom fig. 6. The figures 4 and 6 seem to pertain to him.

The sixteen Bodhisattvas (*ṣoḍaśa-bodhisattvāḥ Niṣp.* 46) surrounding the four Tathāgatas can be distinguished by their size and the lack of a pedestal.

7. Vajrasattva (Krom fig. 29) already so recognised by Krom. Gobu 6, E. sot. 412, Snodgrass 2. 604.

Scheurleer (1988: 105) illustrates a silver figure of Vajrasattva on a bronze throne on a richly decorated pedestal, in Nanjuk style. She has rightly pointed out that "the figure is made of silver, a precious metal, ... and the level of abstraction in rendering the attributes, does define this deity as an

Ādibuddha". The figure is thus Vajradhara as an independent deity and not Vajrasattva.

9. Vajrarāga (Krom fig. 15), holds the bow and arrow as in *Nişp.* 44. Gobu 8, Esot. 414, Snodgrass 2. 606.

10. Vajrasādhu (Krom fig. 25), exclaiming *sādhu* "well, well done!" applauding with both hands at the level of the heart (*Nişp.* 44). Gobu 9, Esot. 415, Snodgrass 2. 606.

12. Vajraratna (Krom fig. 32), right hand has a jewel, and the left is in wisdom, fist. The Hizoki says that he holds a jewel in the right hand, but in the Genzu and Toji maṇḍalas he merely makes the gesture of holding the jewel, which is not shown (Snodgrass 1988: 2. 608). Gobu 10, Esot. 417.

14. Vajraketu (Scheurleer 104), 9 cm, not illustrated by Krom. Gobu 12, Esot. 419, Snodgrass 2. 609.

17. Vajradharma (Krom fig. 34), his right hand opens a partially blossomed lotus held in the left (*Nişp.* 45). Gobu 14, Esot. 422, Snodgrass 2.611.

18. Vajratīkṣṇa (Krom fig. 28, Kempers 1959 pl. 169), his right hand holds aloft the sword and the left hand has a manuscript of the *Prajñāpāramitā* (*Nişp.* 45). Gobu 15, Esot. 423, Snodgrass 2. 612.

20. Vajrabhāṣa (Krom fig. 36), his right hand holds a tongue (*Nişp.* 45).Gobu 17, Esot. 425, Snodgrass 2. 613.

22. Vajrakarma (Krom fig. 10), his right hand has a viśvavajra and the left a bell (*Nişp.* 45). Gobu 18, Esot. 427, Snodgrass 2. 615.

23. Vajrarakṣa (Krom fig. 9), his right hand holds a viśvavajra and the left a sword. In Gobu 19 the right hand has a viśvavajra and the left is a wisdom-fist. In the Sūkṣma-maṇḍala Vajrarakṣa wields a sword in the right hand (TZ. 38. 158). Krom's identification as Mañjuśrī needs to be changed. Gobu 19, Esot. 428, Snodgrass 2. 616.

24. Vajrayakṣa (Krom fig. 30) is fearsome by the two tusks projecting from his mouth to subdue evil demons (*Nişp.* 45). The Japanese translate the name Vajrayakṣa as Kongo-ge 'Diamond Tooth' referring to his

sharp fangs (Snodgrass 2. 616). In Gobu 20 he holds the tusk in his right hand, and his alternate name is Vajradaṃṣṭra. Esot. 429.

26. Vajralāsyā (Krom fig. 38, Bosch 1929 pl.IIc) is the only goddess with a smiling face, true to her person. She is the *apsarā* or celestial woman of the joy of love's pleasures who transforms them into the perfect joy of undefiled love (Snodgrass 2. 623). *Lāsya* is a dance representing the emotions of love performed dramatically. This danceform was invented by Pārvatī, as opposed to the *tāṇḍava* of Śiva. The statue seems to hold a long scarf over the hands in allusion to a danceuse offering her upper garment in the gaiety of abandon. Gobu 26, ESot. 431.

27. Vajramālā (Krom fig. 17, 18) holds a necklace of jewels (ratnamālā, *Niṣp.* 46). In fig. 17 she just holds the necklace, but in fig. 18 she is about to put it on her neck. Krom p. 68 identifies the statue as Varuṇa by mistaking the necklace as a serpent. Varuṇa has a serpent noose which is coiled and not straight as in fig. 17. Gobu 27, Esot. 432, Snodgrass 2. 624.

28. *Vajragītā* (Krom fig. 37), already identified by Fontein (1971: 79 pl. 45,151) as *Gītā*. Kempers (1959: 63) uses the vague expression "a musical Tārā from the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala" which needs to be avoided. Gobu 28, Esot. 433, Snodgrass 2. 625. Bosch 1929 pl.IIb identifies her as Tārā with makạra-vīṇā.

29. Vajranṛtyā (Krom fig. 21) is in a vigorous movement of dance, holding a three-pronged vajra in the right hand (*Niṣp.* 46). She is absorbed in the "samādhi of the dance of divine powers" (Snodgrass 2. 626), which is so expressively conveyed by the face of the statuette lost in the mood of her movements. Gobu 29, Esot. 434.

30. Maitreya (Krom fig. 33) as one of the sixteen bodhisattvas. In the Japanese maṇḍala he holds a kuṇḍikā/vase (Esot. 661).

33. Sarva-śoka-nirghāta-mati (Bosch 1929 pl.IIId) holds the branch of an Aśoka tree in his left hand (Snodgrass 2. 664). In Esot. 829 his symbol is the Aśoka branch on a lotus. The deity is not Puṣpā.

34. Gandhahastin (Krom fig. 19) recognisable by the bowl of scent. Gandhagaja or Gandhahastin 'scent-elephant' is an elephant during rut.

The esoteric symbol of the bodhisattva in the samaya-maṇḍala of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala is a bowl (Esot. 655).

37. Jñānaketu (Krom fig. 11) holds the jewel-pennant in the left hand (Esot. 653).

39. Candraprabha (Krom fig. 13) holds the disc of the moon in the left hand. In the sūkṣma-maṇḍala of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala he holds the disc of the full moon in the right hand (Esot. 589).

41. Jvālinīprabha (Krom fig. 12), left hand holds the orb of the sun against the shoulder. Krom has identified it as Kṣitigarbha. Esot. 588, Snodgrass 2. 664.

42. Vajragarbha (Krom fig. 35), his hands hold a square formed by four vajras (Esot. 665, Snodgrass 2. 664). In certain representations it gives the semblance of a box-like object, as in our statuette.

46. Vajradhūpā, so identified by Krom fig. 22, Bosch 1929 pl.IIIb, Kempers 1959: pl. 170, Fontein 1971: 80 pl. 47, Gobu 30, Esot. 435, Snodgrass 2. 626.

47. Vajrapuṣpā (Fontein 1971: 81, pl. 49) holds a tray of flowers in both hands, as in the Japanese representation in Gobu 31, Esot. 436, Snodgrass 2. 627. Fontein identifies her as Gandhā (?) which stands revised.

48. Vajrālokā/Vajradīpā (Krom fig. 23, Bosch 1929 pl.IIIc). Krom has already named her Dīpā. Gobu 32, Esot. 437, Snodgrass 2. 628.

49. Vajragandhā (Bosch 1929 pl.IIIa, Kempers 1959: pl. 171 Puṣpa-Tārā, Fontein 1971: 81 fig. 48, 151 Puṣpā). She is spraying perfume from the tray in the left hand. "She holds a dish of powdered incense in the left hand, while the right hand makes the gesture of sprinkling incense" (Snodgrass 2. 629). Gobu 33, Esot. 438.

52. Vajrasphoṭā (Krom fig. 20) holds a chain, as already identified by Fontein 1971: 80 fig. 46. Gobu 36, Esot. 441, Snodgrass 2. 632.

General Observations :

The name of the hamlet where the Ṅañjuk bronzes were found is Candi Rejo, which must have been a prominent Vajrayāna monastery

famous for its exquisite images and as an atelier for the casting of three-dimensional maṇḍalas. The O.J. *arêja* (base *rêja*) means "nice, pretty, handsome, beautiful, attractive" (Zoetmulder 1982: 2. 1530). Its derivative *amaharja, pinahareja* means "to embellish, put in order etc". (Zoetmulder *ibid.*). The elegance of Vajrayāna statues, especially of goddesses, done at this monastery must have provided its name. We have a similar instance in the case of the Nav Bahar monastery in Balkh. The equation "ideal beauty = Buddhist image" was an established fact in the East Iranian world, even when Buddhism had faded away. Early Persian poetry continued to cultivate abstract mental forms poignantly recalling ideals of the grace of Buddhist statues. 'Ayyūqī in his novel entitled *Varqa va Golshah* (Tehran 1956, p. 6) writes of his beautiful heroine that "she was .... a Buddha in a temple full of offerings". Futher on, we find the crescendo in stanzas 2138-2142 where she is addressed as *Bot* (Buddha), then *lo'bat* (statuette), and finally as *nowbahar*, the Buddhist monastery itself which was well known for its graceful statues in Iranian literature (both in the Persian and Arabic languages) upto the time of Yāqūt in the 13th century.

The ateliers of Candi Rejo must have issued several sets of the Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala, being a premier place of their manufacture. The statues discovered so far exhibit certain distinctive features of various sets of maṇḍalas. Krom 1-6 form one set while Krom 7 is from another. Images with a halo (Krom 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24) stem from yet a third set. There are individual images, which did not form part of a maṇḍala, like that of Vajrasattva who was adored as Vajradhara the Ādibuddha (Scheurleer 1988: 105).

The discovery of small gold plates inside the pedestals, sometimes with undeciphered inscriptions (Fontein 1971: 151), is a clear indication of the consecration of the images. The inscriptions should bear mantras or even bījas and can provide invaluable help to identify the images, or to confirm the identifications arrived at by their characteristics.

The mudrā of the right hand of statues 7, 12, 13, 22, 23, 24 is the posture of holding the vajra, and statue 7 is actually that of Vajrasattva. A Mongolian statue of Vajrasattva done by Zanabazar (=Sanskrit Jñānavajra) has a charming representation of this mudrā in N. Tsultem, *The Eminent*

Mongolian Sculptor: G. Zanabazar, Ulanbator 1982. It is a gilded bronze, which means that it is a consecrated image. A statue has to be gilded when it is consecrated.

Tārā is a specific goddess, but it has been used as a generic expression for a goddess, as in 'Tārā with makara-vīṇā, Reading Tārā, etc. etc.' As precise Sanskrit designations of all the goddesses from the fundamental tantra *Tattvasaṅgraha, Niṣpanna-yogāvalī,* and other Sanskrit texts are available, the appropriate name of the goddess should be used and Tārā be avoided.

The measurements of the figures in Krom are as follows:

Group	Fig.	Pedestal	cm.
1	1 Mahāvairocana	yes 5. 2	21.5
2	2-6Tathāgatas	yes 3. 7	15.7
3	7Vajrasattva	yes 3. 4	12.9 from another set
4	9-27	no	11.1 (image 9.0, lotus 2.1)
5	28-38	no	9.1 (image 7.8, lotus 1.3)

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विक्रमशिला महाविहार के आचार्यगण

किरण सहाय

पटना

विक्रमशिला विश्वविद्यालय[१] की स्थापना पालवंश के शासक धर्मपाल के द्वारा आठवीं सदी में की गई, जो चार शताब्दियों तक विद्या के केन्द्र के रूप में अन्ताराष्ट्रिय जगत् में विख्यात रहा। इस विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना शिक्षण संस्थान के साथ–साथ बौद्ध के प्रचार हेतु भी हुई थी। इन सभी बौद्ध शिक्षण–संस्थाओं की भाँति इस महाविहार में भी पाँच विषयों की शिक्षा दी जाती थी जिसमें क्रमशः शब्दविद्या, शिल्पस्थानविद्या, चिकित्साविद्या, हेतु विद्या और अध्यात्मविद्या– इन सभी विषयों के अतिरिक्त तन्त्रयान और मन्त्रयान की पढ़ाई विशेष रूप से होती थी। उक्त विषयों के कारण ही यह विश्वविद्यालय अन्ताराष्ट्रिय स्तर पर प्रसिद्ध हुआ था। विक्रमशिला विश्वविद्यालय के अनेक तान्त्रिक आचार्यों का नाम तिब्बती इतिहासकार लामा तारानाथ के विवरण से प्राप्त होता है।[२]

विक्रमशिला के वर्तमान उत्खनन और साहित्यिक स्रोतों से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि यह विश्वविद्यालय प्राचीन काल से प्रसिद्ध रहा होगा। इस महाविहार से यह भी अनुमान होता है कि इस विश्वविद्यालय में उच्च कोटि की शिक्षा दी जाती रही होगी । लामा तारानाथ के विवरण से स्पष्ट होता है कि इन विश्वविद्यालयों में छात्रों के नामांकन की प्रक्रिया काफी कठिन थी। विद्यार्थियों को प्रवेश हेतु पण्डित परीक्षा देनी पड़ती थी। इनकी संख्या छः थी। विक्रमशिला विश्वविद्यालय के पूर्वी द्वार के आचार्य रत्नाकर शान्तिपा थे। इनका जन्म ब्राह्मण कुल में हुआ था, जो उदन्तपुरी में सर्वास्तिवाद–सम्प्रदाय में प्रव्रजित हुए थे। इन्होंने हीनयान के श्रावक और त्रिपिटक जैसे ग्रन्थों को समाप्त कर के विक्रमशिला महाविहार में शिक्षा प्राप्त की। अध्ययनोपरांत वे मालवा में लम्बे समय तक योगाभ्यास में लगे रहे, जिसका विवरण बौद्ध ग्रन्थों में मिलता है। तत्पश्चात् पालनरेश महीपाल (९७४ ई०–१०२६) ने इन्हें विक्रमशिला महाविहार के पूर्वी द्वार–पण्डित के रूप में नियुक्त किया था। आचार्य रत्नाकर शान्तिपा व्याकरण और न्याय शास्त्र के मूर्धन्य विद्वान् थे और वज्रयान के चौरासी सिद्धों में से एक थे। इन चौरासी सिद्धों में से ऐसा प्रकाण्ड पण्डित इस काल में कोई नहीं हुआ। इन्हें "कलिकाल सर्वज्ञ" भी कहा गया है।

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१. भागलपुर जनपद के अन्तीचक ग्राम में यह अवस्थित था। पुरातात्त्विक साक्ष्य से इस बात की पुष्टि होती है।

२. लामा तारानाथ, *बौद्ध धर्म का इतिहास*, पृ० १३५, तान्त्रिक आचार्यों की सूची, (१) जनानपद,(२) दीपंकर भद्र (३) लंकजयभवभद्र(४) श्रीभद्र(५) भवकीर्ति(६) भवभद्र (७)लीलावज(८) दुर्जयचन्द्र(९) समयचन्द्र(१०) बोधिभद्र आदि।

श्रीलंका के राजा के आमन्त्रण पर इन्होंने वहाँ जाकर व्याख्यान भी दिया। तंजुर में दर्शन विषय पर इनके नौ निबन्ध हैं। तन्त्र विषय पर इनके २३ ग्रन्थ मिले हैं, जिनमें एक की रचना मगही भाषा[३] में है। इन्होंने छन्द शास्त्र पर भी ग्रन्थ लिखा है।[४] सौ वर्ष से अधिक की आयु में उन्होंने अपने शरीर का परित्याग किया।

आचार्य वागीश्वर कीर्ति का जन्म वाराणसी में क्षत्रिय कुल में हुआ था जो विक्रमशिला महाविहार के पश्चिमी द्वार के पण्डित थे। इन्हें शील–कीर्ति नाम से भी जाना जाता है । वे महासंघिक सम्प्रदाय में प्रव्रजित हुए। व्याकरण, प्रमाण शास्त्र तथा अनेक ग्रन्थों के अध्ययनोपरांत इन्होंने कोंकण में चक्रसंवर का उपदेश ग्रहण किया। व्याख्यान कर शास्त्रार्थ करने और शास्त्रों की रचना करने में उनकी निपुणता प्रशंसनीय थी।आर्यतारा और तारा के दर्शन इन्हें प्रायः होते थे। अपने तर्क द्वारा विभिन्न देशों के अनेक विद्वानों को परास्त करने का उल्लेख भी प्राप्त होता है जिससे इनकी महत्ता दिनों–दिन बढ़ती गई। मगध के राजा ने इन्हें नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालय और विक्रमशिला विश्वविद्यालय का आचार्य बनाने के लिए आमन्त्रित किया जिसे उन्होंने सहर्ष स्वीकार कर लिया। चिकित्सा शास्त्र का गहन अध्ययन कर इन्होंने ऐसे रसायनों (दवा) का निर्माण किया जिससे पाँच सौ प्रव्रजित और धर्मात्म गृहस्थों का परोपकार हुआ। मन्त्र क्रिया में वे इतने प्रवीण थे कि उनके मात्र दृष्टिपात कर देने से घट का जल उबलने लगता था, मूर्ति में अपना विज्ञान प्रविष्ट कर देने से वह हिलने लगती थी। इनके द्वारा अनेक शिक्षण संस्थाओं की स्थापना हुई। इनकी शिक्षण संस्थाओं में **प्रज्ञापारमिता** की आठ धार्मिक संस्थाएँ प्रमुख हैं। विक्रमशिला विश्वविद्यालय में वे अनेक वर्ष तक रहे, किन्तु जीवन के उत्तरार्ध काल में वे नेपाल में साधना करने लगे तथा शान्तिपुरी नामक स्थान में इन्होंने अपना शरीर त्याग दिया।

विक्रमशिला विश्वविद्यालय के महान आचार्यों में नरोपा का नाम उल्लेखनीय है। वे इस विश्वविद्यालय के उत्तरी द्वार–पण्डित थे, किन्तु तिब्बती ग्रन्थों में इन्हें पूर्वी द्वार–पण्डित बताया गया है। आचार्य नरोपा का जन्म मगध में हुआ था, वे काश्मीर के ब्राह्मण कुल के थे। उनकी पढ़ाई का आरम्भ भिक्षु के रूप में नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालय से हुआ । वे बड़े ही मेधावी छात्र थे, फलतः इन्होंने बड़ी ही तीव्रगति से सभी विद्याओं का अध्ययन कर सिद्ध तिलोपा[५] से मन्त्रयान की दीक्षा ली। मन्त्र विद्या में भी वे प्रकाण्ड विद्वान् बन गये। कलिकाल सर्वज्ञ शान्तिपा, अतिशदीपांकर, मोट का मस्वा[६] लोचवा इनका शिष्य था। विक्रमशिला विश्वविद्यालय में कुछ दिन रह कर वे योगाभ्यास करने चले गये। इनका देहान्त १०३९ ई० में हो गया । तन्जुर में इनके २३ ग्रन्थ मिलते हैं।

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३. सुख-दुःख द्वयपरित्याग दृष्टि–मगही भाषा में।

४. छन्दोरत्नाकर।

५. तिलोपा– यह मन्त्रविद्या के बहुत बड़े तिब्बती आचार्य थे।

६. मस्वा तिब्बत के सर्वोत्तम कवि सिद्ध जे–चुन–कि–ला–रे–पा (दीक्षा १०२६ ई० प्राप्ति १०६२ ई० मृत्यु ११२२ ई०) के गुरु थे जिनकी आज भी पूजा होती है।

विक्रमशिला विश्वविद्यालय के दक्षिणी द्वार पण्डित प्रज्ञाकरमति थे किन्तु राहुलसांकृत्यायन ने उन्हें पश्चिमी द्वार–पण्डित बताया है। प्रज्ञाकर गुप्त नामक दो आचार्य थे। अन्तर सिर्फ इतना था कि प्रज्ञाकरमति भिक्षु थे और प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त उपासक। प्रज्ञाकरमति ने सभी बौद्धिक शिक्षण संस्थानों से विद्या ग्रहण कर ली थी, साधनोपरांत उन्हें मंजुश्री का साक्षात् दर्शन हुआ था। समय–समय पर मंजुश्री इन्हें निर्देशन भी करती थी, जिससे शास्त्रार्थ करने में वे अवश्य ही विजयी होते थे।

विक्रमशिला विश्वविद्यालय के केन्द्रवर्ती प्रथम महास्तम्भ रत्नव्रज थे। इनका जन्म ब्राह्मण कुल में हुआ था। इनके पिता का नाम हरिभद्र था, जो स्वयं उद्‌भट विद्वान् थे। रत्नवज्र एक उपासक थे, अतः इनके पुत्र और पौत्र दोनों ने ही बौद्ध धर्म की बड़ी सेवा की थी। रत्नवज्र ने समस्त विद्याओं का अध्ययन कश्मीर में प्राप्त किया। इन्हें वज्रासन में साधना करने पर चक्रसंवर, वज्रवाराही आदि अनेक देवताओं का साक्षात् दर्शन प्राप्त था। पालवंश के राजा ने जब इन्हें विक्रमशिला विश्वविद्यालय में आचार्य के पद पर नियुक्त किया तो वे अनेक वर्षों तक वहीं रहे किन्तु अपने जीवन के अन्तिम काल में वे पुनः काश्मीर लौट गये और वहीं पर अपने शरीर को त्याग दिया।

अन्य आचार्यों की भाँति मध्यवर्ती द्वितीय स्तम्भ ज्ञानश्री मित्र थे। इनका जन्म गौड़ (बंगाल) में हुआ था। इन्होंने नागार्जुन तथा असंग के सभी ग्रन्थों का विद्वत्तापूर्वक अध्ययन किया, जिससे कि वे अनेक गुह्य मंत्र–तन्त्र के ज्ञाता बन गये। भगवान शाक्य राजा, मैत्रेय और अवलोकितेश्वर के दर्शन इन्हें समय–समय पर मिलते थे। इन्होंने अनेक पुस्तकों की रचना की थी जिसमें बौद्ध सिद्धान्त के साथ साथ जगत् की सभी वस्तुओं के क्षणिक होने का भी प्रतिपादन किया गया है।

दीपंकर श्रीज्ञान का नाम विक्रमशिला विश्वविद्यालय में एक चमकते हुये सितारे के समान है जिसके पास ज्ञान का अपार भण्डार था।[७] इनका जन्म वर्तमान भागलपुर के सहोर ग्राम में ६८१ ई० में माता प्रभावती और पिता कल्याणश्री के यहाँ हुआ था। दीपंकर श्रीज्ञान का नाम प्रारम्भ में चन्द्रगर्भ था। वे बड़े ही कुशाग्र बुद्धिवाले थे, ग्यारह वर्ष की उम्र में ही संस्कृत भाषा के पूर्ण ज्ञाता हो गये। जितारो (बौद्ध आचार्य) से शिक्षा प्राप्त करके जब इन्होंने नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालय में उच्च शिक्षा ग्रहण की उस समय नालन्दा के प्रधान आचार्य बोधिभद्र थे। इन्होंने चन्द्रगर्भ के अध्ययन से प्रभावित होकर इसे "श्रीज्ञान दीपंकर" का नाम दिया। नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालय के पश्चात् श्रीज्ञान ने राजगृह में मैत्रीपा, विक्रमशिला विश्वविद्यालय के उत्तरी द्वार पण्डित नरोपा से वज्रयान और मन्त्रयान का सूक्ष्म रूप से अध्ययन किया, और इस प्रकार प्राचीन भारत के प्रायः सभी बौद्धिक महाविहारों से शिक्षा ग्रहण करके दर्शन शास्त्र का गहन अध्ययन करने के लिये सुमात्रा द्वीप और लंका गये। अध्ययनोपरांन्त पालवंश के शासक महीपाल ने इनसे विक्रमशिला महाविहार का प्रधान आचार्य का पद सम्भालने हेतु आग्रह किया। इस आचार्य कीं ख्याति भारत के सभी बौद्ध क्षेत्रों में दिनों–दिन बढ़ती गयी। इससे आकर्षित होकर तिब्बत के राजा ने उन्हें आमन्त्रित किया। वहाँ पर उन्होंने तेरह वर्षों तक धर्म प्रचार के

७. अलका चट्टोपाध्याय, अतिश एण्ड तिब्बत

साथ–साथ अनेक पुस्तकों की भी रचना की । कहा जाता है कि उन्होंने करीब दो सौ भारतीय ग्रन्थों का अनुवाद तिब्बती भाषा में किया। तिब्बत में ही ये अपनी ७१ वर्ष की आयु में मृत्यु–लोक को प्राप्त हुए। बौद्ध मन्दिरों में आज भी उनका खादिर दण्ड, भिक्षापात्र और कमण्डल सुरक्षित है।

साहित्यिक स्रोतों के आधार पर शाक्य श्रीभद्र यहाँ के अन्तिम आचार्य माने जाते हैं। इनका जन्म ११२७ ई० में कश्मीर में हुआ था। मगध के सभी बौद्धिक महाविहारों जैसे नालन्दा, विक्रमशिला, बोधगया से विद्या प्राप्त कर ये विक्रमशिला महाविहार के आचार्य नियुक्त हुए। मुहम्मद बिन बख्तियार खिलजी ने जब नालन्दा और विक्रमशिला को ध्वस्त कर दिया तो वे जगद्दला[८] चले गये। सम्भवतः उसके नष्ट हो जाने पर वे १२०० ई० में भोट देश गये और पुनः अपनी जन्मभूमि काश्मीर लौट गये, वहीं पर १२२५ ई० में ६८ वर्ष की अवस्था में उनकी मृत्यु हो गयी।

उपर्युक्त आचार्यों के अतिरिक्त बुद्धज्ञानपाद, राहुलभद्र, वाचस्पति मिश्र, अभयंकरगुप्त, लीलावज्र, दूर्वेक मिश्र, विनयश्री का नाम उल्लेखनीय है। इस विश्वविद्यालय के आचार्य पठन–पाठन के साथ–साथ शिल्पकला में भी निपुण होते थे। इन आचार्यों के द्वारा देश–विदेश के अध्ययन करने वाले छात्रों को उचित निर्देश एवं विद्वत्ता को प्रोत्साहन दिया जाता था जिससे यहाँ की ख्याति दिन–प्रतिदिन बढ़ती गयी।

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८. जगद्दला–इस महाविहार का निर्माण मगध के राजा रामपाल ने १०५७–११०२ में अपने शासन काल में किया था।

VASUBANDHU AND THE SARVĀSTIVĀDA SCHOOL

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As we know, there are at present two principal divisions in Buddhism—Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, the former having two schools the 'Vaibhāṣika and the Sautrāntika, the latter having the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra. All these four schools have their origin in the teachings of the Buddha, but they have developed in their own way through centuries. Although traditionally there were eighteen schools", the duration of these four as independent schools was comparatively longer and the number of adherents larger".[1] Of these, the most primitive school was Sthaviravāda whose doctrines have been fully preserved in Pāli, and next to it in age and preservation of pristine originality, comes the Sarvāstivāda school, now popularly known as the Vaibhāṣika school. Although it has a vast literature, it is rarely available in print : most of it is yet in manuscripts, partly in Buddhist Sanskrit and partly in Chinese and Tibetan. These two schools are associated with two great names in Indian history-- Aśoka and Kaniṣka whose patronage went a long way in enriching their extensive literature. The Theravādins had their principal seat at Magadha while the other school had its main centre at Kashmir quite befitting the locations of the respective kingdoms which drew their inspiration and support from these areas.[2] Kashmir in collaboration with Pārśva, the head of the Buddhist order, about four hundred years after the death of the Buddha, was presided over by Vasumitra, a Sarvāstivādin who believed in realism of material existence in the past, present and future[3] and composed the two *Abhidharma pādas* (supplements) of the school.[4] It was in persuance of the resolution of this Council that the *Vibhāṣas* (Commentaries or discussions) containing opinions of the different schools on

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1. N. Dutt, *The Spread of Buddhism and Buddhist Schools*, pp. 146-47; *JRAS*, 1891.
2. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
3. (Mrs.) Rhys Davids, *Points of the controversy*, p. xix.
4. Abhidharma Prakaraṇa Pāda and Abhidharma-Dhātu-Kāvya; N. Dutt, op. cit. p. 288 ff.

the *Sūtra, Vinaya,* and *Abhidharma* were compiled which are known as the *Upadeśa Sūtra, Vinaya-Vibhāṣa-Śāstra* and *Abhidharma- Vibhāṣa- Śāstra.* As no decisions could be taken on the disputed points, the President was authorised to take a final decision in the matter[5] which would be accepted by all. The accepted version was naturally of the Sarvāstivādins who alongwith the President formed the majority among the five hundred *arhats* invited to attend this conference.[6] The *Vibhāṣa* therefore denoted "the literature of the Sarvāstivādins and specially the *Abhidharma* commentaries. The name *Vaibhāsika* was given by the later writers".[7]

The leading motive behind the development of the Sarvāstivāda School is quite obscure, and "the canonical grounds indicated by the Sarvāstivādins for their cause are quite forced".[8] We have infact very little in the *Nikāyas* to suggest even remotely the development of the central Sarvāstivāda thesis. On the other hand, its resemblance with the systems of Sāṁkhya-Yoga in certain respects is quite remarkable. It has been rightly suggested that "the historical relationship of Sāṁkhya, Yoga and Sarvāstivāda, consequently needs to be investigated before any clear judgement on the genesis of Sarvāstivāda could be formed".[9]

The Sarvāstivāda School rose to its greatest height only after the Kashmir Council. But, the seeds sown during the time of Aśoka now grew into an "extensiv foliage sending forth its branch beyond the frontiers of Magadha and Kosala" within which its activities were formerly confined. At the instance of Moggaliputta Tissa, Aśoka is said to have sent his first Buddhist missionary, Majjhantika to Kashmir to spread Buddhism where the Sarvāstivāda, keeping in view its growing importance, later deputed their representatives.[10] Yuan Chwang also tells us that monasteries were built by Aśoka[11] at Kashmir for the Buddhist monks sent by him. As they were the followers of Moggaliputta who lived in Pāṭaliputra, it is but natural to infer that the first Church formed at these places was that of Theravādins.

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5. Watters, *Yuang Chwang*, I, p. 227.
6. V.A. Smith, *Early History of India*, pp. 267-68.
7. Takakusu, *ERE. Vol.* xi, p. 198.
8. G.C. Pande, *Origins of Buddhism*, p. 565.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 565.
10. N. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
11. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, i, p. 269.

As we have noted above, Sarvāstivāḍa was a Hīnayāna School with all its *piṭakas* in Sanskrit which was dubbed by western scholars as a school upholding *Realism.* Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, Āryadeva and other Mahāyāna philosophers criticised the doctrines of this school and upheld 'Neo-realism' (*śūnyatā*) or 'Idealism' (*vijñaptimātratā*). Mathurā was selected as the first venue of their early activities from where they fanned out to Gandhāra and Kashmir and ultimately to Central Asia and China.[12] We have a very interesting legend which throws light on Mathurā as the early seat of the Sarvāstivādins. The Ceylonese chronicles inform us that Moggaliputta Tissa, the leading monk-saint of the time was an orthodox Theravādin, who had presided over the third Buddhist Council. The monks who did not subscribe to the doctrines of Theravāda, had to leave Pāṭaliputra, the venue of the Council and went to Mathurā which now formed the main seat of their activities.[13]

According to the legend narrated in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya,* which also finds mention in the Chinese version of the *Aśokāvadāna,* Lord Buddha, while traversing the Sūrasena country saw a green forest on a hill, called Urumuṇḍa and predicted that "a hundred years after his demise, two rich brothers---Naṭa and Bhaṭa---would build there the *Naṭa Bhaṭa Vihāra* which would become a congenial place for meditation of monks, seeking quietude (*śamatha*) and insight (*vipaśyanā*). At that time there would be a spice-dealer, whose son Upagupta would be as great a preacher as he himself was, without, however, the physical signs of a Buddha. He would be ordained by *Mādhyandina,* a disciple of Ānanda and would be the last of dharma-preachers".[14] The *Divyāvadāna* says that the Buddha made the forecast about Upagupta, and Śānakavāsī would be his spiritual preceptor. There is also a tradition which says that Madhyāndina (Maḍhyāntika, Majjhantika) ordained Upagupta. In all the biographics of Upagupta that we have, the Vāsavadattā-episode is given great prominence.

In the hierachy of the Sarvāstivāda School Upagupta occupies a very high place who is said to have composed the *Netṛpadaśāstra.*[15] He was not only a

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12. N. Dutt, *The Buddhist Sect in India,* pp. 134-35.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
14. Quoted *Ibid,* p. 135; *Gilgit Manuscripts,* III, pt. i.
15. *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā,* 11, 44.

great writer of the Vaibhāṣikas of Mathurā but also a versatile preacher whose views were valued as those of the Sarvāstivādins or the Vaibhāṣikas of Mathurā. The Sarvāstivāda School became so widely popular that it put all other schools into shades and gradually spread all over northern India and also in courtries outside India, such as Central Asia and China. It is therefore natural to suggest that it originated sometime after the Mahiśāsakas and Mahāsaṃghikas. The Sarvāstivādins should be treated as different from the Mūlasarvāstivādins, and also from the Vaibhāṣikas in which name this school came to be known from the time of Kaniṣka.[16]

In his *Abhidharmakoṣa* Vasubandhu has the Kashmir Vaibhāṣikas more in view than the early Sarvāstivādins. This is because of the fact that from the time of Kaniṣka the former became much more popular and predominant in Kashmir and Gandhāra. According to Takakusu the Sarvāstivādins were also distinguished in the *Vibhāṣa* as Kashmirian and Gandhārian, but "after compilation of the *Mahāvibhāsa* the former eclipsed the latter and became known as Kashmira-Vaibhāsika or simply Vaibhāṣikas".[17] The early Sarvāstivādins were now confined to north India around the Mathurā region where the school had actually originated.

While tracing the origin of the Sarvāstivāda School Przyluski suggests that the grouping of monks in the Second Council was responsible for the new development, because the monks who supported Yaśa were mainly from Kauśāmbī=Avantī and Mathurā. The former gradually developed into the Theravāda School and the latter into the Sarvāstivāda School while both of them were opposed to the Mahāsaṁghikas whose main centres of activities were at Pāṭaliputra and Vaiśālī and later in Andhra Pradesh, the Sarvāstivādins also claim Aśoka as their patron. "They ignore the name of Moggaliputta Tissa and put in its stead the name of Upagupta as the spiritual adviser of Aśoka".[18] The *Avadāna* literature of the Sarvāstivādins abounds in references to Aśoka's life and his munificence. Tārānātha also nattates the gifts lavishly bestowed by Aśoka on the Sarvāstivāda monks of Aparāntaka, Kashmir and Tukhāra,[19] which

16. N. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 136 fn. 2.
17. Takakusu in *JPTS*, 1904-05, p. 119.
18. N. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
19. Schiefner, p. 38.

is also attested by Kalhaṇa[20] and Yuan Chwang who also noticed four Aśoka Topes, containing Buddha's relics. Thus, Kashmir, of all the places, became the main centre of the activities of the Sarvāstivādins which now constituted the nucleus of Buddhist philosophical studies.[21] It was also the scene of the activities of Vatsa, the profounder of the *Ātmaka* Theory (*pudgalavāda*) and the founder of the Vātsiputrīya or Sammitīya School.[22]

As Kashmir soon became a very important centre of Buddhism, the followers of other schools also made their way, and it is very likely that the Sarvāstivādins who were very close to the Theravādins, followed the next. We have, however, to remember that in the time of Kaniṣka many changes were brought into the doctrines of old Sarvāstivāda School as a result of which the reformed School came to be known as Ārya Sarvāstivādin.[23]

However, it seems that the original Sarvāstivāda School originated before Aśoka's Council in the 3rd century B.C. because in the *Kathāvatthu* we find that the Council discussed the tenets of this school and tried to refute them, though it had not gained as much importance as a century later, when it came to be recognised as one of the principal schools not only in Gandhāra and Kashmir but also in Central India and received donations in the shape of monasteries, images etc. from monks, laymen, kings and queens".[24]

The existence of this school was noticed in Pāṭaliputra and China (A. L. 319-44) while Yuan Chwang found it "Cheifly in Kashgar, Udyāna, and several other places in the northern frontier, in Matipura, Kanauj and a place near Rājagṛha in northern India and also in Persia in the West."[25] In I-tsing's time this school had its ardent followers in Lāṭa, Sindhu, Southern and Eastern 'India, countries of South-East Asia, particularly Sumātrā, Jāvā, China, Central Asia and Cochin China. In the eighth century we find Śaṁkarācārya refuting the doctrines of this School while Mādhavācārya (14th century) gave a lucid exposition of the doctrines of the Vaibhāṣikas as the Sarvāstivādins later came to

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20. Stein, I, p. 19.
21. N. Dutt, *Gilgit MS*, Vol. I, Intro.
22. Schiefner, p. 44. For other details, see N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, p. 144-ff.
23. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 183 ff.
24. N. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 149; *EI* Vol. ii, p. 212; viii, p. III; ix. p. 29, ix, p. 135 ff.
25. Takakusu, *JPTS*, 1904-05, p. 71; Legge, *Fahien*, p. 99, *JRAS* 1891, p. 420.

be known.[26] Thus, it can be seen that the School which originated in the third century B.C. in the time of Kaniṣka, flourished right up to the fourteenth century and came to be recognised as one of the four principal schools of Buddhism. It was given the same status as that of the Theravādins who still survive in Śrī Lankā.[27]

II

Vasubandhu who joined the Vijñānavāda School of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the later part of his life at the inspiration of his elder borther--Asaṅga, recognised as the most prominent teacher of the Yogācāra or Vijñānavāda School, was a celebrated teacher of the Vaibhāṣika or the Sarvāstivāda School. It has been rightly said that "among massive intellects and constructive influences must be counted Vasubandhu, one out of four Suns of Buddhism enumerated by Yuan Chwang, 250 years later".[28] He wrote the famous *Abhidharma Koṣa*, popularly known as *Koṣa* which is the greatest work of its kin. This *Koṣa* is, infact, an encyclopaedia of Buddhist philosophy which was written originally from the point of view of the Vaibhāṣika School which, according to the author himself was dominant in Kashmir (*Kāśmīra-vaibhāṣikanītisiddhaḥ prāyo......... Kathito 'bhidharmaḥ*). Written in 600 *Kārikās* (aphorisms) this monumental work proved invaluable for the propagation of Buddhist faith all over Asia.

The *Abhidhamma* forms the core of the *Buddha's* teachings. "It prescribes the reals and thereby tries to find out a concrete solution of the basic problem of mankind. In short, it prescribes a psycho-ethical path to take a man from the state of suffering to the state of external bliss".[29] According to the *Sarvāstivāda* tradition it is the name of the supreme and pure knowledge.

Thus the *Abhidharmakoṣa* literally means a collection of supreme and pure knowledge. In fact, it is a synthetic compilation of the various concepts of the *Abhidharma* a manual of the *Sarvāstivāda* tradition. It is the only extant text in original which furnishes information about the *Sarvāstivāda* system of

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26. *Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha* (tr. Cowell & Gough), Chap. II.
27. *ERE*, Vol. xi, p. 198. For other details see N. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 149 II; *Studies in Buddhist India* (ed. R.C. Pandeya), Chap, VIII.
28. S.V. Sohoni, *JBRS*, (Buddha Jayanti Special Issue) 1936, p. 301.
29. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Ch. one (ed. Mahesh Tiwary), Delhi, p.5.

philosophy with occasional references to the *Sautrāntika* and other Buddhist traditions.[30] Though it is not possible to give here a detailed enumeration of the philosophy contained in the *Abhidhamma-koṣa* it would suffice to say that from the beginning this useful work elicited praise not only from the Buddhists but also from others. The work became so widely popular that in the seventh century (i.e. two centuries after) Bāṇa, while describing the hermitage of the Buddhist monk, Divākaramitra, in his *Harṣacarita* says that even the parrots there explained the *Koṣa* (the *Abhidhamma Koṣa*) to one another.[31]

According to Yasomitra, who wrote a commentary, entitled the *Sphuṭārtha* on Vasubandhu's *Abhidhamma-Koṣa-bhāṣya* Vasubandhu came to be regarded as a second Buddha by his comtemporaries on account of his great spiritual attainments,[32] which is no ordinary praise for a mortal. He is also said to have written two works on Logic---the *Tarkaśāstra* and the *Vāda-vidhi.*[33] According to others, however, he wrote four works on Logic--the *Tarkaśāstra* and three others on pure logic, called *Ronki, Ronshinki* and *Ronshin* in Chinese. Besides the *Abhidharma-Koṣa*, Vasubandhu also wrote the *Paramārthasaptati* in which he has vehemently refuted the doctrines propounded in the *Sāṁkhya-saptati* composed by his contemporary and the well-known Sāṁhya teacher, Vindhyavāsī. We have an interesting story relating to this episode, recorded in Paramārtha's *Life of Vasubandhu* which king Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā is said to have awarded successful debators, "with three lakhs of gold".[34] Vindhya-vasa, a Sāṁkhya philosopher, defeated, by foul means, Buddhamitra, (also known as Manoratha), the teacher of Vasubandhu and got the prize during latter's absence. After his victory, Vindhya-vasa (also known as Īśvara Kṛṣṇa Vindhya-vāsī) returned to his home in the Vindhya territory and died there. On his return to Ayodhyā Vasubandhu heard of the shame of his teacher and searched for the rival philosopher in the Vindhya mountains. "Finding, however, that the heretic was dead, he wrote a book, called *Paramārtha-saptati* in opposition to the new *Sāṁkhya-śāstra* of

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30. Mahesh Tiwary, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

31. *"Śakairapi Śākyasāsanakuśalaiḥ Kośaṁ Samupadisadbhiḥ".*

32. *Yaṁ buddhimatām agryaṁ dvitīyamiva Buddham ityāhuḥ* (openig lines of the *Sphuṭārtha*).

33. *250 years of Buddhism* (ed. Bapat) p. 197.

34. S.V. Sohoni in *JBRS* (*Buddha Jayanti Special Issue)*, 1956, p. 305, also see. S. Beal, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* (629-645 A.D.) Vol. I, 1904.

Vindhya-vāsī. The doctrines (*Siddhāntas*) were all destroyed. This caused general satisfaction and king Vikramāditya gave him three lacs of gold".[35]

When in the latter part of his life Vasubandhu joined the Vijñānavāda School of Mahāyāna Buddhism, he wrote commentaries on the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra* and the *Vajracchedikā-prajñā-pāramitā*. He also composed an invaluable little monograph called the *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi* which is found in two recensions, entitled the *Viṁśika* and the *Triṁśika* containing twenty and thirty *Kārikās* (aphorisms) respectively.[36] This *Koṣa the Abhidharma Koṣa* which contained 600 aphorisms, being the "Disquisitions on the treasure of Buddhist Philosophy", is later said to have been sent by the author from Ayodhyā to the Kashmir Vaibhāṣikas who were greatly pleased with this work. But as the *Kārikās* (aphorisms) were very terse and hard to understand, the Brothern requested the author to expand them into a readable form. Accordingly, he wrote the *Bhāṣya* (prose treatise)[37] in which he expanded his aphorisms. But, as by this time he had turned from the Sarvāstivāda point of view to that of the Sautrāntika he criticised some of the doctrines of the Kashmir-Vaibhāṣikas in his treatise from the view of the Sautrāntika which were vehemently refused by Samghabhadra, another great Kashmirian *ācārya* of the Sarvāstivāda School, and in defence of the Vaibhāsikas. But, inspite of these criticisms Vasubandhu's treatise continued to have a great reputation and was held in high esteem by the adherents of both "vehicles" (Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna).[38] Several commentaries were written on it in Sanskrit and it was twice translated in to Chinese, the first being by Paramārtha, the great Indian Buddhist and the second by Yuan Chwang.[39] In this treatise the author does not show any hostility to the Vaibhāṣikas and he unreservedly acknowledges his indebtedness to them.

III

From the account of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629) we learn that on the east side of Pārśva's Chamber in Puruṣapura (Peshawar) existed the old house in

35. Quote S.V. Sooni, *op. cit.*; pp. 305-06.
36. *2500 years of Buddhism*, pp. 197.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
38. Schiefner, pp, 67, 79 N. Dutt, *Mahāyāna Buddhism, p. 23.*
39. S.V. Sohoni, *op. cit.*, 1.324.

which Shih-Chin P'use (Vasubandhu) composed the *A-p'i-ta-mo-ku-shin-lun-(Abhidharmakośa-śāstra)* and posterity "in reverential rememberance had set a mark on the old house".[40] He was born in Puruṣapura in the Gandhāra country. His father's name was Kauśika (gotra) and his mother's name was Viriñci (or Bilinḍi) and he was the second of three brothers all named Vasubandhu.[41] They belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family of Kauśika gotra and were well versed in Sanskrit learning. The eldest became celebrated as the great Buddhist teacher Asaṅga, the youngest was called Viriñcibhava or Vriñcivatsa from his mother's name and the middle one remained Vasubandhu simply. They were educated in Kashmir where they studied the *Vibhāṣa-śāstra.* Asaṅga and Vasubandhu originally belonged to the Sarvāstivāda School which held sway in Kashmir and Gandhāra in those days.[42] They also lived in Ayodhyā for some time and according to Paramārtha, the biographer of Vasubandhu, the latter died in Ayodhyā at the age of eighty.[43] But this Vasubandhu should not be confounded with the Vasubandhu who is regarded as the twenty-first of the Patriarchs of the Buddhist Church.[44]

The two illustrious brothers, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, are among those creative thinkers who brought about what may be called "the classical age of Buddhist philosophy".[45]

It is generally believed that Vasubandhu flourished in the 4th century A.D. As regards his date we come across a very significant passage[46] quoted by Vāmana in his *Kāvyālaṁkāra sūtra-Vṛtti* which has been examined by many scholars. Commenting on this passage Vāmana says that Vasubandhu was made a minister of a son of Chandragupta--- a fact which is also confirmed by Paramārtha in his *Life of Vasubandhu* (598-569 A.D.). There is a controversy amongst scholars as to which Gupta ruler had Vasubandhu as his minister. The

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40. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World,* Vol. II, pp. 257-59.
41. S. Beal, *op. cit.,* pp. 257-59.
42. *2500 Years of Buddhism,* p. 196.
43. *Ibid.,* p. 196.
44. *Ibid.,* p. 196.
45. *Ibid.,* p. 196.
46. " सोऽयं सम्प्रति चन्द्रगुप्ततनयश्चंद्रप्रकाशो युवा।
जातो भूपतिराश्रयः कृतधियां दिष्ट्या कृतार्थश्रमः।।"

verse in the *Kāvyālaṅkāra sūtra -vṛtti*, referred to above, has been translated as follows : "This very son of Chandragupta, young, shining like the moon, and the patron of letters, has now become king, deserving congratulations on the success of his efforts". According to Vāmana, "the phrase, 'the patron of letters' is an instance of allusion, containing a reference to the ministership of Vasubandhu". S.V. Sohoni discusses the meaning of this expression by citing several instances from Viśākhadatta and Kālidāsa and the coins of the Kumāragupta I himself, and suggests that it was Kumāragupta who is referred to here as a son of Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty[47] which is also confirmed by Paramārtha in his *Life of Vasubandhu* while dealing with a king of Ayodhyā, called Vikramāditya whose son (crown prince) became a patron of Vasubandhu on becoming king.[48] Yuan Chwang also refers to a Vikramāditya, his son and Vasubandhu.[49] Thus, it was Kumarāgupta I alone who satisfied all the three requirements (a) his father being a Vikramāditya, (b) also called Candragupta and (c) he himself being known as Kumāra whose teacher was the famous Vasubandhu.[50] This undoubtedly shows that Vasubandhu flourished in the fifth century A.D.; and not earlier as some scholars would have us believe.

IV

There is some controversy among the scholars about the identity of Vasubandhu as there flourished many distinguished monk-scholars who bore the name of Vasubandhu. As we know, in Kaniṣka's Council Kātyāyanīputra is said to have composed the *Jñānaprasthāna - sūtra* and other scholars its six *pādas* (supplements). We are told that Vasubandhu, who was "a noted figure in the Council and a prodigy summed up the contents of the *Abhidharma-Vibhāṣa-śāstra* in the form of the *Kārikās*'[51] which came to be known as *Abhidharmakośakārikā*. He later wrote a *bhāṣya* (commentary) on this work in which he fervently argued that it is not correct to say that *Ākāśa, Pratisaṁkhyanirodha* and *Apratisaṁkhyanirodha* are real and positive as held by the Sarvāstivādins. According to him *ākāśa* meant that in which there was no

47. *JBRS* (*Buddha Jayanti Special Issue*) 1956, Vol. I. pp. 301-59.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 303.
49. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 257-59.
50. S.V. Sohoni, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-04.
51. N. Dutt, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, p. 42.

distruction, and on its analogy he contended that "the two *nirodhas* also meant, similarly absence of all kinds of impurities (*kleśas* and *upakleśas*'[52]. The *asaṁkṛtas* are not real and positive.[53] This conception naturally shows that it is not a big jump to the *Vijñaptimātrā* view of the Yogācāra-vijñānavādins. These arguments would suggest that the earlier Vasubandhu, brother of Asaṅga probably flourished about the second century A.D., and was different from Vasubandhu, the teacher of Candragupta II and his son Kumārgupta I who flourished during the fifth century A.D.[54]

Whatever the views of Vasubandhu there is no doubt that Vasubandhu was a great exponent of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna philosophy. His *Abhidharma Kośa* was later translated into Chinese first by Paramārtha and then by Hiuen Tsang according to whom, this Vasubandhu should not be confused with the twenty-first Patriarch, i.e. Vasubandhu who was associated with the tradition of the Kashmir Council convened by Kaniṣka, and who is also credited with having composed the *Abhidharma-prakaraṇa-pāda-śāstra.* Ācārya Manoratha was a contemporary of Vasubandhu and he also wrote a *Vibhāṣa-śāstra.*[55] In the account of Hiuen-Tsang we have mention of a Buddhist monastery at Śākala where one hundred monks of the Hīnayāna order lived, and it was in this monastery that P'usa Vasubandhu composed his famous *Paramārtha-satya-śāstra.* Hiuen Tsang further records[56] that there was a two-storeyed building with an upper chamber made of old bricks, to the south of the Ghoṣitārāma in Kauśāmbī where lived Vasubandhu and composed the *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi*[57] which was first of all translated into Chinese by Bodhiuci (520 A.D.), then by Paramārtha (560 A.D.) and lastly by Hiuen Tsang (661 A.D.). This book has another title which in Chinese means "the *śāstra* refuting the existence of both matter and mind". It has also been compressed into small philosophical poems entitled *Viṁśatikā* and *Triṁśitikā* which have been edited

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52. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

53. *Kośa,* II 64, pp. 282, 284.

54. F. Frauwallner, *On the Date of the Buddhist Master of Law- Vasubandhu,* Rome, 1951; Winternitz, *History of the Buddhist Literature,* pp. 356-63, 611-14 etc.

55. N. Dutta, *op. cit.,* 48; Watters, I, p. 291.

56. Watters, I, p. 361.

57. *Nanjio; Vidyāmātra-siddhi.*

and commented upon by Sylvan Levi, with an explanatory commentary on the nature of 'mind and matter'. In the Ming collection, this work is entitled as *Mahāyāna-laṅkā-sūtra-vidyāmātra-śāstra*. Asaṅga also composed the *Yogacaryā-bhūmi-śāstra*.

In his *Abhidharma-Kośa* Vasubandhu emphasises that *Nirvāṇa* is still a *dhātu*, a *dravya* (a thing in itself), and the atoms composing a being are continually changing and "ultimately by the force of *mārga*, which he has been following, the individual reaches the immaculate state and becomes indistinguishable from the external and immaculate elements, called *Nirvāṇa-dhātu*"[58]. Buddhaghoṣa has also discussed this problem, but the difference between the two lies in the fact that while he is untrammelled by the atomic theory, Vasubandhu maintains its consistency all along in his arguments. Buddhaghoṣa unequivocally states that "Nirvāṇa transcends every conceivable form of existence (beyond all *sattāvāsas* or *viññāṇaṭṭhis*) and is an infinite and inconceivable state"[59]--a contention which looks very much like the metaphysical conception of the Vedantic *Brahman*, though not strictly so, as suggested by Poussin and Belvalkar.[60] It has been rightly pointed out that it is not *advaya Brahman*, for it "involves the conception of innumerable beings having separate existences of their own and only losing their identity when they are *parinibutta-puggalas*'[61].

The inheritors of Vasubandhu included, among others, Sthiramati, the Younger Dharmapāla and his pupil Candrakīrti.

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58. N. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 234.

60. *Brahma-Sūtra* (Poona, 1924), II. 2, p. 53 *Śrībhāṣya* (ed. Durgācaraṇa-Sāṁkhya-Vedāntatīrtha), p. 176.

61. N. Dutt, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, p. 234.

EARLY BUDDHIST SCHOOLS AT NĀLANDĀ

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Bhopal

Nirgranthanāthaputra Mahāvīra passed several rain-retreats at Nālandā and won over many people to his faith.[1] The Buddha halted at Pāvārikambavana near Nālandā and debated with the Nirgranthas Dīghatapassī, Upāli and Asibandhakaputra who accepted Buddhism.[2] When the Buddha stayed in the Hastiyāma park near Nālandā, he converted Ūdaka, the son of Peḍhāla, a Nirgrantha.[3] Soṇādinnā, a devoted upāsikā of Nālandā, was born, in the Trayastriṁśa heaven after nirvāṇa for her regular services to the Buddhist monks who observed the precepts and the uposatha ceremonies at Nālandā.[4] The monks expelled out at the third Buddhist council, were the Mahāsānghikas, who assembled at Nālandā and interpolated the texts of the Theravādins.[5]

The Buddhist schools that flourished at Nālandā from time to time were: the followers of the doctrines of the Great Vehicle and votaries of the eighteen schools,[6] eminent priests of different schools of learning with the estoeric and exoteric doctrines,[7] Mūrdhābhiṣikta school,[8] which probably originated at nālandā , the Āryamahā - samgīti Āryamūla - sarvāstivāda, Āryasammatīya, and Āryasthavira schools flourished in Magadha,[9] the

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1. Sankrityayana and Bapat (ed), *MNMP* (II), Upālisutta), pp. 45-60; Kasyap (ed), *SNSV*, 42/9/9, pp. 285-96; *SBE* (XXII-I), p. 264.
2. Sankrityayana and Bapat (ed), *MNMP* (II, Upālisutta), 610.1-2, pp. 43-45.
3. *S.B.E.* (XLV - II), pp. 434-35.
4. B.C. Law, *H.P.L.* (II), p .484.
5. Sastri, *M.A.S.I.* (66), pp. 13 and 19 quoting the *Nikāyasangraha* of Dharmakīrti.
6. Saint Hilaire, *H.T.I.*, p. 24.
7. Beal (tr), *L.H.T.*, p. 160.
8. Beal (tr), *T.H.T.* (III), p. 341, F.N. 55.
9. Beal (tr), *L.H.T.*, pp. XLII-XLIII.

Sarvāstivāda school flourished the most;[10] Sarvāstivādin monk Mañjuśrīvarma lived at Nālandā.[11] Kamalagarbha,[12] Prakāśadharmamaṇi[13] and Ghanasa[14] of Nālandā studied Mahāyānika philosophy and Tantric Buddhism at Nālandā. Damgadāsa, the Kāyasthavṛddha writer of king Dharmapāladeva, was a Tantric monk at Nālandā.[15] Vāgīśvarakīrtti of Nālandā and Vikramaśilā was a Mahāsānghika who established the *Sautrāntika* and *Tantric* institutions.[16] Buddhaśrījñāna, a Mahāsānghika at Nālandā[17] and the *Bodhisattvas* at Nālandā were versed in *Tantras* (*Prajñāpāramitādisakaladharmmanetrī sthānasyāyārthe tatraikabodhisa-ttvagaṇasyāṣṭamahāpuruṣa-pudgalasya*[18]....For the Vajrayānist Mitra monks Vipulaśrīmitra erected a monastery at Nālandā.[19] Āsaṅga II founded the *Tantra* school during the sixth century A.D.[20] and was a votary of the *yogācāra* school.[21] Guṇamati of Nālandā belonged to the school of *Dhyāna*.[22] Śīlabhadra was a scion of *Yoga*.[23] Danta-Bhadra taught *Yogācāra* philosophy to Yuan-Chwang at Nālandā.[24] Saraha Rāhulabhadra of Nālandā wrote on the *Sahajayāna*.[25] Tsi-lu-pā brought the *Kālacakrayāna* to Nālandā.[26] Śāntarakṣita was a Vajrayānist of the *Svatantra-Mādhyamika* or *Svatantra-*

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10. Takakusu (tr), *RBRIMA*, p. 8.
11. Sastri, *M.A.S.I.* (66), p. 103.
12. Das (ed), *P.S.J.Z.* (I), p. 3.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 5; Datta (tr), *MTLT*, p. 43.
16. Das (ed), *P.S.J.Z.* (I), p. 29.
17. Datta (tr), *M.T.L.T.*, p. 40.
18. Sastri, *M.A.S.I.* (66), p. 98, *C.P.I.* of Devapāladeva, lines 38-39. Here "Tatraika" has been taken as "Tantrika".
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-05; *J.B.O.R.S.* (XXXIV-IO and II), p. 111; *E. I.* (XXI), p. 97.
20. Anuradha, *I.L.M.B.T.*, p. 98.
21. Takakusu (tr), *R.B.R.I.M.A.*, p. 184.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
23. Beal (tr), *L.H.T.*, p. 107.
24. Das, *I.P.L.S.*, p. 40.
25. Das (ed), *P.S.J.Z.* (I), p. 125.
26. Fitz Gerald (tr), *R.T.*, p. 128.

yogācāra school at Nālandā.[27] Padmasambhava belonged to the *Tantric-Yogācāra* school of Nālandā.[28] Śubhamitra of Nālandā was a *Sautrāntika.*[29] A number of images at Nālandā are found inscribed with Tantric letters and words, such as engraved on images 1A-304 and 1A-1.[30] Several Mahāyānists donated images inscribed with their names as in the sculpture 2-730.[31] On some of the Nālandā images the doctrine of *śūnyatā* is engraved, e.g. 1A-224[32] (of Udaybhadra). Heruka[33] and samvara[34] were worshipped at Nālandā.

These stray references would show that the eighteen early Buddhist schools, *Mahāyāna, Mantrayāna, Vajryāna, Sahajayāna* and *Kālacakrayāna* flourished at Nālandā. Thus, Buddhism at Nālandā is a history of almost all its branches from beginning to end, although the available archaeological materials do not stand testimony to it prior to the Gupta period.[35] It is proposed here to describe the first phase of Buddhism as it flourished at Nālandā.

It has been shown above that Nālandā first became a strong- hold of the *Nirgranthas*[36] and subsequently it turned to Buddhism. Some more points of religio-philosophic controversy, which arose between them might be summed up here. Achela Kassapa, the naked ascetic, enquired the Buddha if the latter disapproved of the nudity, various self-imposed limitations for accepting alms,fasts of various lengths and rigour, living on coarse and abominable food, putting on rough and distasteful clothing, observing the vow of keeping,

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27. Krishnamacharya (ed), *T.S.* ,(Baroda), II, p. XXII.
28. *Mahābodhi* (57-6), p. 180.
29. Wassiljew, (ed), *D.B.S.D.G.L.*, p. 86.
30. Sastri, *M.A.S.I.* (66), p. 109, serials 13 and 20 respectively.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 113, Serial 102.
32. *Ibid.*, Pl. X1g.
33. Cf. the Nālandā Stone Sculpture 10649 (a, b. c).
34. Roerich (ed and tr), *B.D.*, p. 48.
35. *B.M.M.I.*, p. 334 where Dutt observes that "Mahāyāna philosophy was really the forte of Nālandā learning; it gives point to Vincent Smith's remark that a detailed history of Nālandā would be a history of Mahāyāna Buddhism." Almost all the names listed by Hsuan-tsang as Nālandā's finest product are names of those who developed Mahāyānist philosophy".
36. Bhattacharya (ed), *C.H.I.* (I) ppl. LVIII and 403, Dasgupta, *J.S.E.*, p. 111.

standing, squatting, lying on bed of thorns etc.[37] The Buddha replied that these external strains had no spiritual value and that the purging of mind from impurities and evils and development of compassion were the foremost means to achieve the goal,[38] and those who were practising painful exercise were suffering because of their previous evil actions.[39]

The Buddha taught that one had to abstain from evil, accumulate what is good and purify one's mind.[40] He stressed upon good conduct (*śīla*), meditation (*samādhi*) and insight (*prajñā*) based on an understanding of the Four noble Truths and the practice of Noble Eight-fold path, which as middle path avoided self indulgence and self-mortification. He also believed in the theories of *Karma* and Rebirth. He left ten questions unanswered as they were not of any use or benefit for a holy life, detachment from the world, dispassionate state of mind, cessation or *Nirvāṇa*.

During the life-time of the Buddha, his cousin-brother Devadatta rebelled against the former's views, actions and laws,[41] and the Chhabbaggiya Bhikṣus indulged in doing non-religious acts and generally tried to sow seeds of dissention and revolt in the Buddhist community.[42] Once, the Buddha told Mahākāśyapa that some monks had become disgusted with their ascetic life. The dissentions (*bhaṇḍana, kalaha, vigraha, vivāda*) grew stronger in the Buddhist community.[43] Subhadra, the last convert, declared that he got rid of the *Mahāśramaṇa* and the *Bhikṣus* would no longer be required to abide by his rigorous instructions "Do this and do not do that" and that he would act as he chose. (*sumuttā mayaṁ tena mahāsamaṇena, Upaddutā cha homa- "idaṁ vo kappati, idaṁvo na kappatīti, Idāni pana mayaṁ yaṁ ichchhissāma taṁ karissāma, yaṁ na ichchhissāma na taṁ karissāmāt'i*)".[44] At the first Buddhist council, the priests, who were not admitted to it, gathered at Rājagṛha and

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37. Kasyap (ed), *D.N.S.V.* 8/4/14-15-16, p. 141.
38. *Ibid.*, 8/4/17, p. 143.
39. Bapat (ed), *M.N.M.P.* (I), 14/2/6, p. 128.
40. Buddhist Society, Bombay (Pub.), *Dhammapada*, p. 183.
41. Kasyap (ed), *A.N.* (II), p. 83.
42. Kasyap (ed), M. 2/2/5, p. 108; 2/11/19, p. 115; 9/3/6, pp. 331-32.
43. *Ibid.*, M. 10/1/1-7, pp. 368-73.
44. Kasyap (ed), *D.N.M.V.*, 3/25/106, p. 125.

decided to prepare a *dharmapiṭaka* of their own. They prepared the *sūtra, vinaya, abhidharma,* miscellaneous and the *dhāriṇī* piṭakas. They were called the mahāsānghikas.[45] A century after the Buddha's *mahāparinirvāṇa*, the Buddhist community was split into two, the westerners and the easterners (*pāchīnakā vā bhikkhū pāveyyakāti*). They clashed together on account of the ten rules (*daśa vatthūni*). The non-religious elements were getting stronger over the righteous *Bhikṣus* (*adhammavādino balavanto honti dhammavādino dubbalā honti*). The *Vajjiputtakas* of Vaiśālī placed a brass-vessel full of water in the centre of the *Bhikṣu's* congregation and requested the laypatrons of Vaiśālī to donate *kārṣāpaṇas* into it for purifying the order. (*tena kho pana samayena Vesālikā Vajjiputtakā bhikkhūtadabuposathe kansapātim udakena pūretvā majjhe bhikhusamghassa ṭhapetvā āgatāgate Vesālike upāsake evam vadanti- "Dethāvuso, sanghassa kahāpaṇam pi addhaṁ pi pādaṁ pi māsakarūpaṁ pi. Bhavissati sanghassa parikkhārena karanīyamti.*)[46] Within a century and a half preceding the reign of Aśoka about thirty Buddhist schools sprang up.[47]

The object of the third Buddhist council at Pāṭaliputra was two-fold : Preparatiorn of the *tripiṭaka* and expulsion of the non-Theravādins. About 60,000 *Bhikṣus*, who could not propound the Buddha's doctrine at the time of the uposatha-ceremony, were ousted. The *Bhikṣu* who proclaimed the Buddha as an analyst (*vibhajjavādī*) were selected as genuine Theravādins.[48] The expelled monks assembled at Nālandā and joined the Mahāsānghikas[49] or "held a separate council of their own" there.[50] They were subsequently divided into six[51] or nine[52] divisions.

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45. Beal (tr), *L.H.T.*, p. 117.
46. Kasyap (ed), *C.V.* 12/1/1-7, 12/2/8/17, 12/3/18, pp. 416-27.
47. *J.D.L.* (III), p. 249.
48. Aung and Mrs. Rhys-Davids (tr), *P.C.* pp. 6-7.
49. *J.B.O.R.S.*, (XXX-II), p. 135; Sastri, *M.A.S.I.* (66), p. 13.
50. *H.B.C.* (Rahula), p. 12.
51. *J.B.O.R.S.* (XXX-II), p. 135; Sastri, *M.A.S.I.* (66), p. 13.
52. H.B.C. (Rahula), p. 12; Sastri, *Nālandā* (Hindi), p. 4, observes that they were Sarvāstivādins and eleven other sects; B.B. Tripathi, pp. 171-72 informs that "Aśoka expelled the Sarvāstivādins and Ātmanindakas. They were about sixty thousand. From Pāṭaliputra they went to Nālandā which became a stronghold of

The great schism perhaps took place "early or late in the fourth century B.C. A complete body of *Vinaya* laws must have pre-existed the event; for the Mahāsānghikas are said to have made many alterations in it. The *Vinaya* recognized schism as a constitutional act..... that Buddhism from its beginning had been.[53] The Theravādins held that all the worldy phenomena were impermanent, painful and devoid of soul.[54] Past, present and future did not exist;[55] the past was and was not.[56] The Buddha was of human nature, feeling sometimes pain in his back.[57]

The Mahīśāsakas believed that the past and future did not exist, while the present did.[58] There was no interim existence between this life and the next.[59] Later, they believed that past, future and the interim existence existed and the *skandhas*, the *āyatanas* and the dhātus always existed in form of seeds.[60] TheĀryan Path was fivefold only.[61] The *Puggalavādins* held that some of the Buddha-*vacanas* were not authentic.[62] The soul transmigrated from one world to another and could survive as *dharma* after *nirvāṇa*.[63] As the Vajjiputriyas they claimed that the *pudgala* or *ātmā* (i.e. soul) was neither the same nor different from the *skandhas*.[64] The noble path was fivefold only.[65]

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the Sarvāstivādins. From Nālandā they went to South and thence to Kasmira, Central Asia and China"; *B.B.D.U.P.*, p. 2. States that "the Sarvāstivādanikāya were expelled from the Aryasthaviravāda. They held their council at Nālandā which became their centre from that time". Śāntibhikṣhu, *Mahā*, p. XXI also states that in the third Sangīti, the monks, who were ousted by Moggaliputra Tiśya, came to Nālandā.

53. Dutt. *B.M.M.I.*, p. 77.
54. Kasyap (ed), *M.* 1/8/20-23, p. 16-18.
55. Aung and Mrs. Rhys-Davis (tr), *P.C.*, p. 108.
56. *Ibid.*
57. Sankrityayana and Bapat (ed), *M.N.M.P.* (II), 3/2/1,p. 21- "Piṭṭhi me āgīlayati".
58. Bapat (ed), *2500*, p. 104.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
60. *Ibid.*
61. Aung and Mrs. Rhys-Davids (tr), *P.C.* p. 347.
62. Narendradeva, *B.D.D.*, p. 283.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 287.
64. Bapat (ed), *2500*, p. 107.

The state of *nirvāṇa* had a sort of consciousness in it. The *Sammatriyas* (*Sammitīyas*) or the Vātsiputriyas believed that the interim state of existence was there.[66] The *Karma* was one thing and its accumulation was another.[67] They believed "in the doctrine of a permanent entity called *pudgala* without which no transmigration was possible from one life to another. This *pudgala* was neither the same nor different from the *skandhas*. Vasubandhu refuted this theory in his *Abhidharamkośa*. They based their theory of "*pudgala*" on the word "*pudgala*" frequently occuring in the Buddhist sūtras "without noticing its sense or the spirit". The *attā* occuring in several sūtras was taken by some schools "to be an envidence in support of the existence of soul.[68] The *Sabbatthivādins or Hetuvādins* probably owed their origin to the date of the *Samyuttanikāya* which records "*sabbaṁ atthi*".[69] This school was nearest to the Theravādins and originated "a little before the Third Council of Pāṭaliputra". Both these schools were realists. It had not diverged much from the Theravāda at the time of the composition of the *Kathāvastu* as this work records only a few of its doctrines. Vasubandhu was the greatest authority of this school.[70] They held that "The matter is a combination of the four great elements (*mahābhūtas*)- earth, water, fire and air. The individual and the universe are subject to a constant change in their external aspects (and not in essential nature), the past determining the present condition, and the present the future. Thus always creating and always changing, we go on. There is no need of postulating a permanent changeless being in ourselves; for the unbroken continuity of the present with the past, or of the future with the present, will assure us that there is no loss of identity."[71]

They held that there was continued existence of things in the past, present and future. They denied transcendent powers ascribed to the Buddha and the *Bodhisattva*.[72] There is an interim existence between this life and the

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65. *Ibid*., p. 108.
66. Aung and Mrs. Rhys-Davids (tr), *P.C.*, p. 212.
67. *Ibid*., p. 300.
68. Bhattacharya (ed), *CHI* (I), pp. 471-72.
69. Bapat (ed), *2500*, pp. 105-06.
70. Bhattacharya (ed), *CHI* (I), p. 468.
71. *Ibid*.,.p. 471, with fn. 34.
72. Bapat (ed), *2500*, p. 106.

next.[73] Permanent substance is absent in an individual (nairātmya) though the things are real.[74] The *Kassapikas* were the seceders from the *Sarvāstivādins* and known as the *Sthaviravādins* and the *Suvarshakas*,[75] and maintained that the past survives as presently existing in part.[76] The *Pubbaseliyas* believed in the interim state of existence.[77] The *Aparaseliyas* maintained that all things were momentary conscious units.[78] The *Rājagirikas* held that an *arhanta* could not have an untimely death. He was to experience the results of all his *karma* before he could complete his existence. He could not, therefore, die out of due time.[79] The cycle of *karma* resulted from *karma*.[80] The *Siddhatthikas* shared most of the views of the *Rājagirikas*. The *Andhakas* believed that the Buddha was supramundane (*lokottara*).[81] The Buddha's power was shared in common with his leading disciples.[82] The cause of the things was predetermined.

The *karma* was one thing but its accumulation another.[83] The Buddhas differed in body, age, radiance and other general qualities.[84] The *Gokulikas* maintained that all the conditioned things were without qualification.[85] They held that "The material constituents of sense-organs are subject to change while the mind and mental associates are not. Mind can permeate the whole body, and it is capable of contracting or expanding according to the smalleness or largeness of its object". According to Bapat these views are a precursor of the ālayavijñāna of the Yogācāra school."[86] The *Bhadrayānikas* held that in

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73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*
75. Bapat (ed), 2500, p. 108; Aung and Mrs. Rhys-Davids (tr), *P.C.*, p. 4.
76. Aung and Mrs. Rhys-Davids (ed) *P.C.* p. 101.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 212.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 363.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 313.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 314.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 300.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 354.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
86. Bhattacharya (ed), *CHI* (I), p. 477.

realising the four noble truths corruptions were put away peacemeal.[87] The *Uttarāpathakas* maintained that one might become an *arhanta* at the moment of rebirth.[88] There was *tathatā* (sameness) in the very nature of all things.[89] The passionless Buddha felt no compassion (*karuṇā*).[90] The *Hetuvādins* claimed that except the *āryan* path all other conditioned things might be called the "*Ills*".[91] The *Vetulyakas or Mahāsuññatāvādins* held that, "It is not right to say that the Exhalted one himself taught the Norm. It was taught by special ceation Ānanda. The Buddha lived in the world of mankind".[92] They maintained also that, "sex-relations, with mutual resolve or as a result of compassion, may be carried on by a human pair (including recluses) to set up a worldly life" and thus, they carried "the seeds of later Vajrayāna.[93] The *Haimavatas* said that the *Bodhisattvas* had no special eminence. The gods could not lead a life of celebacy. The Heretics could notdevelop miraculous powers.[94] The *Dharmaguptikas* were a branch of the *Mahāsānghikas, Sarvāstivādins* or the *Sthaviravādins.* They approved gifts to the Buddha and reverred the *stūpas.*[95] The *Bahuśrutiyas* were also a branch of the *Mahāsānghikas* and maintained that the Buddha's teachings concerning the impermanence, suffering, voidness, no-soul and *nirvāṇa* were all transendental but the rest of his teachings were mundane. The *Chaityakas* of Mahādeva (second century B.C.) gave birth to the *Śaila* schools and held that worship and circumambulation of the *stūpas* was meritorious. The gifts brought religious merit that could be transferred to one's friends and relatives for their happiness. The Buddhas were free from *rāga, dosha-moha* and possessed superior qualities (*dhātuvaraparigahitasa*) and superior to the *arhantas* on account of their *daśabalas*, the *nirvāṇa* was a

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87. Aung and Mrs. Rhys-Davids (tr), *P.C.*, p. 130.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 338.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 326.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 317.
92. Aung and Mrs. Rhys-Davids (tr), *P.C.*, p. 323.
93. Bhattacharya (ed), *CHI* (I), pp. 475-76; Aung and Mrs. Rhys-Davids (tr), : *P.C.*, XXIII, 1-2), pp. 365-66.
94. Bapat (ed), *2500*, p. 107.
95. Narendradeva, *B.D.D.*, p. 37.

positive, faultless state (*amatadhātu*).[96] The Sankrāntivādins held that "the *Skandhas*, in their subtle form, transmigrate from one world to another" and "that every common man has the potentiality of becoming a Buddha-a doctrine which is the precursor of the Mahāyāna theory that every being has in him the seeds of a Buddha. On account of such views this school is also considered a bridge between the Śrāvakayāna or Hīnayāna on the one hand and the Mahāyāna on the other".[97] The Mahāsānghikas or "Those Brethren arhats and others, some myriads in number, who were not admitted to Kāśyapa's Council, assembled here. They said among themselves - "While Julai was living we all had one teacher; now he is dead we are put aside as strangers; to require Buddha's kindness we must compile a canon."[98] As the earliest seceders they included in their texts what the third Buddhist council had rejected. The Nāgārjunakoṇḍā inscriptions testify that the canon of the *Mahāsānghikas* existed as early as the third century A.D.[99] They treated the Buddha as supramundane and free from the defiled elements (*sāsravadharmas*) and claimed that the Buddha's powers, length of life, body, etc. were all unlimited. The Buddhas were always in a state of meditation. The Hīnayānists had already declared that the Buddha's appearance in this world was extremely rare and his powers and knowledge were incomparable to those of any god or saint, however noble and perfect. The *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* directed the devotees to visit the four places connected with the Buddha's birth, bodhi, preaching and demise. Thus the Hīnayānists had already started deifying the Buddha and "within a century after the Buddha's death the Vaiśālians preached that Gautama Buddha was not actually born in this world but that he made only a show of existence for following the ways of the world (*lokānuvartana*).[100] They gave rise to the conception of the *Bodhisattvas*, who being supramundane, did not pass through the four embryonic stages like the ordinary beings. The original nature of the mind was pure; it was contaminated when it got stained by passion (*upakliṣa*) and defilements (*rajaṣa*). After death and before rebirth

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96. Bapat (ed), *2500*, pp. 117-18.
97. Bhattacharya (ed), *CHI* (I), pp. 473-74.
98. Watters (tr), *YCTI*, (II), pp. 159-60.
99. Bapat (ed), *2500*, p. 114.
100. Bhattacharya (ed), *CHI*, (I), p. 509.

there was no existence for a being.[101] Dutt informs that "As early as the fourth century B.C. the Mahāsāngikas raised the question whether the attainments of Gautama Buddha were the same as those of his disciples who had become arhats, like Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana and Mahākāśyapa. The orthodox sect, the Theravādins, admitted that the Buddha's attainments were much higher than those of the arhats, but as far as emancipation from worldly bondage was concerned there was no difference between a Buddha and an arhat. The special powers attributed to the Buddha in Hīnayāna texts, and unattainable by the arhats, are the ten extraordinary attainments (*daśabalas*), four kinds of self confidence (*vaiśāradyas*), four ways of attaining popularity (*sangrahavastus*), and eighteen special attributes (*āveṇika-dharmas*)".[102] The Buddha pervaded the four quarters of the firmament.[103] The Buddha "as a supramundane being, had not quite passed away but persisted in some form or the other. The *Mahāyāna* greatly developed this idea.[104] Thus, it is seen that the abhidharmic phase of Buddhism (from the Buddha's *Mahāparinirvāṇa* to the first century A.D.) was "one of analysis. The philosophy of this period consisted mostly of analysis of psycho-physical phenomena into *dharmas* (elements), *samskṛta* (compounded or conditioned) and *asaṁskṛta* (uncompounded or unconditioned)....The dominant tone of this school was one of rationalism combined with meditational practices".[105]

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101. Bapat (ed), *2500*, pp. 115–16.

102. Bhattacharya (ed), *CHI*, (I) p. 509.

103. Aung & Mrs. Rhys-Davids (tr), *P.C.* p. 355.

104. Conze, *B.E.D.*, p. 153.

105. Stcherbatsky, *C.B.N.* p. 2.

THE VARYING MEANING OF THE TERM MAHĀMĀTRA AS AN INDEX FOR LITERARY CHRONOLOGY

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As the literary works of ancient India give some details about their authors only rarely, the determination of the date of their composition becomes a problem. In order to overcome this difficulty modern scholars try to gather some time-indicators from internal and external evidences-such as the occurrence of the word 'Hūṇa' in the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa to show that he could not have flourished before our country became acquainted with this tribal name. The object of this paper is to show that the changing meaning of some words may also be used for situating a particular text within the time-bracket when a particular meaning of a term used in it was current in society. One such word, discussed here is *mahāmātra* the meaning of which continued to change in course of time and therefore, may provide us a time-indicator for a literary work or the part of it, in which it has been used in a particular sense.

The Sanskrit term *mahāmātra* (*mahāmattā* and *mahāmāta* in Pali and Prakrit; adopted in Greek as *mamátrai*[1]) literally means 'of great measure' or 'a magnate' - *mahatī mātrā-maryyādā-pariṇāma yasya* (*Śabdakalpadruma*). In *Mahābhārata* II. 31.6 the term is used in its literal sense without implying any designation- *rājñe bhojakaṭa-sthāya mahāmātrāya dhīmate.* At another place also the Great Epic (XIII, 17.85) uses it in literal sense as one of the 1008 names of Lord Śiva-*Mahāmūrdhā Mahāmātro Mahānetro Niśālaya*[2].

As an official designation, however, the term mahāmātra has been used in various senses. The *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* of V.S. Apte gives three

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1. Meaning Commanders or rulers among Indians (Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 377, n.5).
2. Gita Press, Gorakhpur ed.

meanings of the term : (1). a great officer of state, high state official, a chief minister; मन्त्रे कर्माणि भूषायां वित्ते माने परिच्छदे। मात्रा च महती येषां महामात्रास्तु ते स्मृताः।। Ms. 9. 259. (2). an elephant-driver or keeper; *Pañchatantra*, 1.161. 3. a superintendent of elephants." It also gives two meanings of *Mahāmātrī* : "(1. the wife of a chief minister. (2). the wife of a spiritual teacher." The meaning of *mahāmātrī* as the wife of a spiritual teacher is obviously based on Jaṭādhara who takes it in the sense of *āchāryapatnī*;[3] however its use in the sense of the wife of a chief minister shows that as a designation the term *mahāmātra* was taken to mean a chief minister.

The term *mahāmātra* was not known in the Vedic age. It is found for the first time in the Buddhist and Jaina canonical literature and was perhaps an innovation introduced by the Magadhan rulers. Buddhaghosha defines *mahāmātras* of the Pali texts as *ṭhānantarappatta mahā-amachcha* that is "the officials occupying different ranks and posted to different places." He explains the designation as implying either *Magadharaṭṭhe Mahāmatto mahatiyā issariyamattāya samannāgato*, "the great official in the kingdom of Magadha, vested with a large measure of royal power," or *Magadha-raññо Mahāmachcho* "the highest officer of the Magadha king.[4]" In the Pali texts the designation is mostly used for the officers of Magadha and rarely in association with the officers of Prasenajit of Kosala. Further, it is not found used in the past life-stories of the Buddha as recorded in the Pali Jātakas including the *gāthās*. From these facts it emerges that it was an innovation of the Magadhan rulers of the age of the Buddha.[5] Actually the Magadha-mahāmatta is the epithet applied in Pali to Varshakāra who was Brāhmaṇa official of king Ajātaśatru of Magadha.

The Pali canonical texts familiarise us with the following official designations :

(1) *Mantino Mahāmattā* (*Kosala-saṁyutta*, III.5) the Mahāmātras as minister. For example the two Brāhmaṇa Magadha Mahāmātras, mentioned in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*,

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3. *Śabdakalpadruma*.

4. Barua, B.M., *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, II, p. 288.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 289.

(2) *Sabbatthaka-mahāmattā* (*Vinaya Mahāvagga*, VI), the Mahāmātras "in charge of general affairs"

(3) *Vohārika-Mahāmattā* (*Vinaya Chullavagga*, VI), the Mahāmātras as administrators of justice ;

(4) *Senānāyaka-mahāmattā* (*Vinaya Mahāvagga*, I), the Mahāmātras as generals ;

(5) *Gaṇaka-mahāmattā* (*Lakkhaṇa-Suttanta*, *Dīgha Nikāya*, III), the Mahāmātras as accountants ; and

(6) *Antepura-upachārakā Mahāmattā* (*Vinaya Chullavagga*, VIII), the *Mahāmātras* in charge of the inner apartments of the royal palace, obviously the same as *Orodha-mahāmattā* associated with the home-guard (*balakāya*) ; *orodha-mahāmattā-balakāyādīsu* (*Papañchasūdanī under Raṭṭhapāla Sutta*). With reference to the judicial system of the Lichchhavis (*Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, II) he mentions the *Vinichchhaya mahāmattā* or *Mahāmātras* as Judicial Investigators.

It is also to be noted that in the Pali texts the designation *mahāmattā* alternates with *mahāmachcha* (Sans. *mahāmātya*) and their highest order is distinguished in some texts by the addition of the prefix *rājan*. In the *Dīgha Nikāya* (1.103-4) and the *Majjhima Nikāya* (1.215) we have a simile of a *rājamahāmātra* who had a clothes - chest filled with clothes of diverse colours and who wore appropriate suits for morning, mid-day and evening wear. The *Bhikku Vibhaṅga* (1.2) includes *mahāmātras* in the list of the persons invested with ruling authority (*rājāno*), other authorities of the list being *Pathabyarājā* (king Overlord), the *Padesarājā* (monarch of a particular kingdom), the *Maṇḍalikā* (feudatory-kings), the *Antarabhogika* (rulers of the buffer-states) and the *Akkhadassā* (the judges).

From this it is obvious that in the pre-Aśokan period had evolved a bureaucracy in which the high officers-ministers, administrators of justice, those incharge of general affairs, army chiefs, accountants, officers connected with inner apartments of the royal place, judicial investigators, judges etc. were called *mahāmātras*; they were distinguished from each other by a qualifying epithet indicating their status and department of activities. In the inscriptions of Aśoka we get a clearer and fuller picture of the place and importance of the mahāmātras

in the Magadhan bureaucracy and of the innovations he introduced in their ranks and activities. The *Mahāmātras* of R.E.VI to whom Aśoka verbally entrusted the urgent state business in connection whereof the *Parisā* had to meet for discussion, were evidently *Mantri-mahāmātras* or Mahāmātras as ministers of the Pali texts. The *Mahāmātras* associated with the Āryaputras (M.R.E., Siddhapur) and the Kumāras (S.R.E.I) were of the same category as regards the four outlying provinces, for like Aśoka the Viceroys or Kumāras too appear to have each a *Parisā* to assist him in state affairs. The *Mahāmātras* placed in charge of the administration of Samāpā are called *Mahāmatā Lājavachanikā*, (S.R.E.II, Jaugad). The *Mahāmātras* placed in charge of the administration of Isilā are merely called Mahāmatā (M.R.E. siddhapur). Then we have mention of *Mahāmatā Nagala-viyohālakā* or simply, *Nagala-viyohālakā* (S.R.E.I, Dhauli) (Mahāmātras as City-judiciaries) *Mahāmatā Nagalakā* (S.R.E.I, Jaugad), on whose joint responsibility rested the administration of such cities as Samāpā and Tosālī. obviously the whole administration of each big town was placed in charge of a similar body of officials.

In P.E.I we have mention of *Aṁtamahāmatā*, or Mahāmātras as Wardens of the Marches. From the R.E.XIII it appears that there were also Aṭavimahāmatā, or Mahāmātras as Wardens of the Wild Tribes.

The administration of districts and areas, too, was entrusted to different bodies of *Mahāmātras*. It is suggested by the plural expressions such as *savata Mahāmātā*, "everywhere the *Mahāmātras*" (Queen's Edict), *āvate tuphākaṁ āhāle, yāvataka tupāka ahāle*, "as far as your (plural) jurisdiction" (Schism P.E.Sarnath; M.R.E., Rupnath). The Kauśāmbī Schism P.E. is addressed to a single *Mahāmātra* (*Devānampiye ānapayati Kosaṁbiyaṁ Mahāmāta*). As regards the *Dharmamahāmātras* R.E.XII goes to show that in respect of their duty to encourage tolerance among the different sects they were allied with the *Ithijhaka mahāmātā, Vachabhūmika*, and other bodies of the officials. In respect of their duty to look after the welfare of the different religious sects or denominations they had something in common with the Mahāmātras who were specifically attached to this or that particular sect (P.E.VII). It is presumably with reference to the Sectarian Mahāmātras that Aśoka enjoined in the Sarnath P.E. that "invariably on the eighth day of the lunar fortnight (or, on every *uposathā*-day) a *Mahāmātra* by turn goes to attend the fastday service."

The *Ithijhakha-mahāmātas* may be identified with the Pali *Antepura-upachārakā Mahāmattā* or *Orodha-mahāmattā*, the Mahāmātras in charge of the royal households, especially the ladies.

From the context of R.E.XII, it is clear that the *Vachabhūmikas*, too were a class of *Mahāmātras* whose function, like that of the *Dharmama-hāmātras* and *Stryadhyaksha Mahāmātras*, was to encourage tolerance and promote the growth of different sects in essential things.

Thus from Aśokan inscriptions it appears that the term *mahāmātra* was used for high executive officers employed in various capacities and enjoying different ranks. They were employed in the palace, capital, other cities, rural areas, border areas, working everywhere as ministers, advisers, judges, executive officers, etc. for the benefit of everyone from the queens and princes to prisoners and from Brāhmaṇas to servants and slaves. Thus the term *mahāmātra* was used as a generic class of officials more or less as we have IAS or ICS officers for most of the high posts of our present day bureaucracy. Therefore Buddhaghosha was not wide of mark when he described them as "the officials occupying different ranks and posted to different places."

In the post-Aśokan period the history of the term *mahāmātra* took a decisive turn, for after him it almost disappeared from inscriptions. As far as we know it occurs in the sense of a high officer only in two non-Aśokan inscriptions the Sohgaura inscription[6] which on palaeographical grounds may be assigned to the Maurya period itself, and the Nasik inscription of Kṛshṇa[7], and early Sātavāhana king, which refers to the excavation of a cave by Samaṇa Mahāmāta, though it is not clear whether this mahāmāta was so called because he was associated with the Buddhist Śramaṇas or Samana was his personal name. The observation of B.M. Barua that the word mahāmātra occurs "in two inscriptions of the Sātavāhana and Scythian period (Lüder's List Nos. 937, 1144) ; and doubtfully only in the Sohgaura Copper Plate[8]" is incorrect in much as the Sohgaura inscription is the same one which was given no. 937 in the Lüders List. In other words, the number of the non-Aśokan inscriptions referring to the term

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6. Goyal, S.R., *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Abhilekha Saṁgraha*, Jaipur, 1982, p. 152, Lüder's List No. 937.

7. Goyal, *op.cit.*, p. 417, Lüder's List, 1144.

8. Barua, *op.cit.*, p. 288.

mahāmātra remains only two and the number of the post-Maruya inscriptions using this term is reduced to one only (the Sohgaura record being a Maurya epigraph). In view of this fact the observation of H.C.Raychaudhuri that the mahāmātras continued to "play an important part in the days of the Sātavāhanas and the Scythians"[9] can hardly be regarded as tenable. Actually, as far as we have been able to ascertain the term mahāmātra in the Mauryan sense of a state official does not occur in any Indian inscription (except one)[10] of the post-Kṛshṇa Sātavāhana period[11] though at a later date it does occur in the sense of an *elephant-trainer* as will be seen below. Its occurrence in the Nasik record of Kṛshṇa, the earliest known Sātavāhana inscription, does not prove its prevalence in the Sātavāhana age for he flourished quite close to the Maurya period and by his time the use of the substitute term *amātya* popularised by his dynasty had not become widely prevalent. U.N. Ghoshal rightly observes that in place of the Maurya *mahāmātras* the Sātavāhanas "employed *amātyas* as a generic class of officials. One of the early Sātavāhanas created a new higher grade of these officials called *rājāmātyas.* The *amātyas* were employed on executive, financial, and other business and as district officers. A *rājāmātya* is mentioned as a treasury officer.[12]"

However the term *mahāmātra* continued to be used in literature though now it came to signify mainly a minister of chief minister instead of being a term for a generic class of high officials as was the case with the Maurya *mahāmātras.* It became specially associated with ministers and generals probably because of its literal meaning-*Mantre karmāṇi bhūshāyāṁ vitte māne parichchade / Mātrā cha mahatī yeṣāṁ mahāmātrāstu te smṛtāḥ //* Also, *senāpatyādishu mahatī mātrā dhanaṁ parichchhedo vā yeshāṁ te tathā.*

The antiquity of the use of the term *mahāmātra* in the sense of a minister may be traced to the *Manusmṛti* (IX.259) which brackets the mahāmātras with

9. Raychaudhuri, H.C., *Political History of Ancient India*, 6th ed., p. 520.

10. The term *Antaḥpura Mahāmātra* occurs in the Masulipatanam plates of Amma II (EI, XXIV, p. 276; Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 108.

11. We have checked all the volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* and works like *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* of Prof. D.C. Sircar to be certain of our conclusion.

12. *A Comprehensive History of India*, II, p. 351.

dishonest physicians, prostitutes, cheats etc. from whom the king should remain alert. Medhātithi has explained the word *mahāmātra* occurring in this verse as the Mantrin, Purohita and others while Kullūka takes it to mean, 'the professional tamers of elephants.' of these the former meaning appears to have been intended by Manu for, firstly, a king could have hardly any need to remain alert from elephant trainers and, secondly, the use of the word *mahāmātra* in the sense of an elephant-trainer is not found before the sixth century A.D. It seems that Kullūka defined the term *mahāmātra* in the light of the meaning current in his own days.

In several works composed shortly before or during the Gupta age, the word *mahāmātra* is used in the sense of a minister or chief minister. In the *Amarakosha* (II.8.5.) it is described as a *pradhāna (mahāmātrāḥ pradhānāni)*, that is a chief minister. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki (X. 36.18), which acquired its present form in the early centuries of the Christian era, a reference is made to Siddhārtha, an aged (*vṛddha*) and upright (*śuchi*) *mahāmātra* of Daśaratha, who was held in high esteem by the king (*bahumato rājñaḥ*) and who remonstrated Kaikeyī for demanding the exile of Rāma. Here the word *mahāmātra* is apparently used in the sense of a minister for an ordinary government servant could hardly remonstrate or even advise the queen.

In the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, almost definitely composed in the third century[13], the term *mahāmātra* has been used in the sense of a minister. In this work *mahāmātras* are mentioned along with king (*na rājñām mahāmātrāṇ-ām vā*-v.1; *mahāmātrarājabhyoḥ*-v.5.3) or with generals (*mahāmātreśvarāṇām*-v.5. 32). At one place a reference is made to people who were oppressed by the *mahāmātras* (v.5.25). In view of the fact that in the other two *sūtras* the term stands for a minister, here also it should be taken in the same sense.

The *Divyāvadāna*, generally assigned to the fourth century A.D., refers to the *mahāmātras*, apparently ministers, as advising the king (*amantrayate*)[14].

In the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, composed towards the close of the Gupta age, the term *mahāmātra* (as a variant reading for *mahāmātya*) finds mention in IX. 28.

13. In this work a reference has been made to Kuntala Śātakarṇi and Ābhīra rulers who are known to have flourished in the third century A.D.

14. *Divyāvadāna*, ed. by Cowel and Neil, 1886, p. 291, quoted by Sarla Khosla in *Aśvaghoṣa and His Times*, New Delhi, 1986, p. 161.

Utpala has taken it to mean elephant tamers (*hasti sādhana patiḥ*), but more probably it stands for a minister[15]. In the *Kāmandakīya* also the term mahāmātra is used in the sense of an amātya (IX.69).

In the post-Gupta age the term *mahāmātra* came to be associated with the elephant-trainers or elephant superintendents. The earliest use of the term in this sense is found in the charter of Harirāja of the Śūra dynasty discovered at Vārāṇasī which records the grant of land at Āmraka-Nagara by a Gaṇa of the *mahāmātras*, that is elephant-trainers. The *gaṇa* not only affixed its seal of goad on the charter but issued the grant itself though with the consent of the king and queen. On palaeographical grounds the grant has been assigned to the first half of the sixth century A.D.[16] of about the same period are the Nagardhan plates of Svāmirāja of the year 322 (probably of the Kalachuri are = 570-71 A.D.)[17] which refer to the grant made by a Corporation (*saṁgha*) of elephant-drivers (*mahāmātras*). Its President was called Sthavira (apparently used in the sense of Jeṭṭhaka) and members of the Executive Committee, who seem to have been twelve in number, Pramukhas. The assembly of the corporation was called Samūha. The Corporation had no authority to make any grant of land; for it had to request the ruling king to make one on their behalf, but it was allowed to affix its own seal containing its emblem of goad. Interestingly, commenting on *Yājñavalkya* Smṛti XVII. 20 Viśvarūpa explains *gaṇa* as a corporation of elephant-riders and others (*Vaṇik-samūho gaṇaḥ, hastyāroh-ādisamūha itya-anye*)[18].

From the aforesaid two inscriptions it appears that the use of the term *mahāmātra* in the sense of an elephant trainer began some time before the sixth century A.D. In literature probably the first known work to use the word *mahāmātra* in the sense of elephant-trainer is the *Pañchatantra* (1.161) which was translated into Pahlvi in the reign of Khusrau Nushirwan (531-79 A.D.). It agrees well with the epigraphic evidence cited above. About a century later Bāṇa

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15. Cf. Shastri, A.M., *India as Seen in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, Delhi, 1969, p. 471. Interestingly in this work we find a term *nṛpamātra* (XV. 37) explained by Utpala as *nṛpa-sadṛśa-amātya*.

16. *The Classical Age*, p. 193f.

17. Mirashi, V.V., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, IV, pt. II, p. 614.

18. *Ibid.*

in his *Harshacharita* uses the term in the same sense[19]. While commenting on *Manusmṛti* IX. 259 Kullūka also interprets *mahāmātra* as professional tamers of elephants and Utpala interpreted it as *hasti sādhana patiḥ* while explaining its use in *Bṛhat Samhitā* (IX. 28). However, to us it appears that they attributed this meaning to the term *mahāmātra* because it was current in their own times, not because it was intended by Manu or Varāhamihira.

After Bāṇa, the term *mahāmātra* is found used in the sense of elephant-trainers or superintendents in several works. In the *Bhāgavata* P. X.36.25 Kaṁsa addresses his elephant-trainer as *mahāmātra*. In *Bhāgavata* X.43.12 also, the trainers of elephant Kuvalayāpīḍa, called *hastipāla* in X.43.14, are called *mahāmātras*.

In the *Anekārthaśabdakośa* (c. 13th century A.D.)[20] also known as *Medinī*, the term *mahāmātra* means *hastipālādhipaḥ*. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Xiii.10) uses it in the same sense.

The wide currency, which the term mahāmātra in the sense of elephant-trainer got, is proved by the fact that through its Prakrit form *mahā-utta* it became a part of the vocabulary of Hindi, Gujarati (*mahāvat*), Marathi (māhut), etc.

From the history of the changing meaning of the term *mahāmātra* certain broad facts emerge : (1) the term was unknown in the Vedic age. (2) the use of this term for the high officials of the state to whom the administrative activities of diverse nature were entrusted was most likely an innovation of the pre-Maurya rulers of Magadha. (3) In the age of Aśoka mahāmātras looked after the administration of the royal palace, capital of the empire, other cities, rural areas, provinces, border areas, etc. and looked after the welfare of all, from Brāhmaṇas to slaves and from queens and princes to prisoners. (4) In the post-Aśokan period, rather suddenly the term almost disappears from inscriptions. Now its place is taken by the term *amātya*. (5) In the early centuries of the Christian era

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19. *Harshacharita* VI. Kane's ed., p. 49. The commentator explains *mahāmātrāḥ pradhāna hastyārohāḥ*.

20. Medinīkāra quotes authorities of pre-1159 A.D. and is himself quoted, according to Gode, in the *Varṇa-ratnākara*, a Maithilī work, of Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekha-rāchārya who was patronised by Harisiṁhadeva (c. 1300-25 A.D.). (*Struggle for Empire*, p. 385, n. 32).

and the Gupta age, in literature (it is not found in epigraphs) the term is used in the sense of minister etc. (6) From the sixth century onwards it is found used in inscriptions and literature both in the sense of an elephant-trainer or superintendent of elephants. (7) The terms *mahāvat* (Hindi and Gujarati), *māhut* (Marathi) etc. are derived from the term *mahāmātra*.

These conclusions are significant and may serve as indicators of the date of those other texts where this term is found used in a particular sense. Take for example the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata. Diverse dates have been proposed by different scholars for this work from c.500 B.C. to c. 300 A.D. H.P.Shastri places it in 2nd cent. B.C., S.Levi in the Indo-Scythian period, Keith about the 3rd cent. A.D., M.M.Ghosh between 100 B.C. and 200 A.D. (and also c.500 B.C.). Recently Anupa Pande has assigned it between 2nd cent. B.C. and 2nd cent.A.D. Now from the time-indicator prepared above it is possible to form a more accurate idea of the period in which this text was composed. This work is quite conversant with the offices of *amātya* and *mahāmātra* both. But while in this text *amātya* was a lower office, the *mahāmātra* was higher one, of the level of the *senāpati* and *yuvarāja*. On the stage, the *amātya* was represented with a turban on his head while the *mahāmātra* merited, like *senāpati* and *yuvarāja* a half crown.[21] Obviously *amātya* of this text was a government officer comparable to the *mahāmātras* of the Maruya and pre-Maurya periods while the *mahāmātra* of this work was of higher status, equal to that of the *senāpati* and *yuvarāja*. He was undoubtedly the *mantrin* or minister, not just a government servant (of higher cadre). This fact according to our time-indicator, would support the view which places the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the Gupta age, or a age just preceding the rise of the Guptas.

Our time-indicator may also help us in solving the problem of the date of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. As is quite well-known, in the *Arthaśāstra* "the higher officers of the state are usually referred as amātyas. In particular the *adhyakshas* and some others like the *dharmastha* and the *pradeṣṭṛ* are regarded as *amātyas* (2.9.1; 3.1.1.; 4.1.1). Three grades of *amātyas* are, however, recognised-- the highest, the middling and the lowest--according to the degree of qualifications possessed by them.[22]" Thus the *amātyas* in the *Arthaśāstra* correspond to the *mahāmātras* of the Aśokan and pre-Aśokan period. But this

21. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, XXI.148.

22. Kangle, R.P., *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, III, p. 203.

text also refers to the dignatories known as *mahāmātras*. "There is an incedental reference to eighteen *tīrthas* in 1.12.20," Kangle observes, "while a list of these eighteen appears to be given in 1.12.6. These high dignitories are referred to in the next chapter as *mahāmātras* (1.13.1). The former appellation is ignored in the rest of the text, but the latter is frequently used.[23]" As the eighteen *tīrthas*, also known as *mahāmātras*, included *mantrin, purohit, senāpati, yuvarāja*, etc. they could not have been high officers of the type of the *mahāmātras* of the Aśokan inscriptions; they were obviously the high ministers of the state. This is proved by several other facts. In *Arthaśāstra* 1.10.7-8 it is said that a wandering nun, who has won the confidence of the *mahāmātras* should secretly suggest to each of them individually : "The chief queen is in love with you and has made arrangements for meeting (with you); besides, you will obtain much wealth. If he repulses (the proposal), he is pure.[24]" Such a test involving the prestige of the chief-queen could not have been suggested for lesser lights of the bureaucracy. In *Arthaśāstra* V.1 steps have been suggested for weeding out thorns (*kaṇṭakaśodhanam*) from the fortified city. They all involve treasonable *mahāmātras* and the ways and means suggested to get ride of such dignatories prove that they were not ordinary officials but highest dignitaries that is ministers, etc. The fact is conclusively proved by Arthaśāstra V.3 in which the salaries of all the officers are prescribed but mahāmātras do not figure in it obviously because they were no other than the eighteen *tīrthas*, that is the highest dignitaries of the state.

Thus we observe that in the *Arthaśāstra* the *mahāmātras* belong to the category of ministers etc., not to the cadre of general officers. This, according to our time-indicator, suggests that the *Arthaśāstra* should be placed much later than the age of Aśoka and nearer to the age of the Imperial Guptas. On various other grounds we, and many others, have suggested that the *Arthaśāstra* acquired its present form in third century A.D. We feel that our time-indicator strengthens this suggestion.

Here we may also point out that our time-indicator suggests that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, which uses the term *mahāmātra* in the sense of elephant-trainer should be assigned a post-Gupta age, at least not earlier than the sixth

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23. Kangle, *op.cit.*, p. 195.

24. Kangle, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.19.

century A.D. This supports the theory of a late date for this *Purāṇa* proposed by scholars on other grounds.

Against our suggestion that the changing meaning of words like *mahāmātra* may be used as a time-indicator, it may be held that it gives only a very rough idea of the date of a text, or for the part of it in which such a word is used. But when our ancient literary chronology is so nebulous that Kālidāsa is assigned by different scholars variously from the first century B.C. to the fifth century A.D., the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is placed between 500 B.C. to 300 A.D. and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya is put any where from 300 B.C. to 300 A.D., it will be a relief indeed if some solid ground is found to assign a text to a specific age, if not to a particular century.

□□□

नेपाल में बौद्ध धर्म का प्रवेश और विस्तार

डॉ० अंगने लाल

लखनऊ

भारत और नेपाल का प्राचीनकाल में घनिष्ट सम्बन्ध रहा है। सीमान्त राज्य के रूप में इसका राजनैतिक महत्त्व भी कम नहीं रहा है। नेपाल के विस्तार और सीमाओं के विषय में डा० बी० सी० लॉ का यह मत है कि नेपाल के पूर्व में कौसकी नदी बहती है, पश्चिम में त्रिशूल गंगा, उत्तर में शिवपुरी (कैलाश) है। दक्षिण में एक नदी निर्मल और शीतल जल वाली प्रवाहित है।[१] टनकपुर के पास से होकर बहने वाली यह शारदा नदी प्रतीत होती है। आर्यमंजुश्री मूल कल्प में नेपाल मण्डल को हिमालय की गोद में स्थित बताया गया है।[२]

नेपालमण्डले ख्याते हिमाद्रेः कुक्षिमाश्रिते।

वैशाली में सम्पन्न द्वितीय बौद्ध संगीति में वज्जिय संघ के भिक्षुओं ने भिक्षु यश के विरुद्ध जो विरोधी पक्ष संगठित किया था उसमें नेपाल के बौद्ध भिक्षु भी सम्मिलित थे।[३] तिब्बती इतिहासकार तारानाथ का कथन है कि सम्राट अशोक ने अपने पिता के राज्यकाल में विद्रोह करने वाले नेपालियों और खशों का दमन किया था।[४] लुम्बिनी[५] और निगालीसागर[६] में स्तंभों की स्थापना और उन पर धर्म अभिलेख लिखवाना यह सूचित करता है कि नेपाल अशोक के साम्राज्य में सम्मिलित था।

महोदय नीलकण्ठ शास्त्री[७] ने नेपाली परम्परा का उल्लेख करते हुए लिखा है कि सम्राट् अशोक ने अपने धर्म गुरु उपगुप्त के निर्देशन में उक्त लुम्बिनी और निगालीसागर की ही नहीं अपितु नेपाल के भीतरी भागों की भी धर्म यात्रा की थी। उसने वहाँ पाटन नामक नगर बसाया था जो काठमाण्डू के दक्षिण–पूर्व में दो मील की दूरी पर स्थित है। इस नगर में उसने पाँच बौद्ध स्तूप बनवाये थे। इनमें से एक मध्य में था और शेष चार स्तूप नगर के चार प्रमुख

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१. हिस्ट० ज्या० ऐं० इण्डि० पृ० ११३

२. मञ्जुश्री मूलकल्प ५४६

३. श्री हवलदार त्रिपाठी, बौद्ध धर्म और विहार पृ० १६२

४. भारतीय बौद्ध धर्म का इतिहास

५. माइनर पिलर एडिक्ट निगालीसागर, (आर० बी० पाण्डेय, लिट० हिस्ट० ह० स० पृ० ४०)

६. माइनर पिलर एडिक्ट सम्मिनदेई (आर० बी० पाण्डेय, लिट० हिस्ट० ह० स० पृ० ४०)

७. नन्द मौर्य युगीन भारत, पृ० २५

स्थानों पर स्थित थे। उनका आकार–प्रकार साँची और गान्धार शैली का था। चारों स्तूप किसी न किसी रूप में इस समय भी विद्यमान हैं। यही नहीं पाटलिपुत्र से नेपाल जाने और वापसी आने के मार्ग में भी उसने अनेक स्तूप बनवाये थे।

नेपाल की इस धार्मिक यात्रा में सम्राट् अशोक के साथ उसकी पुत्री चारुमती भी गई थी। नेपाल में ही उसका विवाह देवपाल नामक राजकुमार के साथ सम्पन्न हुआ था। उन्होंने देवपाटन नामक नगर की स्थापना करवाई थी जो नेपाल के प्राचीनतम नगरों में से एक माना जाता है। चारुमती ने देवपाटन के उत्तर में चारुमती नामक बौद्ध विहार बनवाया था। क़ालान्तर में वह इसी विहार में भिक्षुणी बन कर जीवन पर्यन्त रहीं। इस विहार स्थल को इस समय छब हिल कहते हैं। आदि बुद्ध के नाम पर निर्मित पश्चिमी नेपाल का प्रसिद्ध 'स्वयंभू नाथ' का मन्दिर भी परम्परा के अनुसार सम्राट् अशोक द्वारा ही निर्मित माना जाता है।

गुप्त युग में नेपाल समुद्रगुप्त के साम्राज्य का प्रत्यन्त राज्य था।[८] इसी युग में फाहियान ने नेपाल की धर्म यात्रा की थी। ह्वेनसांग ने भी नेपाल की धर्म यात्रा की थी। इस यात्री के अनुसार वहां बौद्ध धर्म तथा अन्य धर्मों के लोग बिना किसी धार्मिक भेदभाव के साथ साथ मिल-जुल कर रहते थे। उनके संघाराम तथा देव मन्दिर पास पास बने हुए थे। उस समय राजा क्षत्रिय था और बौद्ध धर्म का आदर करता था। इस यात्री के अनुसार उस समय नेपाल में लगभग २००० बौद्ध भिक्षु रह रहे थे जो हीनयान तथा महायान से सम्बन्धित थे।[९]

रामदेव तथा ब्रह्मटोल (५५७ ई०) के समय के लगन ताल (काठमाण्डू) के दो अभिलेखों में भगवान अवलोकितेश्वर की मूर्ति की स्थापना का उल्लेख मिलता है। इसी प्रकार कन्डहिनि काठमाण्डू अभिलेख में भी भगवान अवलोकितेश्वर के लिये स्वीकृत अनुदान उल्लिखित है। त्यगल टोल, पाटन अभिलेख में अक्षोभ्य, समन्त भद्र, मैत्रेय, बज्रधर, मञ्जुश्री और लोकेश्वर की आराधना का वर्णन प्राप्त होता है। तेबहाल के तिथि रहित अभिलेख में शाक्य यति प्रिय पाल द्वारा रत्न प्रिय भगवत् आर्य उदारवर्ण के लिये एक कुंआ तथा बावली समर्पित की गई थी।[१०] मैण्डर खल अभिलेख (४३६/२१ ई०) में बौद्धदेव कुमार विजय के लिये एक मन्दिर (आयतनविहार) का वर्णन है जिसमें छत्र, आच्छादन, पुष्प, सिन्दूर, दीप, वाद्य से पूजा–वन्दना की जाती थी।[११]

नेपाल का राजा अंशु वर्मन बौद्ध धर्म का अनुयायी था।[१२] उसकी पुत्री भृकुटी देवी तिब्बत के राजा सोड़ सेन गम की रानी थी। भृकुटी देवी के प्रभाव से ही तिब्बत का राजा भी

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८. समुद्रगुप्त का प्रयाग स्तंभ अभिलेख, पंक्ति २२

९. ह्वेनसांग की भारत यात्रा पृ० २४१–४२

१०. स्टडीज इन हिस्ट्री एण्ड कल्चर, पृ० ६

११. स्टडीज इन हिस्ट्री एण्ड कल्चर, पृ० १०

१२. बौद्ध धर्म और विहार पृ० २०१ के लेखक श्री हवलदार त्रिपाठी ने अंशुवर्मन को ईसा की चौथी शताब्दी का शासक बताया है परन्तु डा० आर० के मुकर्जी इसे सातवीं शताब्दी का हर्ष का समकालीन शासक मानते हैं (हर्ष हिस्ट्री० नार्थ ईस्टर्न इण्डिया पृ० २१८)

बौद्ध धर्मानुयायी हो गया था। तभी से तिब्बत का राजवंश बौद्ध धर्मानुगामी रहता आया है।[१३] अंशुवर्मन ने बौद्ध धर्म को कलात्मक रूप भी प्रदान किया । उसने अभिलेखों में बौद्ध प्रतीकों का उत्कीर्णन भी करवाया।

उस समय से अभिलेखों में वृषभ, दो मृग, बुद्ध और मृग, धर्म चक्र तथा एक मृग का उत्कीर्णन होने लगा।[१४] इस प्रकार नेपाल की बौद्ध कला के इतिहास में भी अंशुवर्मन का योगदान चिरस्मरणीय रहेगा। डा० आर० जी० बसक ने अंशुवर्मन के अनेक अभिलेखों का वर्णन किया है जो ६३६ से ६४५ ई० के मध्य के हैं। ये भी उसके बौद्ध धर्मावलम्बी होने की पुष्टि करते हैं।[१५]

डा० लल्लन जी गोपाल के अनुसार नेपाल में बौद्ध धर्म का प्राचीनतम पुरातात्त्विक साक्ष्य लगन ताल (काठमाण्डू) का तिथि रहित अभिलेख है। उसमें उल्लिखित राजा नृप देव पहला बौद्ध शासक था। इसे जय देव द्वितीय की पशुपति नाथ प्रशस्ति में 'सुगत शासन पक्षपाती' कहा गया है।[१६]

राजा मानदेव प्रथम ने मानदेव विहार (अथवा मान विहार) और राजा शिवदेव ने शिव देव विहार का निर्माण करवाया था। नरेन्द्र देव के राज्य काल के दो अभिलेखों में आर्य संघों (बौद्ध भिक्षु संघों) को दान दिये जाने का उल्लेख मिलता है।[१७]

गहतिल स्तूप खण्डित अभिलेख में बुंद्ध को 'महामुनि' कहा गया है और सिम्भू स्तूप खंडित अभिलेख में भगवान बुद्ध को 'सम्बुद्ध जगदेव गुरू' कहा गया है।[१८]

पाल युग में मगध और काश्मीर के साथ साथ नेपाल में भी बौद्ध धर्म का व्यापक प्रचार हुआ। राजा ही नहीं अपितु अन्य कुलीन लोग भी महायान बौद्ध धर्म का सम्मान करते थे। व्याख्यान का प्रारम्भ प्रायः सूत्रों से ही किया जाता था। सूत्रों को स्पष्ट करने के लिये टीकाओं का सहारा लिया जाता था।[१९]

नेपाल में बौद्ध धर्म के अनेक दुर्लभ ग्रन्थ भी प्राप्त हुए हैं। अश्वघोष कृत **बुद्धचरित** की मूल संस्कृत की पाण्डुलिपि नेपाल में ही मिली थी। इसकी खण्डित प्रति को अमृतानन्द नामक बौद्ध आचार्य ने १८३० ई० में चार सर्ग और कई श्लोक जोड़कर पूर्ण किया था।[२०] महोदय राजेन्द्र लाल मित्रा का कथन है कि महायान बौद्ध धर्म के अनेक ग्रन्थ नेपाल में अब

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१३. बौद्ध धर्म और विहार, पृ० २०१

१४. स्टडीज इन हिस्ट्री एण्ड कल्चर आफ नेपाल पृ० ८

१५. हिस्ट्री आफ नार्थ ईस्टर्न इण्डिया पृ० ३१८-१९

१६. स्टडीज इन हिस्ट्री एण्ड कल्चर आफ नेपाल पृ० ८

१७. वही, पृ० ८

१८. वही, पृ० ६

१९. लामा तारानाथ, भा० बौ० ध० इति० पृ० १०८

२०. बौद्ध धर्म और विहार, पृ० १८६

भी सुरक्षित हैं।[२१] प्रो० डा० लाल मणि जोशी (स्वर्गीय) के अनुसार नेपाल में बौद्धधर्म के नौ ग्रन्थ अत्यन्त प्रसिद्ध हैं जिन्हें नव धर्म कहा जाता है। ये ग्रन्थ इस प्रकार हैं :–

१. ललित विस्तर २. समधिराज सूत्र ३. लंकावतार ४. अष्ट साहस्रिका ५. प्रज्ञापारमिता ६. गन्डव्यूह सूत्र ७. सद्धर्म पुण्डरीक ८. दस भूमिक सुवर्ण ६. तथागत गुह्यक[२२]।

नेपाल में प्राचीन बौद्ध निकायों में से सर्वास्तिवाद निकाय विशेष रूप से उल्लेखनीय है। ईसा की प्रारम्भिक शताब्दियों में सर्वास्तिवादियों के अनुशासन के लिये विनय के जो नियम बनाये गये थे उनमें नेपाल की जलवायु और कठिन जीवन को देखते हुए कुछ बातों में छूट दी गई थी। इससे यह पता चलता है कि उस समय नेपाल में बौद्ध धर्म का व्यापक प्रचार था।[२३]

बौद्ध धर्म की महासांधिक शाखा के महान् आचार्य नेपाली बुद्ध श्री थे जिन्होंने कुछ समय विक्रमशिला विश्वविद्यालय में महासंधि निकाय का प्रचार किया और 'पारमित' तथा 'गुह्यमंत्र यान' के अनेक उपदेश दिये। लांमा तारानाथ ने उन्हें स्वच्छन्दाचारी कहा है।[२४]

नेपाल में 'हेवश्रतंत्र' का भी प्रचलन था जिसे स्वयंभू या आदि बुद्ध कहा जाता था। किन्हीं ग्रन्थों में इसे हेरुक कहा गया है। हेरुक को संसार का रक्षक बताया गया है, और संसार को उसकी लीला कहा गया है।[२५]

नेपाल का सम्बन्ध अनेक बुद्धों, बौद्धाचार्यों से भी रहा है। अशोक के धर्म अभिलेखों में नाभक के नाभ पंतिसं का उल्लेख मिलता है।[२६] फाहियान ने इसे ना–जि–विया लिखा है। इसे क्रकुच्छन्द बुद्ध का जन्म स्थान माना जाता है। यह कपिलवस्तु से १० मील दक्षिण था दक्षिण–पश्चिम में नेपाल में स्थित था।[२७]

अशोक के ही गौण स्तम्भ अभिलेख निगालीसागर में कनक मुनि (बुद्ध) का उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है। कनक मुनि का नेपाल में व्यापक प्रचार था। मौर्य सम्राट ने अपने राज्याभिषेक के १४ वें वर्ष निगालीसागर में स्थित कनक मुनि बुद्ध के मूल स्तूप को दो गुना परिवर्धित करवाया था और उसके ६ वर्ष बाद वह स्वयं उसकी पूजा के लिये गया था।[२८] चीनी यात्री ह्वेनसांग ने सातवीं शताब्दी में निगालीसागर में एक स्तूप देखा था जिसमें कनक मुनि के धातु पुष्प सुरक्षित थे। उसी के सामने यात्री ने २० फीट ऊंचा एक प्रस्तर स्तंभ भी देखा था जिसके शीर्ष भाग पर एक सिंह की मूर्ति बनी हुई थी। स्तंभ पर अभिलेख भी लिखा हुआ था।[२६]

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२१. एल० एम० जोशी, स्ट० बु० क० इण्डि, पृ० ६

२२. वही, पृ० ६

२३. बौद्ध धर्म के २५०० वर्ष, पृ० ५८

२४. भा० बौ० ध० इति० पृ० १३

२५. डा० लाल मणि जोशी, स्ट० बु० क० इण्डि, पृ० ३६६

२६. अशोक का १३ वां शिलाभिलेख पृ० ६ 'नभक लभितिव'

२७. राय चौधरी, पो० हि० ए० इ० पृ० ३०१

२८. डा० आर० वी० पाण्डेय, हिस्ट० लिट० इन्स० पृ० ४०

२६. द्रष्टव्य, नन्द मौर्य युगीन भारत पृ० २३६–४०

नेपाल में स्थित शाक्य मुनि गौतम बुद्ध की जन्मभूमि लुम्बिनी विश्व की बौद्ध तीर्थ–स्थली बनी हुई है जहाँ सम्राट अशोक द्वारा स्थापित प्रस्तर स्तंभ आज भी यह उदघोष कर रहा है कि शाक्य मुनि बुद्ध यहीं पैदा हुए थे (हिद बुधे जाते शाक्य मुनि ति)[३०] । विश्व के लाखों बौद्ध प्रति वर्ष सद्धर्म यात्रा पर लुम्बिनी आते हैं। नेपाल सरकार ने इसके विकास और विस्तार के लिये विस्तृत योजना तैयार की है।

लामा तारानाथ के अनुसार चतुर्थ शताब्दी के प्रसिद्ध दार्शनिक आचार्य वसुबन्धु अपने सिद्धान्तों के प्रचार के लिये नेपाल गये थे।[३१] सातवीं शताब्दी के बौद्धचार्य शान्तिरक्षित ने ७५ वर्ष की आयु में तिब्बत के राजा ति सोङ दे सेन के निमंत्रण पर तिब्बत जाते समय नेपाल की भी यात्रा की थी और काफी समय वे नेपाल में तथागत के उपदेशों का प्रचार करते रहे थे।[३२]

नेपाल के बौद्ध धर्म के इतिहास में दीपांकर श्री ज्ञान का नाम भी उल्लेखनीय है। वे नेपाल के बाद तिब्बत में सद्धर्म प्रचार के लिये गये थे और वहां के लोगों के अज्ञान और अन्ध–विश्वास को दूर किया था।[३३] उनके शिष्यों में से दो शिष्य फम और थिङ् नेपाल के रहने वाले थे।[३४] क्षान्ति पाल के शासन काल में भारत के बौद्धाचार्य भारत दारिक धर्म प्रचार के लिये नेपाल गये थे। उन्हें प्रसिद्ध बौद्ध–दार्शनिक आर्यदेव का पट्ट शिष्य महासिद्धदारिद माना जाता है।[३५]

पाल राजवंश के अन्तिम शासक गोविन्द पाल के धर्म गुरु शाक्य श्री भद्र का भी नेपाल से घनिष्ट सम्बन्ध रहा है। बारहवीं शताब्दी में जब मुहम्मद बिन बख्तियार–बख्तियार खिलजी का बौद्ध विनाशक हमला हुआ और नालन्दा तथा विक्रम शिला के चित्रों को भस्मसात् कर दिया गया उस समय बंगाल में भी सुरक्षा न देखकर शाक्य श्री भद्र अपने शिष्यों सहित नेपाल चले गये थे।[३६] लामा तारानाथ के अनुसार ओदन्तपुरी महाविहार के आचार्य महारत्न रक्षित भी तुरुष्कों के नर संहार को देखकर नेपाल चले गये थे।[३७] वास्तव में उस समय नेपाल बौद्ध धर्म का संरक्षक देश था।

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३०. अशोक का सम्मिनदेई गौण स्तंभ अभिलेख पृ० २

३१. भा० बौ० ध० इ० पृ० ७० बौद्ध धर्म के २५०० वर्ष पृ० ५८

३२. बौद्ध धर्म और विहार, पृ० २११ण भिक्षु शान्ति रक्षित का जन्म ६५० ई० में बिहार प्रदेश के भागलपुर जिले के सहीर ग्राम में हुआ था। ६७५ ई० में नालन्दा में आचार्य ज्ञान गर्भ से दीक्षा ग्रहण की और वहीं उनकी शिक्षा–दीक्षा भी हुई।

३३. लामा तारानाथ, भा० बौ० ध० इ० पृ० १२०

३४. वही, पृ० १३१ दीपांकर श्री ज्ञान विक्रम शिला विश्वविद्यालय के विहाराचार्य थे। वे बंगाल के शासक मयपाल के पुत्र नयपाल के समकालीन थे। नेपाल यात्रा के समय दीपांकर श्री ज्ञान ने शासक नयपाल के नाम एक पत्र भेजा था जिसका उल्लेख लामा तारानाथ ने किया है।

३५. भा० बौ० ध० इ० पृ० १३१

३६. बौद्ध धर्म और विहार, पृ० २२६ शाक्य श्री भद्र का जन्म ११२७ ई० कश्मीर में हुआ था। उनकी शिक्षा–दीक्षा बोधगया, नालन्दा तथा विक्रम शिला में हुई थी। बंगाल के पाल वंशी अन्तिम शासक गोविन्दपाल के धर्मगुरु तथा विक्रमशिला के सम्भवतः अन्तिम आचार्य थे।

३७. भा० बौ० ध० इ० पृ० १३४

बौद्ध भिक्षुओं के अलावा नेपाल को बौद्ध भिक्षुओं को जन्म देने का भी गौरव प्राप्त है। नेपाली बौद्ध भिक्षुणियों में हरित तारा को देवी के रूप में सम्मान प्राप्त है। यह हरित तारा नेपाल के राजा अंशु वर्मन की राजकुमारी थी जिसका विवाह तिब्बत के राजा स्बोन–शात–ग्राम–जो के साथ हुआ था। तारा अपने साथ नेपाल से भगवान बुद्ध अक्षोभ्य की एक मूर्ति तिब्बत ले गई थीं जिसे राजा ने राजधानी ल्हासा में बुद्ध विहार बनवा कर स्थापित करवाया था।[३८]

उपर्युक्त सर्वेक्षण से यह स्पष्टतः सिद्ध हो जाता है कि नेपाल में प्राचीन काल से ही बौद्ध धर्म का विशेष सम्मान रहा है। राजा और प्रजा दोनों ही बौद्ध धर्मावलम्बी रहे हैं और उसके प्रचार–प्रसार में योगदान करते रहे हैं। मुसलमानों के संहारक हमले के समय सुरक्षा के लिये पूर्वोत्तर भारत के बौद्ध भिक्षुओं ने नेपाल को अपना शरण देश चुना था। नेपाल के पुरातात्त्विक प्रमाण भी यही बताते हैं कि वहाँ बौद्ध धर्म का व्यापक प्रचार था।

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३८. डा० अनुकूलचन्द्र बनर्जी, बुद्धिज्म इन इण्डिया एण्ड एब्रॉड, पृ० २२२

SOCIAL MILIEU OF EARLY BUDDHIST ART IN INDIA

(From c. 200 B.C. to early centuries of Christian era)

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The social milieu of India as depicted in early Buddhist art presents a queer scenario. Heterogeneous traditions, beliefs and practices of tribal, rural and of other miscellaneous origin were creating a baffling problem. Naturally there was an urgent need for a religion that was'*bahujaññā* and could bring a social harmony by blending and incorporating the disharmonious elements. And the solution came in the form of Buddhism, in which, as a veteran scholar of Buddhism has observed, 'man's religious faith expresses itself in harmony with his cultural environment'.[1]

The contemporaneous socio-economic life was in a state of flux. Agrarian economy had already entered a new phase of development with the accelerated production of tools in the second phase of iron age. Expansion of towns and increased demands in urban centres for essential commodities of life gave a boost to the artisans and craftsmen. As their number and technical knowhow increased they organised themselves in guilds. From literary texts, both *Pāli* and early *Dharma Sūtras* we get an idea about different functional groups having personal involvement in the sphere of their activities. Many such functional groups had organised themselves in guilds. Such guilds with their 'tribe like organisation' helped their 'kinship groups' to gain proficiency in the inherited skill in their respective spheres. In early epigraphic records we come across names of some such jobs as stone carving (*Śailarūpakarma*)[2], r*avakāmikau, Dantakāras* or carvers of ivory had already organised themselves as a localized trade by second century B.C. and we hear of *Vediśaka* workers in

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1. G.C. Pande, *Studies in the origin of Buddhism*, p. 318, Allahabad, 1957.
2. Luders List No. 1045.

ivory who were adept in stone carving as well. Thus the *rūpakarma* or carving of the top architrave of the south gate of Stūpa I at Sāñchī was done by the workers in ivory coming from Vidiśā, it being the gift of *Ānanda*, the foreman of the artisans (āvesin).[3]

Wood carvers were also carrying their brisk business in their own specific areas. We thus hear of *Vaḍḍhakīgāma*, village of carpenters, with five hundred carpenters living and working in their sphere of activity.[4] Many such professions which were still denied the social recognition for which they were craving, find mention in early texts. Buddhism which has been described as the 'most social of religions'[5] brought in its wake a message of social harmony and equilibrium in the form of a people's religion. Thus the most enthusiastic support and patronage for the propagation of Buddhism through art came from the people themselves.

Appearance of early Buddhist art was, therefore, significantly a social phenomenon. It was a product of the collective and integrated activity of the people to popularize a faith which carried messages of the people to the people. The donors and active participants mentioned in the epigraphic records of the sculpted panels of Bhārhut, Sāñchī, Bodhgayā and other places, refer to persons coming from different strata of society like masons and weavers,[6] labourers, potters, ivory workers, families both royal and ordinary,[7] monks and nuns,[8] local kings and queens etc. All of them contributed and participated in monumental art activity which actually projected along with edifying themes the social attitudes and aptitudes of people at large. Thus followers and supporters of the faith, whether rich or poor joined in the collective work and contribute their shares---rich with covetuous donations and poor came handy with their labour and skill.[9]

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3. Insc. No. 398, J. Marshall, *Monuments of Sanchi,* I, 342.
4. *Alinacitta Jātaka,* II. 18.
5. D.D. Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India,* p. 106, New Delhi, 1976.
6. Luders List, 331.
7. *Bharhut pillar inscription,* Luder's List No. 725.
8. *Ibid.,* Luder's List No. 772.
9. See, Devala Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments,* p. 11, Calcutta, 1971.

Another important feature which is noticeable in the sculpted panels of early Buddhist monument distributed over a wide geographical range, is the close affinity of style, technique, art idiom, motifs and themes. Such affinity naturally draws our attention to the question of mobility of skilled artisans. Such artisans and craftsmen, whether they belonged to ivory workers group or stone cutters job or that of wood carvers or gold-smiths professions, were collected and commissioned for work in different places according to need and demand of the assignment undertaken. Intricately beautiful designs of jwellery worn by *Yakṣiṇīs* and *Vṛkṣiṇīs* portrayed in the sculpted panels of Bhārhut, Sāñchī, Kośāmbī and other places thus show the workmanship of skilled jewellers. While the flat low and two dimensional figural sculptures, both in graceful and rigid forms, from technique point of view betray a close affinity with wood carvers art. Again the linear composition, the close knit style and technique found in the depiction of *Chhadanta Jātaka* as portrayed on the top architrave of the south gateway at Sāñchī, throw light on the ivory workers skill and mastery in rendering the scenic details of the story.

Popularity of stone as a medium of art expression subsequently brought radical changes in the domain of art as well as social sphere. With increased demands for structural edifices, the craftwise crystallization and specialization also became specific. We thus find special references to *śailarūpākāras*[10] and *śailavarḍḍhakī.*[11] The types of Buddhist edifices already mentioned in the Pāli texts came broadly under two heads - the *stūpa* and *Vihāras*. The *stūpas* which nucleated from relics mounds, were object of worship while *Vihāras* served as monk establishments. In the Vinaya[12] five types of *leṇa* or *layaṇās* (*śayanāsanas*) are mentioned. *Leṇa* which originally were five structural types survived in two typical forms, *Vihāra* and *Guha.*[13] Specialization in stone masonry was a substantial cause for boosting early Buddhist art activity in India.

Buddhist structural and sculptural activities took another new turn with the expansion of trade and commerce. First lay converts of Buddhism, as has

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10. *Luder's List*, 1045.
11. Luder's List, 350; E.I. XX, p. 22.
12. *Cullavagga*, p. 239.
13. S.K. Dutta, *Buddhist Monks and Monastaries in India*, p. 23, London, 1962.

India especially with Rome the socio-economic milieu of the country took another new turn. Romans traded with India on a bigger scale after the monsoon route from Egypt to India came to be freely used about the middle of first century A.D. Augustus, the Roman Emperor, had also opened the way to Greek merchants who traded with India. Strabo[23] informs us that as many as 1200 ships sailed from the ports of Red Sea to North East Africa and India. In the course of such trading facilities a good number of foreign traders settled in the country.

We have both literary and epigraphic records regarding foreign trading settlements in the country. Thus reference to foreign trading posts is found in Ancient Tamil literature[24] as well as in an inscription at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā[25]. Infiltration of sophisticated art technique and idiom thus came as natural consequences of foreign contacts. To quote M.N. Deshpande[26] the picture of India at the turn of Christian era would not be complete without accounting for all these alien influences. Socio-economic conditions which gave special impetus to art activity in Veṇgi region, acted as motive force behind the Mathura school in the North as well. Mathura was a flourishing commercial centre and a meeting point of trade routes coming from far and wide. Being a prosperous and flourishing city, it also became a prolific centre of art, supported and patronized by mercantile community who had special predication for Buddhism. Buddhist monks themselves, who were sufficiently affluent by now, also played the role of direct patrons and propagators of Buddhist art. Though the history of Mathura School can be traced back as early as 2nd century B.C. its real affluence synchronized with the Kushāṇa rule in India.

Society as depicted in the relief carvings of Mathura workshop during its heyday, is characterised by earth bound yet refined taste of town elites. These town elites, *Nāgarakas* or the so called 'man about town' represented the intelligensia of the new social set up. These *Nāgarakas* with their joie-de-vivre attitude towards life became the patron of a new art movement in Mathura. And

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23. Strabo, *Geography*, II, 118, 686, XVII, 798, 815.

24. *Ibid.*

25. Mukerji, *I.H.Q.*, XXV, 2, p, 147, *On Nagarjunakonda* Inscription.

26. M.N. Deshpande, *Houtie me Congress International D' Archaeologic Classique,* p. 39, Paris, 1963.

as D. Desai[27] has observed erotic themes received more romantic aura in the art of Mathura. Scenes taken from literary works[28] coupled with '*madhupāna*'[29] scenes and representation of voluptous beauties shown in various *krīḍā vihāra* postures as well as in lyrically beautiful forms offer a feast for the eyes of the beholder.

Besides depiction of various themes and motifs of mundane interests Mathura workshop created a history in Buddhist art by producing the cult images of the Buddha in various conventionalized forms and *mudrās.* Some of these images were dedicated by the Buddhist friars or monks who also donated pillars and other adjuncts of Buddhist establishments. Subsequently such establishments became very prosperous through their own active participation in commercial activities.

Contemporaneous school of Gandhāra had different problems. The socio-cultural contradictions which emerged in the realm obtained a peculiar character due to inter-mixtures of various nomadic hordes at different levels of culture. The scramble for power which ultimately paved the way for the establishment of the Kushāṇa rule in the reign had its far reaching impact on art and religion. The Indo-Scythians had their 'acquaintance with the arts of the Parthia and Rome'[30]. The commercial and diplomatic contacts of the Kushāṇas and Rome can be ascertained from periplus and Plotomy's Geography. Infiltration of alien themes and artefacts was a natural sequence of such contacts. Rowland thinks that there remains also the 'question of probable presence of Greeco-Roman artists in Gandhāra'.[31] Mahāyāna Buddhism which officially commenced with the Fourth Buddhist Council held under the patronage of the Kushāṇas, gave new dimension to Buddhist art activity in the region. Mahāyāna with its extended pantheon of Gods and Goddesses of diverse origin along with interesting ancedotes woven round some of them enhanced the popular appeal of

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27. D. Desai, *Erotic Sculptures of India*, p. 22, New Delhi, 1975.
28. V.S. Agrawala, *J.I.S.O.A.*, Vol. VI, pl. XX-3, Archaeological Museum of Mathura, No. 372.
29. Archaeological Museum of Mathura, p. 79.
30. Co *Dynastic Arts of the Kushanas* - J.M. Rosenfied, 1967 (See foreword by B. Rowland, P. VII).
31. *Ibid.*

the religion and attracted the notices of rich and powerful patrons, coming from different parts of the globe. Yavana settlers of the region had already shown their special predilection for Buddhism by bestowing large endowments on Buddhist establishments. Buddhist art received fresh and invigorating stimulas when the Roman traders were welcomed by the Kushāṇas as they reached Kabul to avoid heavy toll on silk trade levied by the Parthians.[32] In the hybrid atmosphere Buddhist art developed an art idiom which borrowed motifs, forms and technique from Graeco Roman or Western Aisatic sources. Even the Buddha images show clear foreign linkage in their atheletic forms, sharp features and immaculate appearacne. Artists and patrons of Gandhāra School thus belonged to a social milieu which though surcharged with Buddhist atmosphere had their roots and linkage in alien source.

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32. R. Turner, *The Great Cultural Traditions*, Vol. II, p. 912, London, 1941.

दक्षिण कोसल (छत्तीसगढ़) क्षेत्र में बौद्ध-धर्म

डॉ० कृष्णकुमार त्रिपाठी

सागर

ईसवी पूर्व छठीं शती का समय भारतीय इतिहास में बहुत महत्त्वपूर्ण माना जाता है। महात्मा गौतमबुद्ध और महावीर ने धर्म–दर्शन के क्षेत्र में कतिपय नई दिशायें दीं। बौद्ध एवं जैन–धर्मों का प्रभाव न केवल धार्मिक क्षेत्र में पड़ा, अपितु कला के विविध क्षेत्रों पर भी उनका प्रभाव पड़ा । बौद्ध स्तूपों का निर्माण गौतम बुद्ध के महापरिनिर्वाण के पश्चात् प्रारम्भ हुआ। ये स्तूप, बुद्ध तथा उनके प्रमुख शिष्यों के अवशेषों पर निर्मित हुए। मौर्य सम्राट् अशोक तथा कुषाण सम्राट् कनिष्क के समय में स्तूपों, चैत्यों, संघारामों और मूर्तियों का निर्माण बड़े रूप में सम्पन्न हुआ। शासकों के अतिरिक्त व्यावसायिक और साधारण–जनों ने भी उनके निर्माण में प्रभूत योग दिया[१]।

मध्यप्रदेश में साँची, विदिशा, भरहुत, तुमैन के अतिरिक्त कतिपय अन्य कला केन्द्रों में बुद्ध की प्रतिमायें, स्तूप, चैत्य, विहार आदि के प्रचुर अवशेष प्राप्त हुए हैं। उत्तर भारत में मथुरा, सारनाथ, बोधगया, वैशाली आदि महत्त्वपूर्ण कला केन्द्र थे। यहाँ कनिष्क के शासनकाल (७८–१०१ ई०) के प्रारम्भ से बोधिसत्त्व और बुद्ध की बहुसंख्यक प्रतिमाओं का निर्माण होने लगा था। ये मूर्तियां दो प्रकार की मिली हैं– १ स्थानक (खड़ी हुई) तथा २ आसनस्थ (पद्मासन पर बैठी हुई)। ज्ञान या संबोधि–प्राप्ति के पहले बुद्ध की संज्ञा "बोधिसत्त्व" थी और उसके पश्चात् बुद्ध हुई। बोधिसत्त्व को मुकुट, ग्रैवेयक आदि विविध आभूषणों से अलंकृत राजवेश में दिखाया जाता है, पर बुद्ध को इनसे रहित केवल वस्त्र (चीवर) धारण किए हुए। बुद्ध के सिर पर जटाजूट (उष्णीश) रहता है, जो उनके बुद्धत्त्व या ज्ञान सम्पन्नता का सूचक है। गौतम बुद्ध के पहले अनेक बुद्धों के होने की कल्पना बौद्ध मत में है। भगवान् बुद्ध के पूर्व जन्म की कथाएँ "जातक" कहलाती हैं। इन कथानकों के अनुसार गौतम के रूप में जन्म लेने के पूर्व बुद्ध अनेक योनियों में बिचरे थे। भरहुत, साँची, बोधगया, गान्धार, मथुरा, अमरावती, सारनाथ, तुमैन (जिला गुना), मल्हार आदि की कला में जातक कथानकों को पाषाण–कला के माध्यम से स्थापित किया गया है[२]।

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१. नलिनाक्ष दत्त तथा कृष्णदत्त बाजपेयी : उत्तरप्रदेश में बौद्ध–धर्म का विकास

२. कृष्णदत्त बाजपेयी, : भारतीय कला को बौद्ध–धर्म का योगदान, यू.जी.सी. अखिल भारतीय बौद्ध–धर्म संगोष्ठी, दर्शन–विभाग, सागर विश्वविद्यालय,सागर (पठित शोध–पत्र,)

दक्षिण कोसल (छत्तीसगढ़) के प्रमुख कला केन्द्र सिरपुर, जिला रायपुर के उत्खनन से दुर्लभ बौद्ध–प्रतिमाएँ, चैत्य तथा विहारों के अवशेष प्रकाश में आए हैं, जो आठवीं शती से लेकर बारहवीं शती के मध्य में हैं। इसी प्रकार बिलासपुर जिले में स्थित मल्हार तथा उसके आसपास के भू–भाग में बौद्ध–प्रतिमाओं तथा चैत्य–विहारों का प्रचुर निर्माण हुआ। ये सभी बौद्ध–कलावशेष ईसवी सातवीं शती से दसवीं शती के मध्य के हैं। इस काल की प्रमुख बौद्ध–प्रतिमाओं में बुद्ध, बोधिसत्त्व, तारा, मंजु हेवज्र आदि अनेक देवी–देवताओं की प्रतिमायें बनीं। बस्तर (जगदलपुर) क्षेत्र के सर्वेक्षण[३] से केशकाल के समीप गुबरहिन (गढ़धनौरा) ग्राम में दो बौद्ध–स्तूपों की खोज की गयी है। मध्यप्रदेश शासन के पुरातत्त्व एवं संग्रहालय विभाग द्वारा इन स्तूपों की सफाई तथा संरक्षण का कार्य कराया जा रहा है। भोंगापाल में बड़े आकार की पकी ईटों से निर्मित बौद्ध–स्तूप के अवशेष विद्यमान हैं। इस बड़े स्तूप के आसपास कई अन्य छोटे आकार के स्तूप भी रहे हैं।

भोंगापाल में ध्यानस्थ बुद्ध की प्रतिमा भी मिली है। मूर्तिकला की दृष्टि से बुद्ध की विवेच्य प्रतिमा गुप्तोत्तरकालीन कला से साम्य रखती है। पकी ईटों से निर्मित चैत्य–विहारों के अवशेष बस्तर के समीप जैतगिरि में देखने को मिलते हैं। गुबरहिन, भोंगापाल तथा जैतगिरि के बौद्ध–कलावशेषों से ज्ञात होता है कि सुदूर बस्तर क्षेत्र में बौद्ध–मत का प्रसार गुप्तकाल अथवा परवर्ती गुप्तकाल में हो गया था। रायपुर नगर से उत्तर–पूर्व लगभग ५५ कि.मी. दूर महानदी के दाहिने तट पर सिरपुर (श्रीपुर) गाँव बसा हुआ है। यह महासमुद्र तहसील के अन्तर्गत आता है। डॉ० मोरेश्वर गंगाधर दीक्षित[४] ने सिरपुर में १९५३ से ५६ तक उत्खनन कार्य कराया था। यहाँ के टीलों के उत्खनन से बौद्ध–विहार, चैत्य, स्तूप, पाषाण और धातु की बौद्ध–प्रतिमाएँ तथा दैनिक उपयोग की अन्य पुरा–वस्तुएँ प्राप्त हुई हैं। बौद्ध–विहारों की सुविस्तृत रूपरेखा से ज्ञात होता है कि यहाँ विकसित योजना के आधार पर निर्माण–कार्य कराया गया। यहीं से बुद्ध की विशालकाय प्रतिमा भी मिली थी, जो भूमि स्पर्श मुद्रा में है। बौद्ध–धर्म से सम्बन्धित मैत्रेय, अवलोकितेश्वर, बोधिसत्त्व, स्वर्णादित्य आदि की प्रतिमायें प्रमुख हैं। सिरपुर के उत्खनन से भूमिस्पर्श तथा वरदमुद्रा में बुद्ध–प्रतिमायें, पद्मासन में आसीन बुद्ध, धर्ममक्र प्रवर्तन मुद्रा सहित बुद्ध, वज्रपाणि, तारा और अवलोकितेश्वर के साथ बौद्ध मंजु, तारा, आदि प्रतिमायें उल्लेखनीय हैं, जो अब महंत घासीदास स्मारक संग्रहालय, रायपुर में संरक्षित हैं। ये सभी बौद्ध–कलावशेष ईसवी आठवीं शती से लेकर ईसवी बारहवीं शती के मध्य के हैं। पकी मिट्टी से निर्मित मृण्मुद्राओं में द्वादशभुज अवलोकितेश्वर, भूमि–स्पर्श मुद्रा में आसीन बुद्ध की प्रतिमायें कलात्मक हैं[५]।

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३. विवेकदत्त झा, : उत्तरी बस्तर–क्षेत्र का सर्वेक्षण–प्रतिवेदन (१९८४–८५ तथा ८५–८६) प्रा. भारतीय इतिहास, संस्कृति तथा पुरातत्त्व विभाग, विश्वविद्यालय, सागर

४. इण्डियन आर्केलाजी–ए रिव्यू १९५३–५४ पृ. १२ चित्र १० बी. डी. (नई दिल्ली), वही, १९५४–५५, पृ. २४–२६,चित्र ४८–४९ तथा चित्र ६. वही, १९५५–५६,पृ.२६–२७.एस. एल. कटारे, एक्सवेशन्स ऐट सरपुरः इ.हि. क्वा. भाग ३५,अंक १, मार्च,१९३५; प्रगति (म.प्र. शासन) जनवरी–फरवरी, १९५६, पृ. १२; **शुक्ल अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थ**, पृ.१८४–१९१; मध्यप्रदेश के पुरातत्त्व का सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ, हि.ग्र. अकादमी (भोपाल), १९७४, पृ. ६४१–६४३

५. बालचन्द्र जैन, : महन्त घासीदास स्मारक संग्रहालय सूचीपत्र, भाग २ (पाषाण–प्रतिमायें) पृ. १. से ४; चित्रफलक १ तथा २ (रायपुर, १९६०); **वही, : पुरातत्त्व उपविभाग प्रदर्शिका**, पृ० २८–३० चित्रफलक ४,६,१२ तथा १५ (रायपुर)

सिरपुर तथा आरंग से प्राप्त प्रस्तर तथा धातु की बौद्ध-मूर्तियां असाधारण कलात्मक शैली के कारण अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण हैं। ऐसी सम्भावना व्यक्त की गयी है कि इन मूर्तियों की निर्माण–कला "नालंदा कला–शैली" से प्रभावित रही है।[६]

भवदेव रणकेसरी के शिलालेख[७] से ज्ञात होता है कि भांदक में पाण्डुवंश के पहले सूर्यघोष नाम के शासक ने अपने पुत्र की स्मृति में शाक्यमुनि बुद्ध के एक मन्दिर का निर्माण कराया था। उस मन्दिर का जीर्णोद्धार भवदेव रणकेसरी ने कराया था। इस शिलालेख में बुद्ध के जिन, तायी और सुगत आदि नामों का उल्लेख है। मिराशी जी ने इस शिलालेख का प्राप्ति–स्थल आरंग (रायपुर) माना है। महाशिवगुप्त बालार्जुन (ईसवी ५६५–६५५ तक) के मल्हार सें प्राप्त ताम्रपत्र लेख[८] में बौद्धसंघ को कैलाशपुर (वर्तमान केसला) नामक ग्राम बिहारिका मठ के लिए दान में देने का उल्लेख है। इसी राजा के समय में उसकी राजधानी श्रीपुर (सिरपुर) में अनेक बौद्ध विहारों का निर्माण हुआ। बौद्ध–मन्दिरों, विहारों तथा बौद्ध–भिक्षुओं का उल्लेख करने वाले शिलालेख सिरपुर में मिले हैं। सिरपुर–उत्खनन से प्राप्त १४ पंक्तियों का लेख[९] उल्लेखनीय है, जिसमें आनन्दप्रभु नामक एक भिक्षु द्वारा महाशिवगुप्त के शासनकाल में एक बौद्ध–मठ बनवाने का उल्लेख है। राजा ने मठ में निवास करने वाले भिक्षुओं के भोजन आदि के लिये एक सत्र की व्यवस्था की थी।

कोनी (बिलासपुर) के शिलालेख में उल्लेख मिलता है कि उसके रचनाकार कोशल को बौद्ध त्रिरत्न–बुद्ध, धर्म और संघ की जानकारी थी और उसने बुद्ध के आगम–ग्रन्थों का अध्ययन किया था।[१०] मल्हार (जिला बिलासपुर) से प्राकृत भाषा में एक स्मृतिस्तम्भ लेख सन् १९८० के आसपास तत्कालीन रजिस्ट्रेशन अधिकारी, श्री आनन्द कुमार रिसबुड को प्राप्त हुआ था। डॉ० भास्करनाथ मिश्र[११] (भोपाल) ने इस स्मृति–स्तम्भलेख का अभिज्ञान इस प्रकार किया है:

पंक्ति – १. रधिक (म) स उपझायं
पंक्ति – २. धाकलतस मझिमस
पंक्ति – ३. णिकस नणकस
पंक्ति – ४. इसिनाग चि (तम्)

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६. वही, सूचीपत्र, भाग–३ (धातु–प्रतिमायें) पृ. १ से ८ तक चित्रफलकं २ से ७ तक १०.

७. बालचन्द्रजैन, : **उत्कीर्ण- लेख,** (सूचीपत्र भाग–६) पृ. २८ से ३६ तथा ३७,३८ आदि, रायपुर, १९६१; **एपिग्राफिया इण्डिका,** जिल्द २३, पृ. ११६–१७ और जिल्द २६, पृ. २२७.

८. व्ही.व्ही.,मिराशी, तथा लोचनप्रसाद पाण्डेय, **एपिग्राफिया इण्डिका,** जिल्द, २३, पृ. १३३ इत्यादि; **उत्कीर्ण- लेख,** पृ. ४४–४८ तथा चित्रफलक २१, २२ और २३ (क).

९. वही, : **एपिग्राफिया इण्डिका,** जिल्द २३, पृ. ११३; जिल्द ३१, पृ. १९७–९८ ; **शुक्ल अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थ,** पृ. १८६–१८६; **प्राचीन छत्तीसगढ़,** पृ.६०–६१ तथा २०५ (रायपुर १९७३).

१०. प्यारेलाल गुप्त, **प्राचीन छत्तीसगढ़,** पृ. २१०११.

११. भास्करनाथ मिश्र, : ए नोट ऑन दि सो काल्ड बुद्धिस्ट इनिस्क्रप्शन ऑन दि स्टोन स्लैब फ्राम मल्हार, **प्राच्य–प्रतिभा,** अंक १२ (भाग १ तथा २) पृ. ११५–१८ (भोपाल, १९८४).

यहाँ बौद्ध आचार्य रधिक (उपाध्याय) के अतिरिक्त पाँच बौद्ध–शिष्यों–धाकलत, मझिम, णिक, नणक, इसिनाग – का नामोल्लेख इस क्षेत्र में सद्धर्म की प्राचीनता की दृष्टि से अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण है। लिपि के आधार पर इस स्मृति–स्तम्भलेख का समय ईसवी प्रथम–द्वितीय शती का माना गया है। यह स्मृति–लेख बौद्ध आचार्य सहित उसके पाँच शिष्यों (भिक्षुओं) के कायिक अवशेषों के ऊपर स्मृति–स्वरूप स्थापित किया गया प्रतीत होता है।

परंतु डॉ० श्यामकुमार पाण्डेय (सागर) इस स्मृति फलक का अभिज्ञान करते हुए इसे बौद्ध--मत के स्थान पर हिन्दू–मत से संबंधित मानते हैं और कालक्रम की दृष्टि से इसे ईसवी प्रथम शती के अंतिम चरण का निरूपित करते हैं।

चीनी यात्री ह्वेनसांग के विवरण से ज्ञात होता है कि दक्षिण–कोशल की राजधानी में मौर्य सम्राट् अशोक के द्वारा निर्मित एक प्राचीन स्तूप था, जिससे जुड़े हुए संघाराम में नागार्जुन बोधिसत्त्व निवास करते थे। उस समय सातवाह अथवा सद्वाह नाम का राजा शासन करता था और वह नागार्जुन का भक्त था। यहीं सिंहल से आये हुए देव बोधिसत्त्व ने नागार्जुन के दर्शन किये थे। सातवाहन राजा ने नागार्जुन के लिए एक संघाराम का निर्माण कराया था।[१२] नागार्जुन के कारण सुदूर चीन तथा सिंहल द्वीप में भी कोशल का नाम विख्यात था। चीनी भाषा में इनके ग्रन्थों का अनुवाद भी किया गया था। चीन प्रवासी कुमार जीव नामक विद्वान् ने नागार्जुन के संस्कृत जीवनचरित का अनुवाद चीनी भाषा में ईसवी ४०५ में किया था। नागपुर के निकट स्थित "रामटेक पहाड़ी की नागार्जुन गुफा" इस महायान बौद्ध--सम्प्रदाय के विख्यात् विद्वान् का स्मरण दिलाती है।[१३]

मल्हार ग्राम (जिला बिलासपुर) के स्थानीय संग्रहालय में जैतपुर ग्राम तथा आसपास के क्षेत्रों से एकत्रित की गई बौद्ध–प्रतिमाएँ, बौद्ध जन्म--सम्बन्धी कथानक--फलक, जातक कथानक–स्तम्भों तथा अन्य शिल्पावशेषों का प्रचुर संग्रह है। विवेच्य क्षेत्र में वैदिक मत (शैव, वैष्णव तथा शाक्त) के साथ–साथ बौद्ध तथ जैन मतों का प्रचुर विकास देखने को मिलता है, जिससे इस बात की पुष्टि होती है कि हिन्दू–धर्म ने बुद्ध को आत्मसात् करके उन्हें विष्णु का एक अवतार माना। दूसरी ओर बौद्धों ने बोधिसत्त्व अवलोकितेश्वर का समीकरण हिन्दू देवताओं ब्रह्मा, इन्द्र और शिव – के साथ किया।[१४] प्रसंगवश उल्लेखनीय है कि बौद्धों पर ब्राह्मण विचारधारा के प्रभाव को डॉ० राधाकुमुद मुकर्जी भी स्वीकार करते हैं।[१५]

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१२. गोविन्दचंन्द्र पाण्डेय : **बौद्ध-धर्म के विकास का इतिहास**, पृ. ३६६ (हिन्दी समिति, सूचना विभाग, लखनऊ)१६७६ (वाटर्स, जिल्द २, पृ. २००–२०६).

१३. **शुक्ल अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थ**, इतिहास खण्ड, पृ. १५,१६५५; प्राचीन छत्तीसगढ़, पृ. ४७–४८ (रायपुर, १६७३).

१४. विण्टरनिट्ज : **ए हिस्ट्री ऑफ इण्डियन लिटरेचर**, पृ. ८–३० ; राजेन्द्र विहारी पाण्डेय, : प्रारम्भिक बौद्ध-- धर्म तथा ब्राह्मण–धर्म, **बुलेटिन ऑफ ऐंश्येंट इण्डियन हिस्ट्री एण्ड आर्केलॉजी**, अंक १, पृ. ८६–६६ (सागर विश्वविद्यालय, १६६७).

१५. राधाकुमुद मुकर्जी : **हिन्दू-सभ्यता**, पृ. २५१.

प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास, संस्कृति तथा पुरातत्त्व विभाग, सागर विश्वविद्यालय द्वारा प्रोफेसर के.डी. बाजपेयी के निर्देशन में मल्हार में वर्ष १६७५ से १६७७ तक कराये गये उत्खननों में बौद्ध–प्रतिमायें, चैत्य तथा विहारों के प्रचुर अवशेष प्राप्त हुए हैं।[१६] उत्खनन से प्राप्त विविध कालों से सम्बन्धित पुरा वस्तुओं, अभिलेखीय तथा साहित्यिक साक्ष्यों के आधार पर मल्हार के सांस्कृतिक कालक्रम को निम्नांकित पाँच भागों में बाँटा गया है :

प्रथमकाल : ईसा पूर्व लगभग १००० से मौर्यकाल के पूर्व तक.

द्वितीयकाल : मौर्य–सातवाहन–कुषाणकाल (ईसवी पूर्व ३२५ से ईसवी ३०० तक).

तृतीयकाल : शरभपुरीय तथा सोमवंशी काल (ईसवी ३०० से ईसवी ६५० तक).

चतुर्थकाल : परवर्ती सोमवंशी काल (ईस्वी ६५० से ईसवी १०० तक).

पंचमकाल : कलचुरि काल (ईसवी १०० से ईसवी १३०० तक).

मल्हार उत्खनन खदान संख्या–४ में एक बौद्ध–मन्दिर मिला है, जिसमें पकी ईटों से निर्मित एक ऊंचे चबूतरे के मध्य भाग में "हेवज्र" की प्रतिमा स्थापित है। इस मन्दिर के चारों ओर विशाल पत्थरों से निर्मित "प्रदक्षिणापथ" तथा बौद्ध–भिक्षुओं के सुविधापूर्ण आवास के लिये विहार आदि के अवशेष भी उत्खनन में मिले हैं। इस मन्दिर का बाह्य भाग सुदृढ़ बड़े पत्थरों की चौड़ी दीवालों से आवृत्त मिला है। इसी खदान के समकालीन स्तर से एक अण्डाकार पकी मिट्टी की मुहर मिली है, जिसके ऊपर तीन ओर "श्री कल्याणार्चिय" लेख खुदा है। लिपि के आधार पर यह मृण्मुद्रा लगभग ई. सातवीं शती की प्रतीत होती है। इसका निर्माण धार्मिक उपयोग के लिए किया गया होगा, जिसे बौद्ध–धर्मानुयायी गले में धारण करते रहे होंगे। इसके मध्य भाग में छेद है, जिसके अन्दर धागा पिरोकर आसानी से पहना जा सकता है।

मल्हार ग्राम से उत्तर की ओर जैतपुर (प्राचीन जयतिपुर या चौत्यपुर) नामक ग्राम के समीप एक खेत से बोधिसत्त्व की पाषाण प्रतिमा एक कृषक को प्राप्त हुई थी, जो सम्प्रति मल्हार के स्थानीय संग्रहालय में सुरक्षित है। उपरोक्त स्थल के समीप एक ऊंचे टीले पर उत्खनन–कार्य कराया गया था। यहाँ पर ११ मी. लंबी तथा ११ मी. चौड़ी खदान लगायी गई, जिसे खदान संख्या – ६ की संज्ञा दी गई। इस खदान के उत्खनन से बौद्ध–मंत्रों से युक्त बहुसंख्यक पकी मिट्टी की मुहरें प्राप्त हुई हैं, जिनमें क्रमशः पाँच, सात तथा नौ पंक्तियों में बाद्ध–मंत्र अंकित हैं, ये सभी मुहरें गोलाकार तथा कतिपय अण्डाकार हैं। इन बौद्ध–मंत्रों से युक्त मुहरों का उपयोग बौद्ध–धर्मानुयायियों द्वारा पूजा–अर्चना के लिये किया जाता था। इसी खदान के मध्य भाग में ६.६० मी. लम्बा तथा ७.४० मी. चौड़ा कुटी हुई ईटों तथा बजरी मिश्रित मजबूत फर्श मिला है, जिसके चारों ओर पत्थरों तथा पकी ईटों से निर्मित सुदृढ़ दीवारें, छोटे–छोटे कमरों के अवशेष मिले हैं, जिसमें बौद्ध–भिक्षु निवास करते थे। समीप ही सादे पाषाण–स्तम्भ भी प्राप्त हुए हैं, जो विवेच्य बौद्ध–मन्दिर के निर्माण में प्रयुक्त हुए हैं।

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१६. कृष्णदत्त बाजपेयी, तथा श्यामकुमार पाण्डेय, : मल्हार (उत्खनन प्रतिवेदन) प्रा.भ.इति. संस्कृति तथा पुरातत्त्व विभाग, सागर विश्वविद्यालय, सागर, पृ. १५–१७ (१६७८).

मल्हार संग्रहालय में संगृहीत प्रमुख बौद्ध-प्रतिमाएँ तथा अन्य शिल्पावशेष

१. बुद्ध-प्रतिमा (भूमि-स्पर्श मुद्रा) : जैतपुर ग्राम में एक भवन की भित्ति पर भूमि–स्पर्श मुद्रा में ध्यानी बद्ध की सुन्दर प्रतिमा पड़ी है। बुद्ध पद्मासीन पर आसीन हैं। सिर पर कुंचित केश (उष्णीष) हैं। शिरोभाग के पीछे सादा गोलाकार प्रभामण्डल है। दाहिना हाथ आसन के नीचे भूमि का स्पर्श करते हुए तथा बायाँ हाथ पद्मासन पर अवस्थित है। बुद्ध भगवान ध्यानस्थ होकर अखण्ड तपस्यारत हैं तथा भूमि से शक्ति अर्जित कर रहे हैं। प्रभाभण्डल के दोनों पार्श्वों में मकरमुख द्रष्टव्य है (समय–लगभग ई. ८वीं शती)।

२. बोधिसत्त्व : संग्रहालय में सुरक्षित बोधिसत्त्व की आसनस्थ प्रतिमा चतुर्भुजी है। सिर पर जटा–मुकुट है। मध्य के दोनों हाथ धर्म–चक्र प्रवर्तन मुद्रा में हैं। कानों में चक्राकार, कुण्डल गले में ग्रैवेयक, अलंकृत कमरबंध, केयूर तथा अन्य विविध अलंकरणों से सुसज्जित हैं। शिरोभाग के पीछे अण्डाकार अलंकृत प्रभामण्डल है। आसन पीठिका दुहरे कमल–पुष्पों से सुसज्जित है। आसन चौकी के नीचे सिंह, मानवाकृतियाँ तथा उपासक द्रष्टव्य हैं। विवेच्य प्रतिमा के ऊपरी भाग में पद्मासन पर आसीन विविध मुद्राओं में पाँच ध्यानी बुद्ध–प्रतिमाओं का अंकन है। दोनों पार्श्वो में तारा तथा मंजु द्रष्टव्य हैं। इनके साथ ही अन्य देवी–देवताओं का सुरुचिपूर्ण अंकन है। बोधिसत्त्व की विवेच्य प्रतिमा जैतपुर ग्राम के समीप एक खेत के अन्दर से प्राप्त हुई थी, जो अब मल्हार के स्थानीय संग्रहालय में सुरक्षित है (समय –ई. ८वीं शती)।

३. ध्यानी बुद्ध : एक अन्य पाषाण–फलक पर पद्मासन पर आसीन दो ध्यानी बुद्ध एक साथ भूमि–स्पर्श मुद्रा में दुहरे कमल की आसन–चौकी पर बैते दिखाये गये हैं (समय–ई. १०वीं शती)

४. इसी प्रकार एक अन्य पाषाण–फलक पर भगवान बुद्ध की प्रतिमा उत्कीर्ण है। वे कमल–पंखुड़ियों से युक्त आसन पर बैठे द्रष्टव्य हैं। बुद्ध भगवान् पीठासन के सहारे टिके हैं। विवेच्य प्रतिमा आकर्षक है (समय – ई. १०वीं शती)।

५. हेवज्र: उत्खनन खदान संख्या चार के बौद्ध–देवता "हेवज्र" की सिरविहीन प्रतिमा प्राप्त हुई है, जो एक ऊंचे चबूतरे के ऊपर स्थापित थी। विवेच्य प्रतिमा गौर पुरातत्त्व–संग्रहालय, सागर में संरक्षित है।

६. पद्मपाणि अवलोकितेश्वर: बाएँ हाथ में सनाल कमल लिए हुए वरदमुद्रा में प्रदर्शित बौद्ध–देव पद्मपाणि अवलोकितेश्वर की एक सुन्दर प्रतिमा संग्रहालय में है। उनके मस्तक पर ध्यानी बुद्ध अमिताभ हैं। ऊपर दोनों पार्श्वों में विविध मुद्राओं में बुद्ध की लघु आकृतियाँ द्रष्टव्य हैं (समय – ई. १०वी शती लगभग)।

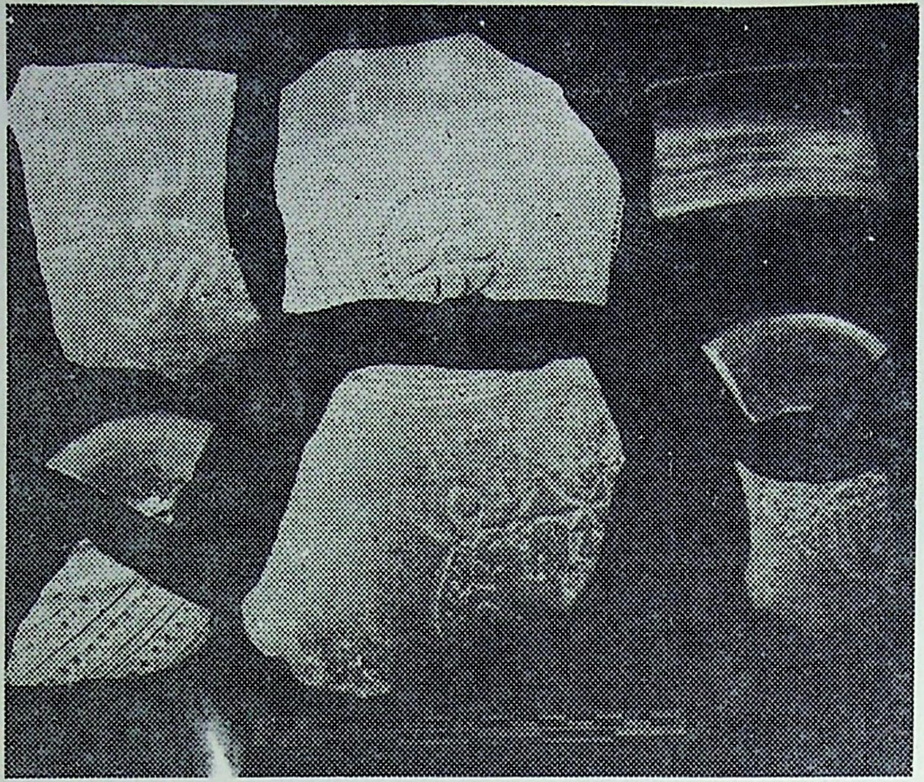
७. तारा देवी : बौद्ध – देवी तारा की एक चतुर्भुजी प्रतिमा संग्रहालय में है। उनके ऊपरी बाएँ हाथ में सनाल कमल तथा पीछे प्रभामण्डल है। ऊपरी बाएँ पार्श्वो में ध्यानी बुद्ध आसीन हैं। विवेच्य प्रतिमा विविध वस्त्राभरणों से सुसज्जित है। चरण–चौकी के नीचे एक आराधक बैठा है, जिसका शिरोभाग खण्डित है। (समय लगभग ई. १०वीं शती) ।



उलूक तथा कच्छप जातक-कथानकों
सहित अलंकृत स्तंभ, मल्हार
(जिला-बिलासपुर)
समय, ईस्वी 5वीं शती लगभग



मल्हार-उत्खनन से प्राप्त बौद्ध-देवता
'हेवज्र' की सिरविहीन प्रतिमा,
समय, ईस्वी 8वीं शती लगभग



नाल रंग के उत्खचित, चित्रित तथा ठप्पांकित (स्टैम्प्ड) मृद्भाण्ड, मल्हार-उत्खनन से प्राप्त
समय, ई॰ 7वीं–8वीं शती



बौद्ध-देवता जंभाल (कुबेर) की विविध अलंकरणों से सुशोभित प्रतिमा (सिरपुर, जिला रायपुर से प्राप्त)
समय, ईस्वी 8वीं शती
(सागर विश्वविद्यालय)



मल्हार-उत्खनन खदान संख्या 5 जिसमें बौद्ध-विहारों के अवशेष मिले हैं।
प्रस्तर तथा पकी ईंटों से निर्मित दीवार का दृश्य

समय, ईस्वी 7वीं–8वीं शती लगभग

८. **बौद्ध-जन्म कथानक पाषाण फलकः** संग्रहालय तथा मल्हार ग्राम में सुरक्षित गोलाकार स्तम्भों पर बुद्ध के जन्म–महोत्सव तथा जीवन–चरित्र सम्बन्धी कथानकों को सुरुचिपूर्ण ढंग से अंकित कर कलात्मक स्वरूप प्रदान किया गया है। एक फलक पर मायादेवी सहित अन्य दृश्यों का अंकन है। एक अन्य पाषाण–फलक पर बौद्ध–देवता की सिरविहीन प्रतिमा उत्कीर्ण हैं जिसके निचले भाग पर तीन स्त्रियों तथा दो पुरुषों की आकृतियाँ हैं (समय – ई. आठवीं शती)।

६. उत्खनन खदान संख्या–६ से दो अलग–अलग बुद्ध की लघु–प्रतिमाओं के खण्ड प्राप्त हुए हैं, जिनमें ऊपरी भाग की प्रतिमा में भगवान बुद्ध का सिर अवशिष्ट है। उनके सिर पर कुंचित केश प्रदर्शित है। मुख–मुद्रा में सौम्यभाव परिलक्षित है, शिरोभाग के पीछे अलंकृत प्रभामण्डल है, बाह्य पार्श्व में अर्धवृत्ताकार बौद्ध–मंत्रों से युक्त ठप्पांकन है। दूसरे खण्ड में अवशिष्ट बुद्ध प्रतिमा के अधोभाग को कमलासन के ऊपर (पदमासन में) अवस्थित दिखाया गया है। आसन के नीचे एक पंक्ति का बौद्ध–मंत्र उत्कीर्ण है। बाह्य भाग में बौद्ध–मंत्रों का ठप्पांकन है। उक्त दोनों लघु–प्रतिमाओं के अंश अलग–अलग बौद्ध–प्रतिमाओं के प्रतीत होते हैं, इनका निर्माणकला ई. आठवीं शती प्रतीत होता है।

१०. **बौद्ध-जातक कथानक-स्तम्भः** विविध बौद्ध जातक कथानकों से युक्त एक पाषाण–स्तम्भ सम्प्रति मल्हार निवासी बाबा भगवतदास के भवन की भित्ति पर चुना है। इस कलात्मक स्तम्भ में कच्छप तथा उलूकजातक के कथानकों का सुरुचिपूर्ण अंकन है। बायीं ओर के दृश्य में दो हंसों को आपस में एक लकड़ी के दोनों किनारों को अलग–अलग मुखों में दबाए हुए दिखाया गया है, जो उड़ने के भाव में अंकित हैं। लकड़ी के मध्य भाग को मुख में दबाए कछुवा (कच्छप) लटक रहा है। नीचे एक कच्छप भूमि पर पड़ा है। समीप ही कुछ बालक आश्चर्यभाव से कछुए की ओर देख रहे हैं। उसके दाहिने भाग में उलूक–जातक कथानक का शिल्पांकन है। इसमें एक उलूक को विविध पक्षियों के साथ अंकित किया गया है। इस दृश्य का अंकन अब अस्पष्ट है (समय – ई. ५वीं शती)।

मल्हार उत्खनन[१७] से ज्ञात तृतीय काल (ई. ३०० से ३५० तक) तक चतुर्थकाल (ई. ६५० से ईसवी १०० तक) से सम्बन्धित बौद्ध–मन्दिर , चैत्य–विहार,स्तूप के अवशेष, प्रदक्षिणापथ, बौद्ध–भिक्षुओं के आवास की कोठरियां, लघु आकार की बुद्ध, हेवज्र तथा बोधिसत्त्व प्रतिमा, भिक्षापात्र, धर्मकरकपात्र, जास्पर तथा क्रिस्टल के बने लघु आकार के पूजा–स्तूप, "श्री कल्याणार्चि" लेख अंकित आकर्षक तांत्रिक मनका, दैनिक उपयोग की पुरा–वस्तुएं, ठप्पांकित मृद्भाण्ड पकी मिट्टी की बहुसंख्यक अभिलिखित मृण्मुद्राओं आदि की उपलब्धि उल्लेखनीय है। इन मुद्राओं पर निम्नांकित बौद्ध–मंत्र उत्कीर्ण है :

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१७. वही,: मल्हार, पृ. ६,७,१३–१७; चित्रफलक ३,६,१२, (क), १४ (क), १५,१६(क), १७(क),३० इत्यादि। कृष्णकुमार त्रिपाठो, तथा रघुनंदन प्रसाद पाण्डेय, : मल्हार–दर्शन, छत्तीसगढ़ सांस्कृतिक मण्डल (भेल) भोपाल, १६८०. प्यारेलाल गुप्त, : प्राचीन छत्तीसगढ़ रायपुर, १६७३. कृष्णदत्त बाजपेयी, छत्तीसगढ़ के प्राचीन नगर, प्राच्य-प्रतिभा, अंक ६, संख्या २, पृ. १४५–५०, (जुलाई १६७८, भोपाल). श्यामकुमार पाण्डेयः आर्केलॉजी ऑफ छत्तीसगढ़, प्राच्य-प्रतिभा, अंक ५ संख्या–१, पृ. ६७–१०४ (जनवरी १६७७, भोपाल).सुशीलकुमार सुल्लेरे,: छत्तीसगढ़ की कला का सामाजिक एवं धार्मिक पक्ष, प्राच्य-प्रतिभा, अंक ६, संख्या– १, पृ. १९२–१३ (जनवरी १६७८, भोपाल).

"ये धम्मा हेतु प्रभाव हेतुं तेषां तथागतो।
ह्यवदंतेषांच यो निरोधएवं वादी महाश्रमण।।"

मल्हार–जैतपुर–बैटरी आदि ग्रामों के लगभग ४ किलोमीटर तक फैले परिवेश को देखने से ऐसा लगता है कि उपर्युक्त समयावधि में तत्कालीन जनमानस में – "बुद्धं शरणं गच्छामि, धम्मं शरणं गच्छामि, संघं शरणं गच्छामि"– का निरन्तर कितना धार्मिक भावपूर्ण और मधुर उद्घोष होता रहा होगा।

बिलासपुर जिले में मौर्य सातवाहनकालीन अनेक मृत्तिका गढ़ों की खोज सागर विश्वविद्यालय द्वारा की गयी है।[१८] मल्हार के उत्खनन में ईसवी दूसरी शती की ब्राह्मी लिपि में अभिलिखित मृण्मुद्रा मिली है, जिस पर "गामस कोसलीया" लेख पढ़ा गया है। वर्तमान कोसली या कोसला ग्राम मल्हार से १६ कि.मी. उत्तर–पूर्व में स्थित है। कोसला गाँव से पुराना गढ़ प्राचीर तथा परिखा आज भी विद्यमान है, जो उसकी पुरातनता को मौर्यकाल से पूर्व का निरूपित करती हैं। वहाँ कुषाण शासक विमकैडफाइसिस का एक सिक्का भी मिला है।[१९] **रामायण** तथा परवर्ती साहित्य से ज्ञात होता है कि राम ने अपने प्रवास में दण्डकारण्य जाने के लिये चित्रकूट से आगे जिस मार्ग का अनुसरण किया था वह शहडोल, बिलासपुर तथा रायपुर जिलों से होकर जाता था। यह मार्ग ईसवी चौथी शती तक पर्याप्त प्रचलित हो गया था।[२०]

मल्हार (जिला बिलासपुर) के परिखायुक्त प्राचीनगढ़ के सर्वेक्षण से तथा मल्हार–उत्खनन से कई नवीन सातवाहन शासकों के गजपृष्ठांकित सिक्के मिले हैं। मल्हार के आसपास के भू–भाग से कुषाण शासक विमकैडफाइसिस, मघ शासकों, मित्र नामांत वाले सिक्के, "श्रीशरभ" लेख सहित शरपुरीयवंश के संस्थापक "श्रीशरभ" के दुर्लभ सिक्के डॉ० श्याम कुमार पाण्डेय (सागर) के निजी संग्रह में देखने को मिले हैं।[२१]

मल्हार के प्राचीनगढ़ के सर्वेक्षण से प्राप्त सातवाहन शासक "वेदश्री" की मृण्मुद्रा तथा आपीलक का सिक्का आदि उल्लेखनीय है। किरारी का काष्ठ–स्तम्भलेख (ईसवी प्रथम शती), कुमार वरदत्त का प्राकृत भाषा में उत्कीर्ण गुंजी–शिलालेख (ईसवी प्रथम शती), मल्हार (चकरबेड़ा) से प्राप्त रोमन सिक्के तथा बालपुर से प्राप्त आपीलक का सिक्का आदि बिलासपुर क्षेत्र के आरम्भिक इतिहास पर प्रभूत प्रकाश डालते हैं।[२२] अशोक के समय के लेख सरगुजा

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१८. मल्हार, पृ. ४ तथा ५ (१९७५–७८), सागर विश्वविद्यालय, सागर

१९. उत्कीर्ण लेख (रायपुर, १९६१) प्राक्कथन (परिचय), पृ. दो–तीन इत्यादि. प्राचीन छत्तीसगढ़ पृ. ७,४६–४८ (रायपुर, १९७३).

२०. वही.

२१. सातवाहन, मघ शासकों मित्र–नामांत तथा "श्रीशरभ" लेखयुक्त सिक्के मल्हार से विगत् वर्षों में प्राप्त हुए हैं। ये सिक्के मल्हार निवासी श्री गुलाबसिंह के माध्यम से डॉ० श्यामकुमार पाण्डेय को उपलब्ध हुए हैं (डॉ० श्यामकुमार पाण्डेय से सूचना प्राप्ति के आधार पर).

२२. उत्कीर्ण लेख, पृ. २ तथा ३; तथा प्राचीन छत्तीसगढ़, पृ. ७,३६–४८.

जिले में रामगढ़ की सीताबोंगरा और जोगीमारा नामक गुफाओं में पाये गये हैं।[२३] मल्हार से प्राप्त ईसवी प्रथम–द्वितीय शताब्दी का बौद्ध–स्मृति स्तम्भ लेख, महाशिवगुप्त बालार्जुन का मल्हार अभिलेख (ईसवी ५६५–६५५) तथा मल्हार–उत्खनन से प्रकाश में लाये गये प्रचुर बौद्ध–कलावशेष इस ओर संकेत करते हैं कि दक्षिण–कोसल की राजधानी मल्हार में बौद्धमत का विकास मौर्य–सातवाहन काल में हो गया था। तत्पश्चात् ईसवी सातवीं शती से लेकर ईसवी दसवीं शती तक वज्रयान शाखा का वर्चस्व रहा। महाशिवगुप्त के समय से लेकर मल्हार (जिला बिलासपुर) तथा सिरपुर (जिला रायपुर) वज्रयानी बौद्ध–सम्प्रदाय के दो बड़े केन्द्र थे। इन दोनों बौद्ध–धर्म के केन्द्रों सहित दक्षिण–कोसल के भू–भाग में बौद्ध–मत का सुविकसित स्वरूप दिखायी देता है। कलचुरियों के समय (ईसवी ११वीं–१३वीं) शताब्दी में धार्मिक सहिष्णुता के फलस्वरूप वैदिक मत के साथ–साथ बौद्ध–देवी–देवताओं की प्रतिमाओं का भी निर्माण कराया जाता रहा । सिरपुर में आरम्भिक मूल बौद्ध–धर्म तथा इतिहास से सम्बन्धित प्रमाण बहुत कम मिले हैं।

ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि मौर्य सम्राट् अशोक की कलिंग–विजय के पश्चात् दक्षिण कोसल (छत्तीसगढ़) क्षेत्र में बौद्ध–धर्म का विकास हो चुका था। चीनी यात्री ह्वेनसांग (ईसवी ६१६) के उल्लेख के अनुसार सम्राट् अशोक ने दक्षिण कोसल की राजधानी में स्तूप का निर्माण सम्भवतः मल्हार में कराया था। मौर्य सातवाहन, कुषाण, मघ, मित्रनामांत शासक, शरभपुरीय, सोमवंशी, कलचुरि आदि शासकों से सम्बन्धित प्राचीन सिक्के, अभिलेख, ताम्रपत्र, शिलालेख तथा अन्य पुरावस्तुओं के साथ–साथ बौद्धमत से सम्बन्धित विपुल पुरावशेष मल्हार तथा बिलासपुर के भू–भाग से प्रकाश में आये हैं। इन पुरातत्त्वीय प्रमाणों के आधार पर ऐसी धारणा बनती है कि छत्तीसगढ़ क्षेत्र में "मल्हार" बौद्धमत का आरम्भिक केन्द्र बन गया था। बौद्धमत के महान् दार्शनिक नागार्जुन ने सातवाहन शासनकाल में , संघाराम में रहकर यहीं से बौद्ध–दर्शन का प्रसार दक्षिण कोसल के सुविस्तृत भू–भाग में किया होगा। नागपुर के समीप स्थित "रामटेक पहाड़ी की नागार्जुन गुफा" का नामकरण कालान्तर में किया गया प्रतीत होता है। मल्हार के प्राचीनगढ़, भसरों तथा जैतपुर के विस्तृत क्षेत्र में बौद्धमत के प्रसार के परिप्रेक्ष्य में अभी गहन अन्वेषण, पुरातत्त्वीय सर्वेक्षण तथा उत्खनन–कार्य की नितान्त आवश्यकता है। उड़ीसा क्षेत्र, बस्तर–जगदलपुर, रायगढ़, रायपुर (सिरपुर, तुरतुरिया, आरंग) तथा बिलासपुर के अनेक कला केन्द्रों के व्यवस्थित सर्वेक्षण एवं अध्ययन से "दक्षिण कोसल में बौद्धमत" के प्रसार–विषयक और अधिक प्रामाणिक पुरातत्त्वीय सामग्री उपलब्ध होने की सम्भावना है।

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२३. प्राचीन छत्तीसगढ़ पृ. ३५–३६ आदि, उत्कीर्ण-लेख, परिचय, पृ. २–३; चित्रफल एक, दो, तीन, उन्नीस, बीस, इक्कीस, बाईस, तेईस (क), उन्चास, चौवन (क) तथा (ख) आदि।

SOCIO–ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF INDIA AS DEPICTED IN THE MAHĀVASTU.

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Mahāvastu[1] is one of the most important text which still belongs to the old school of the Hīnayāna. The work claims to be the book of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, the text of the Lokottaravādins belonging to the Mahāsānghikas.[2] It is generally agreed that the Mahāsānghikas are the follower of Mahasangha the earliest schismatics. A sub. section of them are the Lokottaravādins who belong to the Madhyadeśa and declare the Buddhas to be Lokottara above the world and follow the worldly life only externally.[3]

In agreement with this doctrine ṭhe biography is given as an 'avadāna' a miracle story though it does not differ much from the books of Pāli canon.

Mahāvastu though describes itself a text of *Vinaya Piṭaka* but except for a few remarks on admission to the order and history of the earliest conversions with the origin of the community of monks it contains practically nothing about the actual *Vinaya*, the rules of the order. Apart from being a place of literature and art the *Mahāvastu* is rather a labynnth in which the thread of connected story of life of the Buddha can be traced with difficulty. The narrative are oftenly interrupted through numerous Jātakas and avadānas as well as dogmatic Sūtras. Even Jātaka or an episode is sometime repeated in prose and verse form. Even at different places, an episode recur with little variations. The whole work prose as well as verse is written in mixed Sanskrit.

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1. Par. E. SENART, *Le Mahāvastu* Paris L' Imprimerie Nationale 1882-1897 Reprint 1977, 3V.
2. *MVU.* 1, P - 2.
3. *MVU*. 1, P - 159.

The main contents of this text are the biographical accounts of the Buddha's life, stories relating to his former existences and narratives about the disciples and devotees. It contains exposition of teachings of Buddha. Although it belongs to the Hīnayāna and contains much that occur in Pāli texts yet its contents such as description of ten Bhūmis and miraculor traits of Buddha's life make it closer to Mahāyāna.

It also represents the spirits of the Mahāyāna when it is said "the purity of the Buddha is so great that even the worship of the exalted one leads to the attainment of Nirvāṇa".[4] Worshipping of Buddhas and even adoring or honouring stūpas containing the relics is the surest path leading not only to wordly happiness but also to Nirvāṇa[5].

Scholars on the basis of stylistic pecularities have tried to fix the period of its composition. It is evident that the work is not the composition of a single author written in a well defined period. As it is written entirely in mixed Sanskrit and contains numerous pieces common to Pāli canon and Mahāyānic features seem to be influenced by the Gandhāra Art.[6]

This presumption is based on the reference to the halo of the Buddha.[7] The text makes mention of the Huṇas and Chinese language as well as of Yogācāra[8]. Winternitz thus concluded that "The nucleus of the work is very old and has originated already in the 2nd cent. B.C. although enlarged even as late as in 4th cent. A.D. and even still later through additions and interpolations".[9]

MVU presents the perfect panorama of the Pre-Buddhist and early Buddhist Indian society. Besides consisting the life of the Buddha it contains elements for a mosaic of the ancient Indian society which are found in the form of references to the contemporary society. It is essential to know how *MVU*

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4. *MVU*, II P - 362.
5. *MVU*, III P - 373.
6. Maurice. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Tr. from German by V. Srinivasa Sharma. Reserved Ed. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas, 1983. P - 237.
7. *MVU*, II P- 44.
8. *MVU*, I P- 120.
9. Winternitz *op. cit.*, P - 238.

depicts Jambūdvīpa with its divisions and administration along with social structure.

JAMBŪDVĪPA : Four great continents well-known to earlier Buddhist tradition are referred to variously in *MVU*.[10] These occupy to the south of Sumeru, Pūrvavideha to the east, Aparagodaniya to the west and Uttara-Kuru towards the north. Jambūdvīpa is referred to as indisputable, prosperous and noblest among the four continents[11]. Its stūpa is described resembling the bullock - cart with its face towards the south[12]. People inhabiting its different provinces furnished a sense of unity and brotherhood inspite of separate entity and tribes.

MVU refers to four divisions of Madhyadeśa and pratyantika. *MVU* does not explain the borders of Madhyadeśa which included all the cultured and richest parts and Pratyantika which was not so much developed.[13] The ethnological division of Āryāvarta and Mleccha janapada is Pre-Buddhist and *MVU* refers to this division but not in detail. *MVU* refers to the third division based on trade routes which is connected with Madhyadeśa and the lands towards its north and south were called uttarapatha and Dakṣiṇapatha Pūrvadeśa and Aparanta.[14]

Sixteen great provinces Mahājanpadas are enumerated in this text viz. Aṅga, Magadha. Vajji, Malla, Kāśī, Kośla, Chedi, Vatsa, Matsya, Sūrasena, Kuru, Pañcāla, Śivi, Daśārṇa Aśvaka and Avanti[15]. *MVU* is the only Buddhist Sanskrit text which preserves this complete list.[16] This list could not remain stable through centuries due to political conditions. In *MVU* we find details about people and kings of these Janapadas. *MVU* presents like other later works a glorious picture of wealth and prosperity of Kapilavastu[17] which is not

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10. *MVU*, II P - 158, I, P - 49.
11. *MVU*, II, P - 15.
12. *MVU*, III P - 208.
13. *MVU*, III P - 258.
14. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, Varanasi P - 8.
15. *MVU*, I, P - 34.
16. Angane Lal, Sanskrit Buddha Sāhitya men Bhāratīya Jīvana. Lucknow, 1967, P- 23.
17. *MVU*, II P - 35.

realistic. The Sākya Janapada or Sākya rāṣṭra was an agricultural land as self governing political unit.[18]

Administration :

Two types of administration viz. monarchies and aristocratic republics are mentioned of that time. *MVU* specifies the powerful royal clans in Magadha, Kośala, Avanti and Vatsa as well as republic governments in the territories of the Vajjis, the Mallas and the Sākyas, all of the easter Madhyadeśa.

In Monarchic Janapada king is termed as most important figure and his prominent duty is to give orders and to direct the subjects as he feels proper.

"Rājñā Janasya āṇattī dātavyā"[19]

To punish the wrong doer and to reward the derserving one is specified as the fundamental duty of the king, as a barber for his skill is rewarded with a village.[20] And a merchant suspected for burglary in the palace condemned to death[21]. *MVU* enumerated clearly the *Rājadharma* which indicates the Indian society of that time had in its progression well defined and well regulated code or politics consisting of duties, responsibilities and privileges of the administration out of the five powers of the king 'Pañcabala'.[22]

The son as a successor to the throne was considered very important. The crown prince should be virtuous, powerful, sociable and be loved by the people.[23]

King in the old age abdicated the throne in favour of his son as referred to in MVU.[24] Kings and prince are leading luxurious and comfortable life. *MVU* does not provide an authentic description of palace. Ministers played very important role in the administration of the king and are referred to as *rājakartā*[25].

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18. *MVU*, II P - 74 & 189.
19. *MVU*, III P - 172.
20. *MVU*, III P - 191.
21. *MVU*, II P - 168.
22. *MVU*, I P - 280.
23. *MVU*, II P - 64.
24. *MVU*, II P - 95.
25. *MVU*, II P - 207.

Purohita the royal adviser played an active role in the administrative matters. He was regarded the preceptor of the king. The four division of army infantry, the cavalry, the charioteers and the worriors on eleplants are referred to in MVU.[26] Army controllers are called *Bhata balagra*. The picture present in this text about the punishment by the king to the culprits is horrible and may be termed uncivilized today. Gruesome tortures are referred to as culprit was deprived of his eyes, ears, nose, tongue etc. Theieves were given capital punishment "Jyeṣṭha - daṇḍe"[27]

Aristocratic republican system of that society was another established government system. It is referred to by the word 'gaṇa'.

Such governments are mentioned in lands of Licchivis and the Śākayas though they do not appear to have achieved the status of full fledged republics as its real sense. They were using the royal insignia of *Pañca - Kakuda* and using the term rājā. Unity was its remarkable characteristic which was its basis for existence. Decisions were taken after discussions attended by all leading members. *MVU* refers to the mote-hall of the Śākyas where regular meetings were held[28]. Rājā Śuddhodana is called *Kulavaṃśamukhiya* "*Anihata Kulavaṃśamukhyasya Śuddhodanapi Rājā*".[29]

Society and its structure :

MVU presents the society which was at the stage of transition between the simple society of Vedic age and complex unit of post Buddhist periods. Society of that time was a happy composite of many groups of people from different social strata, without their difference of culture and political units. As from other sources society at that time was divided into four castes "*Varṇa, Jāti, Gotra*" viz Kṣatriyas, Brāhmaṇas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras[30] while cāṇḍāla and pukkusas were out castes. Kṣatriyas and Brāhmaṇas castes were considered as high[31] Vaiśyas were having high social status but references are found rarely of

26. *MVU,* II P - 282.
27. *MVU,* III P - 166.
28. *MVU,* I P - 354.
29. *MVU,* II P - 28.
30. *MVU,* II P - 139.
31. *MVU,* III P - 183.

the fourth castes 'Śūdras'. Caste of the person could be deducted by his appearance but some exceptions are also mentioned as 'Asita' the sage was of dark complextion and Kusa of high caste had repulsive appearance and for which he faced number of problems.

> *"Śyāmo Asita varṇena paṇḍito nipuṇo medhāvi"*
> *" Putrojāṭa duvarno durdriśo sthūloṣṭho*
> *na icchāmi edṛśaṃ draṣṭuṃ"*[32]

MVU, though a text of Buddhist tradition where all men are equal, acknowledges the caste distinctions and social discrimination of high *Ucca* and the low *nīca*. It also maintains that men of Ucca 'high' caste possessed of prosperity etc. due to merits acquired by their acts in previous life.[33]

Kṣatriyas, caste was a richest group in that society and free to adopt any other profession. Brāhmaṇas had a strong and influencial hold in the society as the Education was in their hands. They enjoyed comfortable life as an wealthy, respectful group of the society.[34] Vaiśyas enjoyed dignified position in that society and number of them were called 'Śreṣṭhis' due to their hold on trade and commerce. This class as depicted supported the Buddhism materially as well as morally. Śūdras were treated as worthless low borns and followed livelihood as of barbers, potters, fishers, blacksmithes etc. It is elaborated that they were born in low caste due to their sinful deeds in previous lives : *Hinakula bhogavamca*[35].

MVU also mentions the people of lowest section as venas, paṇas, Pukkusas and cāṇḍālās. Cāṇḍālās are depicted as earning their livelihood by burning the dead bodies[36].

Social Life: Indian society of that time was more rural than urban - though MVU speaks of numerous cities like varāṇasī, Takṣaśilā, Śravastī etc. Life in city was more comfortable than that of village which were more in numbers. Rich citizens are described to be possessed of mansions as per

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32. *MVU,* II P - 30.
33. *MVU,* II P - 395.
34. *MVU,* III P - 56.
35. *MVU,* II P - 371.
36. *MVU,* II P - 173.

seasons[37]. On other side poor in the village faced problems for having a dailymeal, he possessed no facilities in his hut[38].

Every family had the necessity of progeny particularly son was desirable as he was entitled to inherit the father's estate (Paitṛkaṃ dhanam)[39]

Various rites Jātakaraṇa etc. are mentioned in text used to be performed on the birth of the child. At the age of seven the child was sent for study in *Gurukula.* Along with basic knowledge the child had to study as per his future career. Vocal instruction was the main medium of transmission of knowledge from the teacher though *MVU* refers writing as a means of communication.

"So tena Upādhyāyena lekhaṃ dattvā yānamāruhya visarjito"[40].

Marriage was regarded as the central point of social and moral integrity of the society. It was a indissoluble and life long companionship. In that society as depicted in MVU boys and girls were allowed to enjoy moderate freedom and were permitted to marry without consent of the parents and with no consideration of the class and caste as depicted in *Gaṅgapāla Jātaka*[41]

But generally this matter was settled by the parents with all the considerations of caste and qualifications. Brāhmins played a great role in selecting the suitable bride or groom. Formal marriage with the rites was performed, *Kusa jātaka* of *MVU* provides the detailed narration of marriage.[42] Women in that society held the important place as respectful mother, lovely daughter and faithful wife. They were not illtreated or neglected but enjoyed freedom.[43] Divorce, remarriage and satī were not foreign to *MVU* society.[44] She was entrusted with the responsibility of house. Women could enter the formal religious life and are referred to as *parivrājīkā* who were famous as wise and

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37. *MVU,* II P - 115 & MVU, III P - 405.
38. *MVU,* II P - 429.
39. *MVU,* III P - 142.
40. *MVU,* II P - 90.
41. *MVU,* III P - 185-186.
42. *MVU,* II P - 441-443.
43. *MVU,* II P - 84, I P - 233.
44. *MVU,* II P - 69 & 174.

intellectuals.[45] *MVU* also refers number of celebrations by the term *Parva Prayoga* and *Visava* on the festivals like *Kaumudī - caturmāsi & Kaumudī.*[46] People in the society have developed number of ways of entertainments like music, dance, arts and display of sports. The text even refers to gambling *akṣadyūta.*[47]

Economic Life : Society as depicted in *MVU* does not lack of occupations. Many occupations were hereditary. The social organization continued without any problem in the economic field of production- distribution of all the articles of use from food stuffs to minerals and metals. Ancient society was predominantly agricultural : thus its Economic life was based largely on agricultural production.

Farmers plough their fields and get the crops like Yava (barley), māṣa (beans), Tila (sesame) and Ikṣu (sugar cane) etc.[48] The whole agricultural economic was dependent at the mercy of rainfall. Regular rainfall prosper the crops and make the country peaceful and secure[49]. Besides growing of grains, people were used to cultivate fruits, like mangoes, rose apple, jack fruit, plaintain etc. and flowers like *Campaka Tamāla*, Aśoka, kavara, etc. Lotuses of various colours were brought to market for sale.[50] Meat and venision were main consumptions of the people. Thus occupations like cattle rearing, poultty and dairy keeping were in vogue at that time. Numerous craftsmen are mentioned in MVU as brass-founders, coppersmiths, makers of bowls, tin-smiths, goldsmiths, makers of lead sheets, garland makers, potters, weavers of wool, Laundry- men, dyers *rajaka* and *rañjaka*, carpenters, basket makers--------[51], *xp*rofessions like dance, music and dramatic performances. Astrologers, diviners with the knowledge of signs had big share of public life. Text refers to old system of barter for exchange but it usually refers of metallic money which was accepted

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45. *MVU,* I P - 349.
46. *MVU,* III P - 184.
47. *MVU,* I P - 96.
48. *MVU,* II P - 25 & 432.
49. *MVU,* II P - 216.
50. *MVU,* I P - 249, III P - 80, I P - 223 & P - 24, & III P - 109.
51. *MVU,* III P - 113-114.

as medium of exchange of that time. By 7th cent B.C. Magadha, Kośala and other kingdoms started minting coins[52].

This indicates that economic life of that society was dependent mainly on manual labour and physical accomplishments. Their technology, knowledge in machinery and equipment was not very high. Manpower was the foremost factor in industrial field.

MVU thus with Jātakas as its main contents presents the political, social and economic features of that society in all the aspects.

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52. (MM)Singh, Life in North-Eastern India in pre-Mauryan times. Delhi 1967. P - 259.

SIDDHĀCHĀRYAS OF BIHAR

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The eighth century A.D. is important not only for the Buddhist trio but also for the Siddhāchāryas who "flourished during the reign of the Pala kings of Bihar and Bengal from the eighth to the twelfth century A.D.[1] S.K. De writes that with these so-called Siddhāchāryas we enter upon a somewhat new phase although most of these thaumaturgists present a medley of doctrines, which had probably not yet crystallised themselves into well defined or sharply distinguished cults."[2] Buddhaprakash mentions that the movement of the Siddhas was a vast social synthesis. People of all castes, creeds and professions joined it.

On the basis of *Dohākośa*[3] edited and re-translated by the late Rahula Sankrityayana we are now in a position to assert that Sarahapada, who flourished in the first half of the eighth century A.D. was the pioneer Buddhist Siddhāchārya. He had been the student of Haribhadra who was the disciple of Santarakshita and as such Saraha inherited several virtues of his master and master's teacher. Sarahapada brought an emotional and intellectual upsurge of a great magnitude through his bold poetic assertions in his *Dohākośa* which presents a true picture of his time. Thus his advent during the first half of the eighth century A.D. marked the beginning down of a new religious movement. Being a real representative of his time he launched severe attacks on the Brahmanical traditions of eastern Indian regions through his unconventional and direct criticism of the social system advocated by the vested religious

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1. S. Das Gupta, *Obscure Religious Cults.* (Calcutta, Ist edn., 1946, 2nd ed. 1962) P. 7.
2. R.C. Majumdar (ed.) *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 338; Buddhaprakash, *Aspects of Indian History and Civilisation*, Agra, 1965, P. 270.
3. R. Sankrityayana (ed.) *Dohakosa of Sarahapada* (Hindi), Patna, 1957.

sections of society. Sarahapāda exposed the hollowness of scholastic interpretations of orthodox Hindu social customs and religious rituals on account of which the illiterate religious followers of early Indian society were put to confusion. Sarahapāda, being the harbinger of clarity and Straight forward ideas attempted to exonerate the common man from Shackles of narrow and sectarian Hindu religious views. He presented an alternative Buddhist philosophy of his own and presented the ideas of life, society, religion, philosophy etc. in the hight of an independent ideological speculation. His writings show the depth of his avid textual knowledge acquired through his extensive wander lust in the Buddhist world of eastern India, Nepal and Tibet. His *Dohākośa* was virtually an ideological arsenal of optimistic philosophy of struggle against the landlord bourgeoisie concepts of pessimism, incarnation and self surrender policy of the individual before an Almighty.

Generally early Buddhists held an idea of the Triratna theory known as Buddha, Dharma and Samgha. However, practice of Vajrayāna Buddhism in Bihar inspired Sarahapāda to discover a new idea of the Chaturratna. It was his original contribution to the history of Buddhist ideology. Chaturratna consisting of four concepts, Guru, Buddha, Dharma and Sangha was thus originally coined by Sarahapāda who was a near contemporary of Padmasambhava and held the position of the pioneer monk, scholar among the eighty four Siddhāchāryas.

Significance of Guru in Practising mystic ideas for the attainment of Moksha, has originally been discussed in the *Upanishads*. Its popular use was made during the period just before the advent of the Buddha when as many as sixty religious sects were flourishing in north India against the Vedic practices. Position of Guru was of an intermediary between the devotee or Sadhaka and God or knowledge. The concept of Triratna was carried on, propagated and interpreted for about twelve centuries after the demise of the Buddha until the next turning point came at the dawn of the eighth century A.D. when Sarahapāda forwarded his theory of the Chaturratna. He was an advocate of Sahajayana, a Buddhistic sect made easy.[4] He simplified the tough philosophical terms, religious interpretations and spiritual practices of

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4. S. Das Gupta, *Ibid.* pp. 60-61 fn. (Sahajiya or Marmiya School of Buddhism dealt with the vital part or the very core or inner truth of religion to the exclusion of the formalities and outward shows.)

Buddhism through his Dohās composed in the Apabhransa language. His theory of Chaturratna got wide currency in Tibet, the land of vatican Lamaism and the vatican of the trans-Himalayan Buddhist world. It was there again that he was honoured as the Dvittiya Buddha (the second Buddha). This aspect of the life of Sarahapāda has been thoroughly discussed by the late Rahula Sankrityayana, a well-known Indian Tibetologist. He has translated and edited the work of Sarahapada, entitled *Dohākośa*.

Sarahapāda was given many eulogistic epithets for his various roles in propagation of Sahajayāna. He was called Mahāyogīśvara Mahāsaraha,[5] Yogīśvara Saraha,[6] Māhayogīśvara Srī Mahābrāhmaṇa Saraha,[7] Dvittiyabuddha Mahāyogīśvara Śrī Saraha,[8] mahān Brahmaṇā Saraha,[9] Yogīśvara Śrīmaha Saraha,[10] Achārya Saraha,[11] etc. Certainly these epithets were given to him for his revolutionary activities in Bihar, eastern Indian regions, Nepal and Tibet. We came across many Brahmanical scholars whom he defeated in discussions and established the philosophical superiority of Sahajayāna. Personal life of Sarahapāda was in consonant with his ideological phenomenon. It is evident from his family life. He married the daughter of a Sarkara (arrow maker) and he also learnt the art of arrow making for preparing other items with the reeds or reed-pipes. Therefore, he assumed his name Saraha, was naturally called Sarahapāda by his disciples and followers. Shashibhushan Das Gupta writes that the poets of the Sahajiya School laid their whole emphasis on their protest against the formalities of life and religion and this made them distinct in their religious attitude from the Vajrayanists or the general school of Tantric Buddhism.[12] It was Sarahapada who founded the Sahajiya Buddhism. The community of eighty four Siddhas was organised on the basis of his socio-philosophical vision and its occupied remarkable position

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5. R. Sankrityayana (Tr. and Ed.) *Dohakosa* (Hindi) op. cit., p. 81.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 247.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 273.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 283.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 301.
12. S. Das Gupta, op. cit., p. 51.

among the people. Their literary and religious activities from the eighth century to the thirteenth century A.D. got an epithet of Siddha Samanta Yuga of India.[13]

Although the medium of Scholarly expression during early medieval period was the Sanskrit language used by Brahmanical scholars, Sarahapada and the later Siddhāchāryas uniformly patronised and used Apabhransa.[14] An interesting parallelism is found between the ideological revolts of Buddhism and Jainism of fifth century B.C. against slavery and the A.D. eighth century ideological revolts of Sahajayana against feudalism. What the Prākrita and Pāli languages played their roles during the early Buddhist periods, the Apabhransa language played its role from the eighth to twelveth century of the Christian era. S.A. Dange has made plausible observation on this problem. "It is not an accident that it is in this period of the beginning of Indian feudalism, the new village community and nationalities, arising on the break-up of the slave system and the big empires that the Prakrita language which had been growing within the womb of the empires, came forward in history, and established themselves as recognised language. Their grammar and literature as represented by Vararuchi and Guṇādhya grew up independently and vigorously. Sanskrit receded to the background and became a court language or the jargon of the ruling intelligentsia to codify their laws and religious decrees. It appears that the growth of nationalities and the recognition of Prakrita go hand in hand with the rise and growth of Indian feudalism. The first kingdom that declared the Prakrita as its official language as against the Sanskrit was that of the Satavahanas, a dynasty which had its origin in peasant communities. It was not merely a freak that the shrewd Asoka also put his Shasanas in Prakrita".[15] In case of Apabhransa it is seen that with the proliferation of caste system leading to the emergence of many caste-based professions also appeared in a large

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13. A period of the Siddhacharyas and the feudals or landlords.

14. R.C. Majumdar (ed.), op. cit., p. 325-351, 383-389; S. Das Gupta, op. cit., pp. 1-9; B.P. Mazumdar, 'A revolution of Buddhism in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh (C. 635-1197 A.D.), J.B.R.S. Special Issue, Vol. I, 1956; S. Das Gupta, 'Charyapada ki Sandhya aur Sandha Bhasa', Tr. from the original Belngali into Hindi by Srinarayana Pandey, *Parishad Patrika*, Vol. I, No. 4, 1962 (Patna).

15. S.A. Dange, *India : From Primitive Communism to Slavery*, Fourth edn., 1961, New Delhi, Preface, p. XXIII.

number regional Hindu kingdom in north India and Bihar which patronised this language. Several works were composed in it besides the composition of the Dohās and Charyās.

Sarahapada and his followers refuted the linguistic sovereignty of the Sanskrit Scholars in respect of literary compositions and philosophical speculations. He boldly attacked the privileged linguistic status enjoyed by the Sanskrit language. Similar steps were taken by other Siddhāchāryas who adopted unconvention and grotesque surnames or titles and composed Dohās and Charyāpadas in the Apabhransa language. The Siddhāchāryas moved extensively in north Indian region of Panjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Bengal, Assam. They had their nucleus activities in Bihar and Nepal from where they went to Tibet. They fulfilled a great task of cultural regeneration on new lines in these countries as is evident from a large number of manuscripts discovered in Nepal and Tibet.[16] The manuscripts indicate a significant image of Tantric Buddhism of Bihar. These songs were recited by the wandering Buddhist Siddhāchāryas with the help of musical instruments while moving from door to door. *Dohākośa* which was also called Dohasangama (a junction of Dohās) was fairly known to the Buddhists of Bihar. Like the songs of Vidyapaṭi, Kabira and Tulsi of later medieval periods Dohās and Charyās of the Buddhist Siddhas became the homely lyrics of the Buddhist communities of Bihar. A. Majumdar writes that in the mental horizon of contemporary Bengal selfnegation synchronised with the tendency of selfpreservation. The charyā songs bear eloquent testimony of these conflicting trends.[17] The Siddhas were free lancing singers. They advocated the cause of religious liberation within the Buddhistic fold because of which their contemporary thinkers and their admirers were shaken at their head and heart. Mystic ideas of the Dohās and Charyās were presented through analogy. Many images were chosen for expressing their real purpose. Image of the boat was presented in the charyās of Saraha, Kanhu, Dombi and Kambalambara. Images of rat, deer etc. were

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16. P.C. Bagachi (Tr. and ed.), 'Dohakosa' (with notes), JDL, Vol. XXVIII, 1955, pp. 1-80; 'Materials for a critical edition of the old Bengali Charyapadas', J.D. Vol. XXX, 1930, pp. 1-156; H.P. Sastri (ed.) *Banddha Gon O Doha* (Bengali), 2nd ed Calcutta, 1959. R. Sankrityayana, *op. cit.*, P.C. Bagachi and Santi Bhikshu Sastri (Editor and Annotator) *Charyagitikosa of Buddhist Siddhas*, Santiniketan, 1956.

17. A. Majumdar, *The Charyapadas*, 1967, Calcutta, p. 44.

described by Bhusukapada who was no other than Sāntarakshita.[18] On the philosophical plans Siddhāchāryas launched a revolt against their contemporary religious formalities of Brahmanical and Buddhist sects of Bihar with special emphasis on the Vajrayāna.

Although the enduring potency of the Siddhāchāryas was a part and parcel of the heritage of the Mahayana Buddhist idea, the real intellectual alloy presented by them as the Sahaja philosophy became overwhelmingly dominant throughout the period under review. A. Majumdar writes that "this sect was squarely opposed to the Brahmanistic formalism and the vedic method of ceremonical worship. The difference between Vajrayana and Sahajayana lay in the fact that with the diversity of its gods, conjured through incarnation, mystic syllables, rituals and worship, the Vajrayana way of meditation was for flung and difficult to traverse. The Sahaja ascetics were opposed to lying prostrate before wooden, earthen or stone idols. The Sahaja ascetics were explicit in their pronouncement that even the Buddha was ignorant of the way to attain supreme wisdom, what to speak of ordinary peopie.[19] In practical life they broke down the barriers of society through their frequent association with ladies of lower social order of Indian society. This shows that much of their heterodoxy and criticism is a thing of heritage. Ideas expressed in the vernaculars literature are but infiltrations from the older ideas found in the different lines of criticism in the history of Indian religious thought. These infiltrated ideas have been variously emphasised by the Buddhist monk poets, i.e. the Sahajayanists or Siddhas so as to give them a new colour and tone.[20] In this connection an observation made by D.L. Snellgrove in his introduction to the *Hevajra Tantra: a critical study*[21] substantiates the plausibility of the activities of the Siddhas. The very material background of the society was in their favour. The new elements brought about a rejuvenation, nourished in the hidden well-springs of Indian religious life, for it is not philosopher who gives life to a religion, but the man who succeeds in practising it (Yoga).[22]

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18. P.C. Bagachi and Santi Bhikshu Sastri, *op. cit.*, Intr., pp. XVII-XXX.

19. A. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

20. S. Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

21. D.L. Snellgrove, *op. cit.*, Part I (Introduction and Translation), Ist Edn., 1959, London (A text composed during the eighth century of the Christian era).

22. *Ibid.*, Intr., p. 40.

S. Das Gupta holds that Sahajayana is an offshoot of Tantric Buddhism. It embodies the heterodoxy of Buddhism in general mixed up with the spirit of Tantricism.[23] Aversion towards discursive reason and scholastic erudition are the basic traits of Sahajayana. It stresses on the practical side of Sahajayanist religion. The spirit of Tantra and Yoga working together is its speciality.

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23. S. Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

चीन और जापान के राष्ट्रीय चिन्तन पर बौद्ध विचारधारा का प्रभाव

डा० शशि कान्त

लखनऊ

किसी भी क्षेत्र की भौगोलिक परिस्थितियाँ वहाँ के निवासियों की बौद्धिक चेतना को सहज ही प्रभावित करती हैं। चीन एक विशाल देश है। उसमें पर्वतीय और पठारी क्षेत्र हैं जहाँ स्वभाव से लोग कठोर, शरीर से कष्ट–सहिष्णु और प्रकृति की उदारता से वंचित होने के कारण व्यवसाय से खानाबदोश एवं आखेटप्रिय रहे। साथ ही ह्वंग–हो (पीत नदी) और यांग–सी–क्यांग नदियों की घाटियों में और समुद्रतट पर प्रकृति की सदयता ने कृषि और वाणिज्य को प्रोत्साहन दिया और लोगों में दर्शन एवं कला के प्रति सहज अनुराग उत्पन्न किया। जापान कुछ द्वीपों का समूह है जो एशिया के मुख्य भूखण्ड से अलग है और इस परिस्थिति ने वहाँ के लोगों में एक आत्म–संकोचन और अलगाव की भावना को प्रश्रय दिया।

उक्त प्राकृतिक परिवेश ने चीन और जापान के राष्ट्रीय चिन्तन को एक मौलिक पृष्ठभूमि प्रदान की जो बाह्य विचारधाराओं से प्रभावित तो हुई परन्तु अपनी अन्तर्निहित बौद्धिक चेतना से सर्वथा विच्छिन्न नहीं हुयी और उसने बाह्य वैचारिक प्रभावों को अन्ततः स्वदेशी चिन्तन विद्या से अनुप्राणित और उसकी धारा में आत्मसात् कर लिया। यह भारत और चीन की संस्कृतियों में सबसे बड़ा सारभूत साम्य है, और यह एक ऐतिहासिक सत्य है कि इन दो विशाल संस्कृतियों का पारस्परिक सम्पर्क हिमालय की दुर्गम पर्वत–श्रेणियों और तिब्बत के दुरूह पठार के होते हुए भी खानाबदोश कबीलों और व्यापारिक काफिलों के माध्यम से मध्य एशिया के मार्ग से सुदूर अतीत में ही हो गया था।

इसको संयोग कहा जा सकता है कि ईसा पूर्व छठी शताब्दी में भारत की भाँति ही चीन में भी एक वैचारिक क्रान्ति हुई। भारत में इसके प्रमुख प्रस्तोता सिद्धार्थ गौतम बुद्ध और वर्धमान महावीर थे, चीन में कन्फूशस थे। जिस प्रकार भारत में उस काल में श्रमण परम्परा के कई तीर्थंकर हुए और वैदिक परम्परा के षड्दर्शनों का भी विकास हुआ, उसी प्रकार चीन में सौ मतों का प्रादुर्भाव हुआ। कन्फूशस का मत जू–चिया, लाजो–त्जु का विधिवादी मत, चीन की बौद्धिक चेतना के प्रमुख प्रतिनिधि के रूप में ईसापूर्व छठी–७वीं शती में प्रकाश में आए।

कन्फूशस का समय ईसापूर्व ५५१–४७६ माना जाता है । उन्होंने मानवीय आचरण के मूल्यों का नव–निर्धारण किया। उनका आग्रह व्यक्तित्व के अप्रतिम विकास पर और परम सुख की प्राप्ति के लिए मानवीय सम्बन्धों के सम्यक् सन्तुलन पर था। चौथी–तीसरी शती ईसापूर्व में मेन्शस और हसुन- त्ज़ु ने कन्फूशस की सरल नैतिक शिक्षाओं को एक दार्शनिक विद्या में बाँधा। मानवीय आचार का मुख्य उद्देश्य मानव–हृदयता(जेन) और सम्यकत्व (यी) की अनुभूति है, और व्यक्ति की पूर्णता एवं सामाजिक सामञ्जस्य की प्राप्ति मध्य मार्ग द्वारा ही संभव है, संक्षेप में कन्फूशस के विचारो से निःसृत दर्शन का सार है।

ताओ तम् के दार्शनिक चिन्तन का आधार च्वांग–त्ज़ु (ईसा पूर्व ३६५–२६३) के ग्रन्थ मुख्यतया हैं। वह प्रकृति के नियमों से सामञ्जस्य को सर्वोपरि मानते हैं औन निष्क्रियता (वु–वेइ) के सिद्धांत का प्रतिपादन करते हैं। ताओ की परिभाषा नहीं की जा सकती–यह जीव और अजीव के एकत्व का बोध है। क्रिया निष्क्रियता से सम्पन्न होती है और प्रगति पीछे हटने से होती है– तथा अन्य ऐसे ही विरोधाभासी कथ्य हैं जिनका गूढ़ तात्त्विक अर्थ है परन्तु जो प्राकृतिक दृश्यमान जग और मानवीय अनुभूतियों पर आधारित है।

मो–त्ज़ु (ईसा–पूर्व ४८०–४३६) ने क्रियावाद का प्रतिपादन किया। उन्होंने सार्व–प्रेम और परोपकार को सर्वोपरि बताया। सुख और दुःख का विवेचन कर वह इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचे कि परम साध्य अधिक से अधिक लोगों का अधिक से अधिक कल्याण करता है। उन्होंने युद्ध का विरोध किया और विश्व–प्रेम एवं शान्ति को मानव समाज की आधारशिला बताया।

ईसा पूर्व तीसरी शती में हान–फे–त्ज़ु ने तत्कालीन अराजकता और सामाजिक विशृंखलता को दृष्टि में रखकर विधिवाद का प्रतिपादन किया। उनका प्रयास मनुष्य की सत्ता के स्थान पर विधि की सत्ता स्थापित करना था। इसके लिये उन्होंने कन्फूशसवाद के व्यक्ति मत एवं सामाजिक सम्यक् आचरण को, ताओवाद के उन सिद्धांतों को जो राज्य की सत्ता को बल दे सकते थे, और अपने गुरु के इस वाक्य को कि "मानव स्वभाव मूलतः दुष्ट है" अपने मत का आधार बनाया। यह मत राज्य की सत्ता का पोषक था और इसके प्रस्तोता हानवंश के ही राजपुरुष थे। यह दण्ड का सिद्धांत था जो सम्राटों को और राज्य सत्ताधारियों को तो प्रिय था परन्तु जनता को रुचिकर नहीं था। जनता को कन्फूशस का मत ही रुचिकर था। कन्फूशस ने कहा था कि सरकारी नियमों से और दण्ड के भय से लोगों को जेल से बाहर रखा जा सकता है परन्तु उनमें सम्मान या लज्जा की भावना नहीं आयेगी, परन्तु यदि उन्हें सद्गुण और सदाचार से प्रेरित किया जायेगा तो उनमें सम्मान की भावना और पश्चात्ताप की बुद्धि जागृत होगी। ईसा पूर्व २०६ में हान वंश के अर्न्तगत चीन में राजनैतिक स्थिरता स्थापित हुई और तीसरी शती ई० तक उस वंश के प्रश्रय में कन्फूशस मत ही राज्यधर्म के रूप में समादृत रहा।

चीन की उपर्युक्त चिन्तन धाराओं के मुख्य तत्त्व थे मानव–हृदयता, सम्यक् व्यवहार, प्रकृति–प्रेम, विचारों की सहिष्णुता और विश्व–प्रेम। ईश्वर कर्तव्य पर आग्रह नहीं था वरन् परम

प्राप्तव्य स्वर्ग था जहाँ मनुष्य सुखी हो। यह वैचारिक आधार बौद्ध विचारधारा के लिए पूर्णतः अपरिचित नहीं था। जो चीन में नहीं था वह बौद्ध धर्म और दर्शन ने उसे प्रदान किया । यह था साधना या ध्यान का मार्ग।

ईसा पूर्व दूसरी शती में पूर्वी तुर्किस्तान के खानाबदोश कबीलों के माध्यम से बौद्ध धर्म का प्रवेश चीन में हुआ और प्रथम शती ईसवी तक बौद्ध धर्म को धर्म के रूप में चीन में मान्यता प्राप्त हो गयी। अगली दो शताब्दियों में बहुत से बौद्ध विद्वान् चीन में आये जिन्होंने चीनी भाषा में बौद्ध ग्रन्थों का अनुवाद किया। कन्फूशस मत में धार्मिक तत्त्व की कमी थी और ताओ मत की दार्शनिक पृष्ठभूमि कमजोर थी, अतः बौद्ध विद्वानों ने जन साधारण एवं विद्वानों दोनों को ही आकृष्ट किया यद्यपि राज्य की ओर से कोई स्वीकारता बौद्ध धर्म को प्रदान नहीं की गयी। तीसरी शती ईसा में मू–त्से ने अपने ग्रन्थ में कन्फूशस और लाओ–त्से की शिक्षाओं की तुलना में बौद्ध सिद्धांतों की श्रेष्ठता का प्रतिपादन किया और तभी से चीन के राष्ट्रीय चिन्तन पर बौद्ध विचारधारा का प्रभाव स्पष्ट होने लगां। हान वंश के पतन के बाद वेई वंश का प्रादुर्भाव हुआ। यह वंश विदेशी था और इसके प्रथम सम्राट् ने ३३५ ई० में बौद्ध धर्म को राज्य धर्म घोषित कर दिया। उसके बाद लगभग ८ शताब्दियों तक बौद्ध धर्म का चीन के राष्ट्रीय जीवन में विशेष प्रभाव रहा। डा० हु शिह के अनुसार जब चीन का भारत से सम्पर्क हुआ तो भारतीय राष्ट्र के धार्मिक उत्साह और बौद्धिक ज्ञान की विशालता से चीन एकदम अभिभूत हो गया, उसने अपनी पराजय स्वीकार कर ली और पूर्णतः विजित हो गया।

काश्मीर के स्नातक और पूर्वी तुर्किस्तान के निवासी भिक्षु कुमारजीव ४०१ ई० में चीन आये और वहाँ मृत्युपर्यन्त ४१३ ई० तक रहे। उन्होंने प्रथम सुनियोजित प्रयास चीन की विचारधारा से बौद्ध चिन्तन के साभञ्जस्य का किया। उन्होंने ताओ पृष्ठभूमि पर नागार्जुन के दर्शन की व्याख्या की। उनके शिष्य सेंग–चाओ ने ताओ दर्शन और बौद्ध दर्शन का संश्लेषण करने का कार्य किया। प्रतीत्य–समुत्पाद का सिद्धांत इस संश्लेषण का आधार था– हर वस्तु किसी कारण से उद्भूत है, प्रभाव नया होता है परन्तु इसका यह अर्थ नहीं है कि वह किसी विशिष्ट कारण का प्रभाव नहीं है। नागार्जुन के निरपेक्ष और सापेक्ष सत्य को भी सेंग–चाओ ने ताओ शब्दावली में इस प्रकार प्रस्तुत किया कि वह दार्शनिक चिन्तन को चीन की देन मान ली गयी। सेंग–चाओ इस प्रकार बौद्ध दर्शन को चीन की अपनी राष्ट्रीय चिन्तन धारा का अंग स्वीकार करने में समर्थ हुए। कुमारजीव से ही अनुप्रेरित, हुई – युवान ने बौद्ध धर्म के धार्मिक पक्ष की ओर ध्यान दिया और ध्यान द्वारा साधना की पद्धति को लोक–प्रिय बनाया। उन्होंने अमिताभ के देवत्व का प्रचार किया। पूजा के आराध्य अमिताभ थे और परम प्राप्तव्य अमिताभ का स्वर्ग था जहाँ अमित प्रकाश, आयु और आनन्द का निवास था। आराधना की विधा ध्यान थी।

कुमारजीव और हुई–युवान के शिष्य ताओ–शेंग ने ध्यान मत की स्थापना की जो चीन में, च–आन और जापान में ज़ेन कहलाया। ताओ–शेंग ने दो मौलिक सिद्धान्त प्रस्तुत किये। "भला कार्य प्रतिफल की अपेक्षा नहीं करता" और "तुरन्त बोधि" प्रतिफल की अपेक्षा सापेक्ष है

परन्तु जिसने उत्पाद–निरोध कर दिया उसके लिए प्रतिफल का प्रश्न नहीं होता। "तुरन्त बोधि" का अर्थ है कि बोधि–प्राप्ति कोई क्रमिक विकास नहीं है वरन् यह एक सम्पूर्ण अनुभूति है, परन्तु इसका तात्पर्य सदाचार के नियमों की अवमानना नहीं है। इस प्रकार ताओ–शेंग बौद्ध धर्म के ध्यान को चीनी बौद्धिकता से सम्बद्ध करने में सफल हुए।

कुमारजीव के बाद दूसरे प्रमुख भारतीय विद्वान् बोधि धर्म थे जो चीन में ईसवी सन् ४८६–५३६ में रहे। उन्होंने बोधि–प्राप्ति के लिए ध्यान–साधना पर बल दिया। उनका कहना था कि प्रत्येक मनुष्य में बुद्ध भाव है और इस बुद्ध भाव को जागृत करना ही बोधि–प्राप्ति है। बोधि–धर्म ने ध्यानवाद को चीन में सुदृढ़ किया। सम्राट वु ने बोधिधर्म से पूछा कि अपने राज्यारोहण के बाद निरंतर मन्दिरों के निर्माण, ग्रन्थों के लिपि–करण और भिक्षुओं की दीक्षा से मैंने कितना पुण्य अर्जित किया। बोधिधर्म ने कहा कि कुछ नहीं क्योंकि यह सार नहीं, छाया है। पुण्य तो विशुद्धता और ज्ञान में निहित है, गंभीरता और पूर्णता में निहित है, तथा जब हम शून्य और शान्ति से आवेष्टित हों तो ध्यान में निमग्न होने में निहित है – यह सांसारिक साधनों से साध्य नहीं है। यही बोधिधर्म के चिन्तन का सार है।

बोधिधर्म के प्रभाव से चीनी बौद्ध सम्प्रदाय में एक झंझावात आया क्योंकि उन्होंने ग्रन्थों और बुद्ध वचन के स्थान पर ध्यान या साधना पर बल दिया । छठीं ईसवी में चि–काई और तु–शुन ने उस भ्रम को दूर करने के लिए ध्यान की पद्धति का साधन के पक्ष एवं बुद्ध वचन के महत्त्व से सामञ्जस्य किया। चि–काई ने बुद्ध वचनों का भी काल–क्रमानुसार वर्गीकरण किया और उनके द्वारा किया गया बौद्ध साहित्य का वर्गीकरण आगे भी मान्य रहा।

सातवीं शती ई० में ह्वान–सांग भारत आये और उन्होंने नालन्दा में आचार्य शीलभद्र से योगाचार–विज्ञान–वाद का अध्ययन किया। उन्होंने फा–स्यांग या धर्म–लक्षण वाद का प्रतिपादन किया जो जापान में होस्सोवाद के नाम से विख्यात है।

आठवीं शती ई० में वज्रकोधि और अमोघवज्र ने तन्त्रवाद का प्रचार किया परन्तु उसका प्रभाव चीन से अधिक जापान में हुआ।

११वीं शती ईसवी तक बौद्ध और चीन विचारधारा का परस्पर इतना आदान–प्रदान हो चुका था कि एक नई धारा जो दोनों का सामञ्जस्य कर सके, विकास पा सके । यह वैचारिक आन्दोलन नव–कन्फूशसवाद के रूप में उदय में आया और इसके प्रस्तोता चाउ–त्से,शाओ–त्से, चेंग–हाओ, चेंग–यि और चू–हि थे। उन्होंने माना कि कोई ईश्वर नहीं है, कोई सर्वोच्च सत्ता नहीं है, कोई निर्णायक नहीं है और कोई नियति नहीं है। संसार का आधार दो सनातन सिद्धांत हैं– ली और कि अर्थात् नियम और पदार्थ जो परस्पर सम्पृक्त हैं। बौद्ध प्रभाव से आराध्यवाद, पुनर्जन्म, कार्य–कारण और पुण्य– पाप के विचार समाहित कर लिये गये। बौद्ध दर्शन के क्षणिकवाद का चीनी काव्य और कला पर विशेष प्रभाव पड़ा । कलाकार सर्वोच्च सत्य का भान प्रकृति में करता है और कवि प्रत्येक वस्तु के क्षण–क्षण परिवर्तित रूपों के प्रति सचेत है और एक दुःखवाद की अनुभूति करता है।

जापान में बौद्ध धर्म का व्यापक प्रचार ८ वीं–९वीं शताब्दी ई० में सैको और कूकै ने किया। वहाँ का राष्ट्रधर्म शिन्टोवाद है। शिन्टोवाद का सार तत्त्व कन्नगर अर्थात् "देवताओं के अनुसार विहित धर्म" है जो कालान्तर में अमिदा (अमिताभ) के धर्म से समीकृत हुआ और इस प्रकार वहाँ भी बौद्ध धर्म ने राष्ट्रीय परिवेश ग्रहण कर लिया यद्यपि अपने दर्शन और साधना पद्धति को विशिष्ट रखा।

यहाँ कुछ संकेत मात्र दिये गये हैं जो यह सूचित करते हैं कि बौद्ध धर्म ने किस प्रकार अपने को उन राष्ट्रों की चिन्तन धारा से जहाँ वह अंगीकार किया गया, एकीकृत कर उन्हें प्रभावित एवं परिचालित किया। चीन और जापान का सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन बौद्ध धर्म के अध्ययन के बिना अपूर्ण है क्योंकि गत २००० वर्षों में वहाँ की राष्ट्रीय चेतना का परस्पर परिष्कार करने में सबसे प्रभावकारी बौद्ध प्रभाव रहा है। यह एक ऐसी धरती है जो भारत के चीन और जापान से सांस्कृतिक सम्बन्ध सुदृढ़ करने में और वहाँ के लोगों की सद्भावना को आकर्षित करने में हमें आज विशेष रूप से सहायक है।

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बौद्ध धर्म और समाज

डॉ० सीताराम दुबे

सागर

बुद्ध की समग्र मान्यताओं के रूप में प्रायः त्रिपिटक को देखा जाता है, जिसमें वे संसारत्यागी भिक्षु संघ के संस्थापक के रूप में परिलक्षित होते हैं। अधिकांश विद्वानों की दृष्टि में, अपने सम्पूर्ण इतिहास में बौद्धधर्म प्रधानतया भिक्षुओं का ही धर्म था और वास्तविक बौद्ध संघारामों में रहने वाले भिक्षु ही थे।[१] कुछ अन्य विद्वानों ने बौद्ध समाज की कल्पना की है[२] परन्तु ये दोनों मत अपने आप में एकांगी हैं। वस्तुतः बौद्धधर्म और उसके संघ का समाज से घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध रहा। बिना समाज के भिक्षु संघ की कल्पना ही व्यर्थ होगी।[३] पर बौद्ध धर्म समाज में कभी भी इतना प्रभावशाली न रहा कि युग–विशेष के समाज को बौद्ध समाज के नाम से अभिहित किया जाए।[४]

बौद्ध धर्म में समाज के लिए स्थान और उसके सामाजिक आदर्श आदि के निरूपण के लिए तत्कालीन वातावरण, बुद्ध के गृहत्याग, मान्यताओं के प्रचार–प्रसार और लक्ष्य आदि तथ्यों का सामान्य सर्वेक्षण आवश्यक है।

वातावरण की दृष्टि से उल्लेखनीय है कि बुद्ध का काल न केवल धार्मिक आध्यात्मिक चिन्तन की दृष्टि से, अपितु राजनैतिक, आर्थिक, सामाजिक सभी दृष्टियों से युगान्तरकारी काल था। यद्यपि यह सत्य है कि इस युग की सर्वक्षेत्रीय समृद्धि सदियों पूर्व के क्रमागत विकास की देन थी; परन्तु साथ ही यह भी सत्य है कि उपर्युक्त सभी तत्त्व बुद्ध के युग में एक नवीन और प्रायः समृद्ध रूप प्राप्त कर सके। तत्कालीन सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजनैतिक परिवर्तनों ने संकट और संक्रमण की ऐसी स्थिति उत्पन्न कर दी जिससे वैचारिक क्रान्ति हुई और नई–नई दिशाओं में चिन्तन–मनन को प्रोत्साहन मिला।[५]

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१. गोविन्द चन्द्र पाण्डेय, **बौद्धधर्म के विकास का इतिहास**, १९७६,४९२

२. टी० डब्ल्यू० रीस डेविड्स महोदय के ग्रन्थ "बुद्धिस्ट इन्डिया" से यही ध्वनि निकलती है। देखिये गोखले, **इण्डियन हिस्टारिकल क्वार्अर्ली**, १९५६,३३–३६;१९७०,३२

३. ओल्डेनबर्ग, **बुद्ध, हिज़ लाइफ, हिज़ डाक्ट्रिन एण्ड ऑर्डर**, १८८२,३८२.

४. टी० आर० वी० मूर्ति, **दी सेन्ट्रल फिलासॅफी आफ बुद्धिज्म**, १९६०,६०४.

५. गोविन्द चन्द्र पाण्डेय, **स्टडीज़ इन दी ऑरिजिन्स आफ बुद्धिज्म**, १९५७,३१०,११;१९७६,१६–१७.

यह भी ध्यान रखने योग्य है कि जहाँ उद्योग–प्रवण संस्कृति और नगरीय जीवन के प्रभाव में समाज का सर्वांगीण विकास हुआ वहीं तज्जनित बुराइयों से लोगों का दुष्प्रभावित होना भी स्वाभाविक था। आर्थिक समृद्धि के कारण लोगों की विलासिता में वृद्धि होने लगी थी। सुविधा और अवकाश के कारण लोग अपना समय द्यूत–क्रीडा आदि में बिताने लगे थे। धनाधिक्य के कारण सुविधासम्पन्न लोगों में वेश्यागमन, मद्यपान आदि व्यसनों के प्रति आकर्षण बढ़ रहा था।[६] वहीं दूसरी तरफ जन–सामान्य, विपन्न वर्ग अनेक युक्ति–प्रयत्नों के बावजूद क्षुधाग्रस्त और उपेक्षित तथा त्रस्त था। इन सबके कारण आध्यात्मिक क्षेत्र में पारम्परिक ब्राह्मण आदर्श और रूढ़ियां धूमिल होने लगी थीं। आश्चर्य नहीं कि ये सब तत्त्व निवृत्ति के आदर्श के विकास में सहकारी कारण बने हों। एक तरफ, अतिशय विलासिता के कारण, जहाँ कुछ लोग भौतिक मूल्यों से ऊब कर संसार त्याग रहे थे, वहीं औद्योगिक संस्कृति से उत्पन्न वर्ग–संघर्ष, राजनैतिक अस्थिरता आदि के कारण दुनिया की दौड़ में, सफल लोग भौतिक सम्बन्धों से और अधिक चिपकने लगे थे। निश्चय ही इस प्रकार की सामाजिक–आर्थिक परिस्थिति प्रबुद्ध, संवेदनशील लोगों के लिए सुखकर नहीं रही होगी। अतः चिन्तन–शील, असन्तुष्ट वर्ग सांसारिक जीवन से विरक्त होने लगे थे, जिनकी चरम परिणति श्रमण सम्प्रदाय के रूप में परिलक्षित होती है। रोचक है कि गौतम बुद्ध इसी परिस्थिति की देन और श्रमण सम्प्रदाय के प्रतिनिधि थे।

पालि परम्परा में २१ वर्ष की अवस्था में गौतम के गृहत्याग का उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है। उत्तरकालीन जीवनियों में गृहत्याग की इस घटना को आकस्मिक रूप दिया गया है और नाटकीय ढंग से प्रस्तुत किया गया है। यह कहा गया है कि एक अवसर पर राजभवन से बाहर निकलने पर चार विशिष्ट दृश्यों–रोगी, वृद्ध, मृत, और संन्यासी को देखकर उनके मन में वैराग्य का निश्चय हुआ। सर्वांश में तो यह विवरण स्पष्ट ही अविश्वसनीय है, यद्यपि सामयिक रूप में इसे ग्रहण करने में विशेष कठिनाई नहीं होनी चाहिए। प्राचीनतम स्रोतों में इतना ही समर्थित है कि सम्भवतः अधिक संवेदनशील और चिन्तनशील होने के कारण तथा सांसारिक दुःखों पर चिन्तन–मनन के कारण उन्होंने घर छोड़ा। इस प्रकार उनके गृहत्याग के पीछे सांसारिक दुःखों के कारण के प्रति जिज्ञासा और उनसे विमुक्ति के उपायों पर चिन्तन–मनन की भावना को स्वीकार करना चाहिए।[७]

सम्बोधि के अनन्तर प्रथमतः बुद्ध के मन में सुखोपभोगों में आसक्त, अज्ञ लोगों के समक्ष स्वानुभूत ज्ञान को व्यक्त करने में संकोच हुआ[८] परन्तु भव–बाधा से लोगों के निस्तारण सम्बन्धी करुणाप्रसूत वेदना के कारण उन्होंने, अन्धकूप में पड़े समाज को, सन्मार्ग दिखाने के लिए धर्मोपदेश का संकल्प लिया। निकाय सूत्रों में सुरक्षित बुद्ध के उपदेशों के साक्ष्य पर यह निश्चय से कहा जा सकता है कि उपदेश करते समय बुद्ध अपने श्रोताओं का दो रूपों में

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६. पाण्डेय, १९७६,१६

७. लेखक का ग्रन्थ, **बौद्ध संघ का प्रारम्भिक विकास**, १९८८,६४

८. वि० म०, १–५

उद्बोधन करते थे, कि वे दुःख के भली प्रकार से अन्त के लिए ब्रह्मचर्यवास करें या आध्यात्मिक साधना का अभ्यास करें और द्वितीय यह कि अनेक लोगों के हित और सुख के लिए तथा लोकानुकम्पा की भावना से सद्धर्म का प्रसार करें, "चरन्थ भिक्खवे चारिकम् बहुजन हिताय, बहुजन सुखाय, लोकानुकम्पाय, अत्याय हिताय, सुखाय देव मनुस्सानम"[९] उल्लेखनीय है कि उन्होंने न केवल अपने शिष्यों को धर्म प्रचार–प्रसार का निर्देश दिया अपितु तमाम विघ्न–बाधाओं और मानापमान का स्वागत करते हुए स्वयं भी जीवन पर्यन्त ४५ वर्षों तक बिना किसी भेदभाव के लोगों के लाभ और आनन्द के लिए कभी अकेले और कभी शिष्यों के साथ भिन्न–भिन्न स्थानों की यात्रा करते थे, लोगों को धर्मोपदेश देते थे तथा उन्हें सद्धर्म में भिक्षु या उपासक के रूप में प्रवेश देते थे और भिक्षु–संघ के लिए विभिन्न प्रकार का दान स्वीकार करते थे। उनके उपदेश में इस बात पर बल होता कि जो कुछ अनैतिक है उसे नहीं करना चाहिए और जो कुछ नैतिक है उसके अनुरूप आचरण करते हुए प्रदूषित मन शुद्ध करना चाहिए।

"सब्ब पापस्स अकरणम् कुसलस्स उपसम्पदा,
सचित्त परियोदपनम् एतस् बुद्धान सासनम्।।"[१०]

इस प्रकार बुद्ध के आध्यात्मिक जीवन के लक्ष्य और विचार पग–पग पर उनके सामाजिक चिन्तन का आभास दिलाते हैं। बुद्ध के सामाजिक आदर्श के विवेचन से पूर्व इस बात का निराकरण आंवश्यक है कि बौद्ध धर्म में समाज के लिए क्या स्थान था।

बुद्ध की शिक्षायें बौद्ध धर्म और उनके अनुयायी बौद्ध के नाम से जाने जाते हैं, जिनमें बौद्ध चतुष्परिषद, भिक्षु–भिक्षुणी एवं उपासक–उपासिकाओं का समावेश था। बुद्ध एवं बौद्ध भिक्षुओं के उपदेश से प्रभावित हो, अनेक की संख्या में विभिन्न जाति वर्ग के स्त्री–पुरुष गृही जीवन का परित्याग कर, बौद्ध संघ में दीक्षित हुए और क्रमशः भिक्षुणी और भिक्षु कहलाये। भिक्षाश्रित, चारिका–प्रधान इन भिक्षु– भिक्षुणियों को निर्देश था कि वे बिना किसी भेद–भाव और श्रद्धालुओं पर अतिरिक्त भार के द्वार–द्वार पर भिक्षा प्राप्त करें ठीक वैसे ही, जैसे फूलों की हानि के बिना मधुमक्खी उनसे अपना भोजन प्राप्त करती हैं। बौद्ध सिद्धान्तों में श्रद्धा के होते हुए गृहत्याग में असमर्थ रहे स्त्री–पुरुष उपासिका और उपासक के नाम से जाने गए। उल्लेखनीय है कि अध्यात्मचर्या की दृष्टि से उपासक आदर्श का औचित्य होते हुए भी संघ की स्थिरता और वृद्धि की दृष्टि से भी गृहस्थ उपासक–उपासिकाओं का विशिष्ट स्थान था। वस्तुतः जहाँ भिक्षु–भिक्षुणी परिषद् संघ की आध्यात्मिक आधारशिला रही वहीं उपासक–उपासिका परिषद् बौद्ध धर्म–संघ की आर्थिक एवं सर्वक्षेत्रीय समृद्धि की प्रस्तोत्री। यद्यपि **विनयपिटक** में उपासकों के आदर्श व्यक्त करने वाले अधिक उपदेशों का संग्रह नहीं है फिर भी यह रोचक है कि उपलब्ध सामग्री में भी बुद्ध, धर्म और संघ की औपचारिक शरणागति तथा पंच या अष्टशीलों के

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९. वि० म०, १६.१.११; म० नि०,"पासिरासिसुत्त"; देखो वि० म० १६; सं० नि०, ५६.११.१२ (धम्म चक्क पवत्तन सुत्त)।

१०. सु० नि०, भाग– १.३५

आचरण के अतिरिक्त गृही जीवन को सुखमय बनाते हुए भिक्षुओं की दानादि से सहायता करने का स्पष्ट निर्देश है।[११] यह कल्पना थी कि इस प्रकार के आचरण से उपासक पुण्य का लाभ करके स्वर्ग प्राप्त करता है, परन्तु भिक्षु भी उपासकों को धर्मोपदेश देकर अपने कर्त्तव्य का निर्वाह करते थे। अनेक अवसरों पर स्वयं बुद्ध ने भी विभिन्न गृहस्थों के यहाँ भोजनोपरान्त धर्मोपदेश दिया। श्रद्धालुओं के आमन्त्रण पर उनके आवास आदि के उद्घाटन, अस्वस्थता में सुख–शान्ति के लिए उपदेश देने और विशिष्ट अवसरों पर नैतिक सामाजिक शिक्षा देने के विवरण भी प्रारम्भिक पालि साहित्य में यत्र–तत्र सुरक्षित हैं।[१२] उपर्युक्त चतुष्परिषद को बौद्ध समाज के नाम से अभिहित किया जा सकता है। इसके अतिरिक्त एक अन्य चतुष्परिषद– 'क्षत्रिय', 'ब्राहमण', 'वैस्य', और 'सुद्द' का प्रारम्भिक पालि साहित्य में उल्लेख है। वस्तुतः तत्कालीन समग्र समाज का इस चतुष्परिषद में विभाजन था; इनमें से अनेक बौद्ध समाज के व्यक्ति थे और अनेक बौद्धेतर। अर्थात् बौद्ध समाज के अतिरिक्त एक बौद्धेतर समाज भी था जिनमें से अनेक लोग, श्रमण–परिव्राजकों के प्रति, समान रूप से श्रद्धा–दान करते, किन्तु कुछ ऐसे भी थे जो सम्प्रदाय विशेष में श्रद्धा रखने के कारण अन्य धर्मो के प्रति निरपेक्ष होते। यद्यपि दान सत्कार की उनसे भी अपेक्षा की जाती ; क्योंकि तत्कालीन परिस्थिति में श्रमण परिव्राजकों का आदर सत्कार करना और दानादि से उनकी सेवा करना एक परम्परा सी बन गई थी। ऐसी परिस्थिति में बौद्ध उपासक–उपासिकाओं तथा अन्य गृहस्थों में सामाजिक दृष्टि से बहुत भेद–भाव कर पाना संभव नहीं। ऐसा आभास होता है कि बौद्ध उपासक बन जाने के बाद भी व्यक्तियों की पारम्परिक सामाजिक स्थिति में बंहुत अन्तर नहीं होता था, बल्कि जाति वर्ग की पूर्व सी स्थिति बनी रहती थी और अपने सामाजिक क्रिया–कलापों में वे पूर्ववत् स्वतन्त्र होते थे। इस प्रकार बौद्ध धर्म और समाज का परस्पर सम्बन्ध सहज अनुमेय है। प्रारम्भिक पालि साहित्य के सामान्य अध्ययन से स्पष्ट है कि बौद्ध भिक्षु सर्वथा वानप्रस्थी न थे और न ही परस्पर तथा उपासकों से सर्वथा पृथक् थे। कामक्लेश में विश्वास न करने वाले और अपेक्षाकृत संख्या बहुल मध्यमार्गी बौद्ध भिक्षुओं का समाज एवं परस्पर एक दूसरी से सर्वथा पृथक् रहना संभव न था। बल्कि सद्धर्म तथा गृहस्थ समाज के सम्बन्धों में उतार–चढ़ाव का भी किंचित् संकेत प्राप्त होता है।

प्रथम अवस्था में तो बौद्धधर्म प्रत्यक्ष ही संसार त्यागियों का धर्म था, जो बुद्ध द्वारा चतुर्श्रिय सम्बन्धी मान्यताओं और भिक्षुओं के लिए धर्मप्रचार के लिए एकाकी विचरण के निर्देश से स्पष्ट है।[१३] इस समय "एकोचरो खगा विषाण कप्पो" का आदर्श ही भिक्षुओं के लिए प्रधान

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११. सु० नि०,'धम्मिक सुत्त', गाथा, ४०३, अ०नि०, ६.१.१० और ११.२.२, (महानामसुत्त एवं दुतिय महानाम सुत्त); कान्जे, ए शार्ट हिस्ट्री आव बुद्धिज्म, १९६०,२३; दत्त एवं बाजपेयी, उत्तर प्रदेश में बौद्ध धर्म के विकास का इतिहास, १९५६,१२० और आगे।

१२. दी०नि० 'संगीति पर्यायसुत्त', 'बोधिराज कुमार सुत्त'; अ०नि० ८.५.३ (भरिया सुत्त); ५.४.३ (उग्ग सुत्त); दी०नि० 'सोणदण्ड सुत्त'।

१३. वि०म० १.११

रहा।[१४] एकान्तवास के इस आदर्श की दृष्टि से सद्धर्म का प्रारम्भ में समाज से अधिक सम्बन्ध नहीं रहा होगा। बल्कि अधिकांश प्रमाण तो यही संकेत प्रस्तुत करते हैं कि गौतम बुद्ध स्वयं परिव्राजक परम्परा की देन थे अतः उनके प्रारम्भिक धर्म को भी मूलतः निवृत्तिमार्गी स्वीकार किया जाना चाहिए। पर यह सैद्धान्तिक विभेद था। "बुद्ध चक्खना लोकम् बोलोकेसि", "पस्सामि लोके परिफन्दमानम् पजम्" आदि से स्पष्ट है कि बुद्ध के चिन्तन का विषय सम्पूर्ण समाज और संसार था और उनका सार्वभौम सिद्धान्त समाज के दुःख–दर्द को लेकर दिवेचित था और वह "हिताय–सुखाय देव मनुस्सानम्" था। बुद्ध को अपना धर्म सब तक पहुँचाने की चिन्ता थी। वे स्वयं जन भाषा का प्रयोग करते थे और शिष्यों को भी वैसा ही करने के लिए प्रोत्साहित करते थे। अतः मन में यह संशय उत्पन्न होता है कि कदाचित् सद्धर्म की प्राचीन अवस्था में भी बौद्ध धर्म का रूप उतना अधिक निवृत्तिमार्गी या एकांगी न रहा होगा जैसा कि त्रिपिटक में प्रायः दिखाई देता है। पर यह सम्भावना मात्र है। इस पक्ष में निश्चित प्रमाण प्रस्तुत कर पाना संभव नहीं। परन्तु बिलगाव की यह स्थिति बहुत दिनों तक प्रभावी नहीं रही होगी, क्योंकि सद्धर्म के व्यापक प्रसार की चिन्ता, भिक्षुसंघ की संख्यावृद्धि और उसकी भिक्षा–वृत्ति ने बौद्ध संघ को समाज से सम्पर्क बनाये रखने के लिए बाध्य किया होगा। किर्स क्षण सामाजिक सम्पर्क इस सीमा तक प्रभावी बना कि भिक्षुओं में "सुत्तन्त विनय" और धम्म के साथ सामाजिक ज्ञान के जानकार भी प्रशंसित होने लगे थे।[१५] बुद्ध सदैव सचेष्ट दिखाई देते हैं कि सद्धर्म और भिक्षु संघ राजकीय और सामाजिक क्षोभ का भागी न हो। राजपुरुष, सैनिक, बन्दी, आदि के लिए संघदीक्षा का निषेध इसका स्पष्ट प्रमाण है।[१६] इसी प्रकार न तो बिना माता–पिता की आज्ञा के बालक–बालिका को और न तो बिना पति की आज्ञा के स्त्री को संघ में प्रवेश दिया जा सकता था।[१७] गृहस्थों की हानि, अनर्थ एवं निर्वासन आदि के इच्छुक एवं उनमें फूट डालने वाले भिक्षुओं को प्रतिसारणीय दण्ड की व्यवस्था थी।[१८] यद्यपि प्रारम्भिक पालि साहित्य में "प्रकाशनीय कर्म" का मात्र एक ही उदाहरण है परन्तु किसी भिक्षु की दुष्प्रवृत्ति को समाज के समक्ष घोषित करने का विधान था, ताकि भिक्षु विशेष के दोष के लिए पूरे संघ को कोप का भाजन न बनना पड़े और न सद्धर्म की छवि धूमिल हो।[१९] लोगों को राष्ट्र पिण्ड का दुरुपयोग न करने की चेतावनी देना भी इस दृष्टि से उल्लेखनीय है।[२०] समाज से बुद्ध और बौद्ध भिक्षुओं को सहयोग भी मिलने लगा और वह इस हद तक महत्त्वपूर्ण हुआ कि बुद्ध को भी अपनी दृष्टि से समाज को श्रद्धालु और अश्रद्धालु दो श्रेणियों में विभक्त करने की आवश्यकता प्रतीत हुई।[२१] इसके दो कारण प्रतीत

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१४. सु०नि०,'खग्ग विषाण सुत्त'; देखिये, म०नि० "महासुमतासुत्त"

१५. वि०चु०, ४.४.४,

१६. वि०म०, १४० से ४३

१७. वि०म०, ४.७६

१८. वि०चु०, १.१८–२४

१९. वही, ७.२–३.

२०. धम्मपद, निरयवग्ग, गाथा, ३०७–८.

२१. तुलनीय, गोखले, इ०हि०क्वा०, १९५६, जिल्द ३२, पृष्ठ ३६.

होते हैं। प्रथम तो भिक्षुओं की जीवनचर्या ही समाज पर निर्भर थी। सम्भवतः इसीलिए बुद्ध ने यह नियम बनाया था कि यदि किसी कारण बश ग्रामवासी ग्राम छोड़कर जा रहे हों तो भिक्षुओं को वर्षावास छोड़ने का भय त्याग अपने श्रद्धालुओं के साथ जाना चाहिए।[२२] यायावर गृहस्थों के साथ जाने की अनुमति[२३] भी इसी कारण प्रतीत होती है। द्वितीयतः बौद्ध धर्म का प्रचार–प्रसार उसी स्थिति में सम्भव था जब उन्हें समाज सर्वक्षेत्रीय सहयोग दे और वह मिला भी। इस प्रकार के लाभ सत्कार के बौद्ध भिक्षु इस सीमा तक आदी हो गए कि उन्हें देवदत्त द्वारा वाञ्छित, स्वयं अपने ही पूर्व के आदर्शों को अस्वीकार कर देना पड़ा।[२४] बौद्ध भिक्षुओं में "खग्गविषाण कम्पों" का आदर्श धूमिल होने लगा और संघ में "सुख संघस्स सामग्गी समग्गानां तपो सुखम्" की धारणा बलवती होने लगी।[२५]

सम्भवतः बौद्ध धर्म में सामाजिक सम्बन्धों में विकास की प्रक्रिया के परिणाम स्वरूप ही बौद्ध भिक्षुओं के लिए अपने माता–पिता तथा भाई–बन्धुओं की अस्वस्थता की अवस्था में एवं उपासकों के कार्य के लिए सात दिन का वर्षावास तोड़ने की व्यवस्था हुई।[२६] इसी प्रकार अधिक वस्त्र मिलने पर माता–पिता को भी देने[२७] और अपनी सात पीढ़ी से सम्बद्ध भिक्षुणियों से ही वस्त्र धुलवाने की अनुमति मिली।[२८] भिक्षुत्व ग्रहण किये एक नापित द्वारा, अपने विद्वान् पुत्रों को, बुद्ध के सत्कार के लिए नापित का कार्य कर अन्न जुटाने का प्रोत्साहन और पुत्रों द्वारा उनके आदेश का पालन[२९] अत्यन्त रोचक है और यह आभास देता है कि बौद्ध भिक्षुओं का अपने पूर्व के पुत्रों आदि पर किंचित् अधिकार भी होता था। यही नहीं अपने रक्त सम्बन्धी पितरों को सन्तुष्ट करने का भी बौद्ध भिक्षुओं को निर्देश था। भिक्षुओं के लिए बुद्ध का यह उदबोधन, कि कोई भिक्षु अपने माता–पिता को श्रद्धावान्, दुराचारी को सदाचारी, दुष्प्रज्ञ को प्रज्ञावान्, कंजूस को त्यागी बना कर मातृ–पितृ ऋण से उऋण हो सकता है,[३०] सामाजिक सम्बन्ध की इस दृष्टि से अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण है यद्यपि गर्भिणी स्त्री का संघ में प्रवेश निषिद्ध था पर किसी कारण वश प्रवेश पा जाने पर संघ में नवजात शिशु के लालन – पालन की उचित व्यवस्था की जाती थी, यहाँ तक कि प्रसविनी भिक्षुणी के लिए सहचरी भिक्षुणी देना भी अनुमत था।[३१] इस प्रकार के नियम भिक्षु–भिक्षुणियों में किंचित् ममत्व एवं वात्सल्य भावना का संकेत प्रस्तुत करते हैं।

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२२. वि०म०, ३.१०,

२३. वि०म०, ३.१२.१–२,

२४. वि०चु०, ७.३.१४–१५,

२५. धम्मपद, बुद्धवग्ग, गाथा १६४, "तुलनीय, गोखले", इ०हि०क्वा०, जिल्द ३२.१६५६.३५"

२६. वि०म०, क्रमशः ३.५ एवं ३.७ आदि।

२७. वि०म०, ८.२२,

२८. वि०सु०, नि०पा०, ४ और आगे; तुलनीय पाचित्तिय, २५ और २६ (भिक्खु पा०); सं०नि०, थपति सुत्त आदि।

२९. वि०म०, ६.३७,

३०. अ०नि०,२.४.२,

३१. वि०सु०, पाचित्तिय, ६१; वि०चु० १०.२५.१,

उल्लेखनीय है कि प्रारम्भिक पालि वाङ्मय में पूर्व–पत्नी की उपेक्षा के ही निर्देश हैं। तृष्णा को दुःख का मूल मानने वाले और वैवाहिक जीवन को काम–तृष्णा का मूर्तरूप समझने वाले सहधर्म में यह स्थिति कुछ भी अस्वाभाविक नहीं । भिक्षु के लिए अपनी पूर्व पत्नी से मधुर सम्बन्ध बनाए रखने से सदा विषय–वासना के प्रति आकर्षण का भय हो सकता है परन्तु उपर्युक्त अन्य तथ्यों के परिप्रेक्ष्य में देखने से यह आभास होता है कि बुद्ध की गृहस्थ जीवन की परिभाषा अति संकीर्ण और प्रायः पत्नी तक ही सीमित थी। सभी बातों को दृष्टि में रखते हुए सामान्य पारिवारिक सम्बन्धों से बौद्ध भिक्षुओं को सर्वांश में विरक्त नहीं कहा जा सकता। यद्यपि इस प्रकार के नियम–परिवर्धन में एक विकास–क्रम देखना चाहिये।

बुद्ध अपने भिक्षु–भिक्षुणियों के सद्‌गुणी होने के साथ ही उपासकों के कर्त्तव्य पालन के भी हिमायती थे। यह तो सत्य है कि वे अध्यात्मसाधना की दृष्टि से सांसारिक जीवन को अनुपयुक्त ही नहीं, अपितु बाधक मानते थे[३२] तथा प्रायः गृहियों एवं कामभोगियों को अपने द्वारा आविष्कृत धर्म के परिज्ञान के अयोग्य समझते थे।[३३] विनय के नियमों के अनुसार तो जन सामान्य के समक्ष"सुत्तन्त–पाठ" और "प्रतिमोक्ष–पाठ" प्रायः वर्जित था।[३४] परन्तु पालि साहित्य में यत्र–तत्र बुद्ध ने यह मत व्यक्त किया है कि गृही हो या परिव्राजक सम्यक् प्रतिपत्ति वाला होने पर व्यक्ति न्यायकुशल धर्म का आराधक हो सकता है। यद्यपि यह संदिग्ध है कि बुद्ध के जीवन काल में ही भिक्षुओं द्वारा अर्ज्य उद्देश्यों– **"स्रोतापत्ति", "सकतागामीत्व", "अनागामीत्व"** एवं **"अर्हत्व" का विकास हो गया था,** फिर भी यह उल्लेखनीय है कि मृतक उपासकों के गतिख्यापन के समय उपर्युक्त में से प्रथम तीन को उपासकों द्वारा भी प्राप्य बताया गया है।[३५] कभी–कभी बुद्ध का इस प्रकार भी कथन है कि किसी–किसी को अष्टांग मार्ग का उचित आचरण करने से उसी फल की प्राप्ति हो सकती है जो गृहत्यागी भिक्षुओं को प्राप्य है।[३६] अनाथपिण्डिक की बुद्ध ने १०० वर्ष के प्रव्रजित भिक्षु से तुलना की थी। इसी संदर्भ में वज्जिय माहित का नाम उल्लेखनीय है जिसकी योग्यता को बुद्ध ने चिरप्रव्रजित भिक्षु के समकक्ष बताया था।[३७] उन्होंने तयुस्स,भल्लिक, हत्थक, चित्त आदि अष्टशील गृहपतियों को अमृतसाक्षात्कर्ता भी घोषित किया था।[३८] इस प्रकरण में वेलुकण्टकी नन्दमाता का उदाहरण भी उल्लेखनीय है, जो ब्राह्म मुहूर्त्त में उठकर 'सत्तन्त' पाठ करती और जो अपने मृत पति के गन्धर्व रूप में आने पर

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३२. म०नि०, 'देदहसुत्त', 'छन्निसोधन सुत्त', 'सम्बाघो धरोवासो रजापथा"; तुलनीय, सं०नि० "थपतिसुत्त"आदि।

३३. वि०म०, १५.३; म०नि० "दन्तभूमिसुत्त"।

३४. वि०सु०, पाचितिय, "अनुसम्पन्ने वेमतिको पदसो धम्मं वाचेति, आपत्ति पाचित्तियस्स। अनुपसम्पन्ने उपसम्पन्ना मन्नी पदसो धम्मं वाचेति, आपत्ति पाचित्तियस्स", और वि०म०, २.१६.८; तुलनीय नलिनाक्ष दत्ता, इ०हि०क्व०, १६४५ जिल्द, २१,१७८

३५. दी०नि०, "जनवसभसुत्त"।

३६. तुलनीय, सं०नि०, ५५.५४ (मिलानसुत्त): दत्त एवं बाजपेयी,१६५६,११६।

३७. अ०नि०, १०,१०,३ (किंदिदिठक सुत्त)और १०.१०.४ (वज्जिय माहित सुत्त)।

३८. वही, ६.१२.४–२३ (भल्लिकादि सुत्तानि)।

भी विकृत चित्त न हुई। इकलौते पुत्र की राजपुरुषों के द्वारा हत्या करने पर भी उसे क्षोभ नहीं हुआ।[३९] इन उदाहरणों से यह स्पष्ट होता है कि बुद्ध की दृष्टि में अध्यात्म–साधना की दृष्टि से सांसारिक जीवन सर्वथा अनुपयोगी न था।

अब यह जिज्ञासा सहज ही उठ खड़ी होती है कि क्या बुद्ध ने जन सामान्य के लिए और समाज के नियमन–संयमन से सम्बन्धित उपदेश भी दिए थे। जैसा कि ऊपर उल्लेख किया जा चुका है बुद्ध के चिन्तन का विषय अत्यन्त व्यापक था परन्तु यह निर्विवाद है कि बुद्ध के उपदेशों में मूल उपदेश लोक हिताय और लोकानुकम्पाय ही था। लोक भाषा में उपदेश देना और अपनी स्वकीय भाषा में अपने उपदेशों के संग्रह की आज्ञा देना[४०] आदि इस तथ्य के द्योतक हैं कि बुद्ध अधिकाधिक लोगों तक अपना उपदेश पहुँचाना चाहते थे।

स्वयं बुद्ध की यह मान्यता थी कि प्रत्येक व्यक्ति का आचरण भिन्न हो सकता है, अतः वे श्रोता के अनुरूप उपदेश भी देते थे। "कालामसुत्त" में उन्होंने वक्ता के कथित तथ्यों की प्रामाणिकता को परख कर ही ग्रहण करने का सुझाव दिया था।[४१] बुद्ध अपने व्यवहार और विचारों को किसी पर थोपना नहीं चाहते थे। धम्मिक के प्रश्न पर कि क्या बुद्ध किसी को कम तथा किसी को अधिक रुचि से उपदेश देते हैं, बुद्ध का उत्तर था कि जैसे कृषक अपने उत्तम, मध्यम और सामान्य श्रेणी के खेतों पर क्रम से ही उनकी गुणवत्ता के अनुरूप प्रेम करता है उसी तरह मेरे भिक्षु और अन्य क्षेत्र हैं, जिन्हें मैं उनकी रुचि के अनुरूप उपदेश देता हूँ।[४२]

गौतम बुद्ध के अनेक उपदेश तो ऐसे हैं जो भिक्षुओं, उपासकों और बौद्धेतरों, सब पर समान रूप से लागू माने जा सकते हैं। गृहस्थों के लिए दिए गये उपदेश दीघनिकाय को छोड़ प्रायः निकाय में "गहपति वग्ग" नाम से संगृहीत हैं। **दीघनिकाय** में भी गृहियों से सम्बद्ध **"जनवसभ"** और सिंगालोवाद सुत्त प्राप्त होते हैं। सिंगालोवाद सुत्त को तो निर्विवाद रूप से जन सामान्य की आचार संहिता के रूप में स्वीकार किया जा सकता है और श्री लंका की थेरवादी परम्परा उसे "गृही विनय" के रूप में प्रस्तुत भी करती है।[४३] इन सब में बुद्ध ने या तो व्यक्ति विशेष को या समूह को सम्बोधित करते हुए उपदेश दिया है। इसके अलावा भी प्रायः सम्पूर्ण बौद्ध वाङ्मय में सांसारिक जीवन और सामाजिक विधाओं से सम्बद्ध उपदेश यत्र–तत्र मिलते हैं। पालि वाङ्मय में मरणासन्न उपासकों के उपदेश के लिए आमन्त्रण पर बुद्ध या बौद्ध भिक्षुओं के जाने और उपदेश देने के अनेक उद्धरण प्राप्त होते हैं। वर्षकार का राजनैतिक सलाह के लिए बुद्ध के पास आना, बिम्बिसार और प्रसेनजित द्वारा समय–समय पर बुद्ध से सलाह प्राप्त करना, लोगों का उनके पास अपनी शंका के समाधान के लिए आना, ये सभी तथ्य संकेत देते हैं कि

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३९. वही, ७.५.१० (नन्दमातासुत्त)।

४०. वि०चु०, ६.३३.१.

४१. अ०नि०, ३.७.५ (केसमुत्तिसुत्त)।

४२. सं०नि०, ४०.७

४३. राबर्ट सी० चाइलडर्स, दी होल इ्यूटी ऑव दी बुद्धिस्ट ले मैन, १९५३.१३५

बुद्ध और बौद्धधर्म अपने समृद्ध दिनों में न केवल अपने सामाजिक और नैतिक मूल्यों का रक्षक रहा अपितु अध्यात्म उपदेष्टा, व्यक्तिगत सलाहकार, शिक्षक और राजनीतिक द्रष्टा भी हुआ।[४४] इस प्रकार बौद्ध धर्म जन सामान्य के लिए न केवल पारलौकिक जीवन को आनन्दमय बनाने का प्रेरक तत्त्व था, अपितु सांसारिक जीवन को सुखमय और समृद्ध बनाने का भी उपदेष्टा कहा जा सकता है।

बुद्ध के द्वारा भिक्षुओं और जन सामान्य के लिए दिये गये उपदेशों के आधार पर यह सामान्य धारणा बन चली है कि बुद्ध द्वारा आविष्कृत अहिंसा प्रवण, मध्यम-मार्गी धर्म सरल तथा सुबोध था, जो न तो अतिक्लिष्ट वैदिक कर्मकाण्डों और कायक्लेश–प्रधान तप में विश्वास रखता था और न ही भोग विलासिता के प्रति आसक्ति में, जैसा कि ऊपर उल्लेख किया जा चुका है, वस्तुतः यह धर्म तत्कालीन पुरोहित–पाखण्डों, जाति–वर्ग सम्बन्धी दुरूह मान्यताओं और ऊंच–नीच की भावना से त्रस्त समय और समाज की मांग के अनुरूप था। इसके सिद्धान्त व्यावहारिक धरातल पर मानव के दुःख–दर्द को लेकर विवेचित थे।

अतः यह एक प्रकार का मानव धर्म था। इस धर्म में स्थल–स्थल पर भाग्यवाद का खण्डन और कर्मवाद का मण्डन है। कर्म के द्वारा सभी सुख–सुविधाओं यहाँ तक कि निर्वाण की प्राप्ति को भी सरल बताया गया है।[४५] निश्चय ही इस प्रकार की भावना के पीछे बुद्ध की लोकोपकारी इच्छा कार्य कर रही थी। बुद्ध द्वारा भिक्षुओं और जन–सामान्य के लिए दिए गये उपदेशों के आधार पर यह सामान्य धारणा बनी है कि बुद्ध समता और प्रेम पर आधृत, अहिंसा–प्रवण, कर्मनिष्ठ एवं नैतिक समाज के पक्ष में थे। उल्लेखनीय है कि बुद्ध के आविर्भाव से कुछ पूर्व समाज में, ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय, वैश्य और शूद्र जैसा वर्ण–विभाजन प्रभाव में था पर उनके युग में विभाजन–क्रम में किंचित् परिवर्तन हुआ और वरेण्यता क्रम से "खत्तिय", "ब्राह्मण", "वेस्स", एवं "सुद्द" जैसा विभाजन अस्तित्व में आया। यद्यपि पालि वाङ्मय के सामान्य अध्ययन से यह स्पष्ट है कि प्रथम विभाजन न तो लुप्त हो गया था और न ही दूसरा विभाजन निरापद मान्य; प्रत्युत दोनों प्रकार की विभाजन सम्बन्धी मान्यताओं में यत्किंचित् संघर्ष के लक्षण परिलक्षित होते हैं। वरेण्यता क्रम में ब्राह्मण-प्रथम था अथवा क्षत्रिय यह विवाद का विषय रहा।

त्रिपिटक में बुद्ध प्रायः जातिवाद की निस्सारता और कर्म की प्रधानता पर उपदेश देते वर्णित हैं। उनके द्वारा न केवल जातीय अपितु सामाजिक बन्धनों से भी परे हट कर बौद्ध संघ की स्थापना में भी, जिसमें ब्राह्मण से लेकर शूद्र और राजा से लेकर रंक तक की दीक्षा विहित थी, इसी भाव के दर्शन किये गए हैं। भिक्षुओं के चरमोद्देश्य की प्राप्ति भी सामूहिक प्रयास पर नहीं वरन् व्यक्तिगत कर्म पर आधारित थी। बुद्ध की यह मान्यता थी कि जैसे नदियां समुद्र में विलीन हो, समुद्र नाम से ही सम्बोधित होती हैं, उसी प्रकार संघ में दीक्षा के बाद प्रत्येक व्यक्ति "शाक्य पुत्रीय श्रमण" के नाम से अभिहित होगा।[४६]

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४४. तुलनीय, गोखले, इ०हि०क्वा०, जिल्द, ३२,१९५६,३६,

४५. दी०नि०, "जनवसभसुत्त"; म०नि०, "एसुकारिसुत्त" और "चुलकम्मविभंगसुत्त"।

४६. वि०चु०, ६.१४,

बौद्ध चिन्तन की दृष्टि से सभी मनुष्य, मनुष्य होने के नाते समान हैं। उनमें ऊंच–नीच, सुजन्मा–कुजन्मा जैसा विभेद करना उचित नहीं। बुद्ध की दृष्टि में ब्राह्मण उच्च तथा उत्कृष्ट जाति के हैं और अन्य निम्न और हीन जैसे कथन व्यर्थ हैं। वस्तुतः सभी जाति के लोग बराबर हैं– "चत्तारों वण्ण सम–समा।"[४७] कोई व्यक्ति जन्मना किसी जाति से सम्बद्ध नहीं होता अपितु कर्मणा होता है। कोई ब्राह्मण कुल में जन्म लेकर निकृष्ट कृत्यों का सम्पादन करता है तो इस जन्म में कलंकित होता है और मरणोपरान्त नरक जाता है। उसका ब्राह्मण कुल में उत्पन्न होना न तो उसे कलंकित होने से बचा सकता है न तो नरक जाने से। इसके विपरीत सोपाक जैसे निम्नजातीय परिवार में जन्म लेने के बावजूद मातंग अपने सद्कर्मों से ऋषि का दर्जा प्राप्त कर महनीय कीर्ति का भागी होता है। उसका निम्नजन्मा होना न ही उसे ख्याति–काम से रोक सका और न ब्रह्मविहार से।[४८]

बुद्ध के अनुसार किसी जाति–विशेष में जन्म लेने के कारण किसी व्यक्ति को उस जाति–विशेष के कृत्य सम्पादन के लिए प्रेरित करना समीचीन नहीं। इस दृष्टि से एक पूर्व के नामित बौद्ध भिक्षु का कथानक उल्लेखनीय है। उसने अपने विद्वान् पुत्रों द्वारा पारिवारिक पेशे से ही धन एकत्र करा कर उससे बुद्ध प्रमुख भिक्षु संघ को खाद्य–पदार्थ अर्पित किया था। यद्यपि यह कृत्य बौद्ध धर्म के प्रति परम अभिरुचि का द्योतक है तथापि बुद्ध ने विद्वान् पुत्रों से हज्जाम का कृत्य करने के लिए प्रेरित करने के कारण उस बौद्ध भिक्षुक की पर्याप्त निन्दा की थी।[४९] वस्तुतः "खत्तिय", "ब्राह्मण", "वैस्स", "सुद्द" जैसे सामाजिक उद्‌बोधन पारम्परिक सम्बोधन मात्र हैं। इनके पीछे पारिवारिक या आनुवांशिक भाव नहीं लेना चाहिए। धम्म अपने आप में उत्कृष्ट है और इसका पालन इहलोक–परलोक दोनों के लिए हितकर है।"[५०] धम्म का आशय है विद्या और चरण। ऐसा मन्तव्य है कि "विज्जाचरण–सम्पन्नों, सो सेट्ठो देवमानुसेति।"[५१] यहाँ विज्जा–चरण का तात्पर्य है, शील, समाधि और प्रज्ञा।[५२] इनसे सम्पन्न व्यक्ति देव और मनुष्य दोनों में श्रेष्ठ है। इस प्रकार स्पष्ट है कि जिस व्यक्ति की परिचर्या से शील, श्रुत, श्रद्धा, प्रज्ञा आदि की वृद्धि होती हो उसकी सेवा करनी चाहिए, चाहे वह किसी भी जाति–वर्ग से सम्बद्ध हो ।[५३] वस्तुतः बुद्ध का कर्म सिद्धान्त बौद्ध दर्शन का सार और बड़ा ही व्यापक था। बुद्ध ने ऐहिक–आमुष्मिक सभी प्रकार की सुख समृद्धि के लिए कर्म के महत्त्व को प्रतिपादित किया। "चूलकम्म विभंग सुत्त" में तो उन्होंने कर्म को ही सब कुछ–दायाद, योनि, बन्धु और प्रतिशरण माना है।[५४]

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४७. दी०नि०, भाग–१, पृ० ८०,

४८. ख०नि०, भाग–१, पृ० २८९–९०,

४९. वि०म०, ६.३७,

५०. दी०नि०, भाग–३ पृ० ७२–७५,

५१. दी०नि०, भाग–१, पृ० ८९–९१,

५२. देखो,महेश तिवारी, सोशियो-इकोनामिक आइडियाज़ इन अर्ली बुद्धिस्ट स्क्रिप्चर्स, १९८४,पृ० ४–५ (बुद्धिस्ट एण्ड नेशनल कल्चर्स विषयक प्रथम अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय गोष्ठी में प्रस्तुत शोध पत्र)।

५३. म०नि०, "एसुकारिसुत्त"।

५४. म०नि०, "चूलकम्मविभंगसुत्त"।

यद्यपि सरकानि शाक्य जैसे कुछ उदाहरणों तथा क्षत्रियों के प्रति आकर्षण से सम्बद्ध प्रकरणों से बुद्ध का कर्म सिद्धान्त निश्चय ही खण्डित होता है,[५५] परन्तु उन्हें अपवाद ही मानना चाहिए। कर्मों के अनुसार ही व्यक्ति के मूल्यांकन या जाति–वर्ग के निर्धारण की यह धारणा निश्चय ही जन्मानुसारी वर्ण–भेद व ब्राह्मण धारणा की वैदिक परम्परा के हिंसामय यज्ञों की विरोधी थी, साथ ही इनमें तत्कालीन भौतिक संस्कृति के स्पर्धापूर्ण वातावरण में एक गरीब व्यक्ति को भी अपने कर्मों के माध्यम से करोड़पति बनने की प्रेरणा थी। इसी प्रकार इस सिद्धान्त के अनुसार वे अपने कर्मों के बल पर ब्राह्मण और मुक्ति प्राप्ति का उत्साह लाभ कर सकते थे।

व्यक्ति की उच्च या हीन स्थिति या सामान्य रूप से सामाजिक विषमता की कर्मानुसारी व्याख्या तो बुद्ध के पहले के भी भारतीय साहित्य में मिलती है और बुद्ध के समकालीन और किंचित् बाद के साहित्य में भी। पर अनुमानतः तत्कालीन वर्ण एवं जाति व्यवस्था पर इसका विशेष प्रभाव नहीं पड़ा और स्वयं बुद्ध को विभिन्न रूपों में इस व्यवस्था से समझौता करना पड़ा। कभी–कभी बुद्ध चारों जातियों में क्षत्रिय एवं ब्राह्मण के पूजार्ह, स्वागतार्ह और सेव्य होने का व्याख्यान देते हैं।[५६] यह भी उक्त है कि बौद्ध लेखकों ने जाति को सामाजिक संगठन के रूप में देखने का प्रयास नहीं किया अपितु उन्होंने यह दिखाया कि मुक्ति प्राप्ति में जाति का कोई महत्त्व नहीं। बुद्ध के इस प्रश्न पर कि कौन भिक्षु उत्तम भोजन, जल और आवास के अधिकारी हैं, भिक्षुओं का यह उत्तर था कि जो दीक्षा के पूर्व क्षत्रिय, ब्राह्मण या वैश्य कुल के होते हैं।[५७]

इस प्रकार यह स्पष्ट है कि अपनी किन्हीं मजबूरियों के कारण बुद्ध को पूर्व वर्णित जाति सिद्धान्त स्वीकार करना पड़ा और भिक्षु भी प्रथम तीन वर्णों को ही प्रतिष्ठा की दृष्टि से देखते थे। विशेषकर क्षत्रियों का स्थान सर्वाग्र था और तत्कालीन जनपदों में प्रशासकीय वर्ग की स्थिति को देखते हुए यह स्वाभाविक भी लगता है।

प्रारम्भिक पालि साहित्य के सामान्य अध्ययन से ऐसा आभास होता है कि बुद्ध सामाजिक समन्वय के इच्छुक थे। इस दृष्टि से उनके "ब्रह्मविहार" का आदर्श विशेष उल्लेखनीय है। "ब्रह्मविहार" का आशय है उत्कृष्ट जीवन–पद्धति। उत्कृष्ट जीवन पद्धति चार मानवीय मूल्यों – "मेत्ता", "करुणा", "मुदिता", और "उपेक्ख" के सम्यक् प्रतिपत्ति से सम्भव है। इन चार मानवीय मूल्यों को सामाजिक ढाँचे का चार आधार स्तम्भ कहा जा सकता है। "मेत्ता" का आशय है "परहित कामता"। "करुणा" मानव–मन की वह स्थिति है जिसमें अनुराग और प्रेम का अजस्र प्रवाह होता है। यह स्थिति मात्र मौखिक सहानुभूति नहीं वरन् दूसरों के दुःख की सहज अनुभूति अर्थात् "पर दुःख–कातरता" है। मुदिता का आशय है दूसरों के सुख–कल्याण में ईर्ष्या–द्वेष विहीन निर्वाद आनन्दानुभूति तथा ऊंच–नीच एवं मूर्ख बुद्धिमान जैसे भेदभाव से परे

५५. सं०नि०, ५५.२४–२५ (पठम सरणानिसक्क सुत्त एवं दुतिय सारणानिसक्क सुत्त); दी०नि० "अम्बट्ठसुत्त"।

५६. म०नि०, "सेखासुत्त" एवं "कणत्थलसुत्त"।

५७. वि०चु०, ६.६.२.

की स्थिति है "उपेक्खा"। बुद्ध इन चार मानव मूल्यों के सतत् अभ्यास का उपदेश न केवल बौद्ध भिक्षुओं को देते वर्णित हैं, वरन् यत्र–तत्र सामान्य जन के समक्ष भी इस प्रकार के उपदेशों का उदाहरण उपलब्ध है।[५८] इस प्रकार के अभ्यास से सामाजिक शांति और सौमनस्य की स्थिति सहज कल्पनीय है। ऐसी स्पृहणीय सामाजिक परिस्थिति में न तो परस्पर दुश्मनी और कलह की आशंका हो सकती है न असंतोष की। ऐसा सामाजिक वातावरण निश्चय ही सर्वांगीण सुख–समृद्धि का जनक होगा।

बुद्ध वस्तुतः अहिंसा–प्रवण नैतिक समाज के पक्ष में थे चोरी, मानव–हिंसा, मैथुन जहाँ भिक्षुओं के लिये पराजिक दोष माने जाते थे[५९] और असत्य भाषण गर्हित समझा जाता था, वहीं हिंसा, चोरी आदि से दूर रहना तथा ब्रह्मचर्य का पालन करना जन–सामान्य के लिए भी उपदिष्ट था।[६०] अहिंसा धर्म का उपदेश तो उपनिषदों में भी उपलब्ध होता है पर वहाँ यज्ञों आदि में पशु हिंसा अभिमत थी।[६१] बुद्ध ने हिंसामय यज्ञ को भी गर्हित बताया।[६२] शिकारी, कसाई के कार्य, मांस–व्यापार, मानव–विक्रय आदि बौद्धों के लिए तथा आदर्श गृहस्थों के लिए वर्जित थे।[६३] बुद्ध न केवल मानव अपितु प्राणिमात्र की हिंसा के निन्दक थे। वस्तुतः बुद्ध के अहिंसा के सिद्धान्त की परिधि में ही उनके द्वारा निर्दिष्ट सत्य, अस्तेय को भी कुछ सीमा तक रखा जा सकता है क्योंकि वे सत्य भाषण के साथ ही मृदु वाणी के भी पक्ष में थे और अचौर्यता का तात्पर्य बेईमानी से भी वर्जन प्रतीत होता है।[६४]

गृहस्थों के लिये मांस–भक्षण अविदित न था। पालि साहित्य में यत्र–तत्र भिक्षु तथा स्वयं बुद्ध भी मांस खाते वर्णित हैं, यहाँ तक कि कुछ विशेष छूट के साथ भिक्षुओं को भी बुद्ध ने मांस भक्षण का निर्देश दिया।[६५] इसके लिए जैनियों ने उनकी कटु आलोचना भी की थी[६६], जिस आधार पर कुछ आधुनिक विद्वानों ने भी बुद्ध पर आक्षेप किया है।[६७] पर इस संदर्भ में बुद्ध को दोषी ठहराने के बदले उनकी परिस्थितियों पर भी ध्यान अपेक्षित होगा। वस्तुतः बौद्ध भिक्षुओं का जीवन–यापन गृहस्थों पर ही निर्भर था। अतः उनके द्वारा अर्पित भोज्य पदार्थ का भक्षण विहित था क्योंकि भिक्षुओं की अल्पकामिता इसी में निहित थी। कुछ उदाहरणों से ऐसा

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५८. म०नि०, "चूलअस्सपुर सुत्त"।

५९. वि०सु० (भिक्खु पा०) "पराजिकधम्म"।

६०. दी०नि०, "सिंगालोवाद सुत्त"।

६१. छान्दोग्य उपनिषद् २.१५.

६२. दी०नि०, "कूटदन्तसुत्त"।

६३. अं०नि०, ५.१८; विशेषकर ५.१८.७ (उपासकवग्ग, "वणिज्जासुत्त")

६४. तुलनीय, बैशम "वण्डर दैट वाज़ इण्डिया, १९५६.२८७ और आगे।"

६५. भिक्षुओं के मांस–भक्षण के संदर्भ में देखें, लेखक के ग्रन्थ का अध्याय–५.

६६. वि०म०, ६.३१.१३; म०नि०, "सीहसुत्त"।

६७. मदनमोहन सिंह, बुद्ध कालीन समाज और धर्म, १९७२.६८.

आभास होता है कि बुद्ध मंगलकारी भावना की पूर्ति के लिए अप्रशस्त पदार्थों के प्रयोग के भी पक्ष में थे।[६८] युद्ध के संदर्भ में बुद्ध के बहुत वक्तव्य नहीं हैं, पर अनुमान होता है कि ये युद्ध के विरोधी थे और उनकी दृष्टि में धर्म–युद्ध नाम की भी कोई चीज नहीं है।[६९] राजोवाद जातक का उदाहरण –

"अकोधेन जिने कोधम् असाधुम् साधुना जिने।
जिने कदरियम् दानेन, सच्छेनालिक वादिनम्।।"

उनकी युद्ध विरोधी भावना की दृष्टि से अत्यन्त रोचक है। अर्थात् राजा को चाहिए कि वह क्रोधी को अक्रोध, दुष्टों को सौजन्य, कृपण को प्रचुर दान तथा मिथ्यावादी को अपने सद्वचन से वशवर्ती बनायें। शाक्यों और कोक्तियों के रोहिणी नदी के जल विवाद और बुद्ध के हस्तक्षेप से उसका शान्तिपूर्ण समाधान तो प्राचीन स्रोतों से समर्थित नहीं है, परन्तु आधुनिक इतिहासकार प्रायः इसकी ऐतिहासिकता पर संदेह नहीं करते। इस प्रकार यह घटना भी बुद्ध को अहिंसा का पक्षधर और युद्ध का विरोधी सिद्ध करती है। इसी प्रकार गृहस्थ जीवन और उपासकों के आदर्श में जैसा कि ऊपर उल्लेख किया जा चुका है, बार–बार मैत्री भाव, करुणा, सहयोग आदि पर बल देने से भी इस तथ्य की पुष्टि होतीं है। बुद्ध के द्वारा अनाथपिण्डिक की झगड़ालू पुत्रवधू के सौमनस्य उत्पन्न करने के कथानक का प्राचीन पालि परम्परा में उल्लेख है।[७०] बुद्ध क्रोधी व्यक्ति के पर्याप्त निन्दक थे।[७१] कलह शमन के लिए उभय पक्ष के समक्ष निर्णय देना, स्मृति, अमूढ़ता, प्रतिज्ञा, बहुमत तथा उसके पाप कर्म के अनुरूप निर्णय देना, उभय पक्ष की अनुमति से मुकदमा समेटना आदि का विधान था।[७२] इस प्रकार बुद्ध का सामाजिक सुख–शान्ति एवं नैतिक समाज का आदर्श समाज सन्तुलन की दृष्टि से वास्तव में स्तुत्य है। अहिंसा, शान्ति और प्राणिरक्षा का आदर्श मानव–मानव और जीव–जीव में सह अस्तित्व के भाव के लिए अत्यन्त आवश्यक था।

सामाजिक सुख–शान्ति और जनता के नियमन–संयमन की दृष्टि से राजा के महत्त्व का प्रतिपादन भी महत्त्वपूर्ण है। बुद्ध की दृष्टि में राजा का कर्त्तव्य है कि वह जनता को बुरे कर्मों से रोके, भ्रष्टों को दण्डित करे और सत्कर्मों के प्रति प्रोत्साहित करे।[७३] राजपुरुषों एवं परिचारकों को परिश्रमी बनाने के लिए राजा को स्वयं का परिश्रमी होना आवश्यक था।[७४] नामकरण के संदर्भ में बुद्ध की "धम्मन परे रञ्जेतीति राजा" जैसी व्याख्या यह सिद्ध करती है कि राजा धर्माचरण से लोगों को आनंदित करता था। वह प्रजा द्वारा प्रशंसित, पृथ्वी का

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६८. वि०चु०, ५.२१; तुलनीय, म०नि०, "बोधिराजकुमारसुत्त" आदि।

६९. डि वैरी, सो०इ०द्र०, पृ० १२८–१२९; श्री राहुल, व्हाट दी बुद्ध टॉट, १९७४.८४.

७०. अ०नि०, ७.५.१० (भरिया सुत्त)।

७१. अ०नि०, ७.६.११ (क्रोधनसुत्त)।

७२. अ०नि०, ७.८.१०(अधिकरण समथसुत्त)।

७३. दी०नि०, "अग्गञ्सुत्त"।

७४. स०नि०, कोसल संयुत्त, "जहाँ इस प्रकार के बहुत से तथ्य संकलित हैं।"

अधिपति और प्रजा का हितैषी था।[७५] चक्रवर्ती राजा बुद्ध द्वारा प्रशंसित था। उसका कर्त्तव्य था कि वह लोगों को पंचशील के पालन के प्रति प्रेरित करे और वांछितों को यथेच्छ दान दे, राजा–प्रजा में पिता–पुत्र का सम्बन्ध भी झलकता है।[७६]

यद्यपि बुद्ध ने संबके लिए उपदेश दिया पर, जैसा कि ऊपर उल्लेख है कि जन सामान्य के लिए दिए गये उपदेश अपेक्षाकृत कम हैं। फिर भी अनेक उपदेश ऐसे हैं जो बौद्धों और अबौद्धों दोनों पर समान रूप से लागू होते हैं। संख्या में कम ही सही पर इन उपदेशों से बुद्ध की आदर्श गृहस्थी सम्बन्धी मान्यताओं का अच्छा खासा चित्र प्रस्तुत होता है।

बुद्ध को एक ऐसे आदर्श समाज की अपेक्षा थी जिसका प्रत्येक सदस्य पुरुषार्थी हो और न केवल समाज के अन्य सदस्यों के प्रति बल्कि अनागरिक समाजेतर व्यक्तियों एवं जीव–जन्तुओं के प्रति भी अपने उत्तरदायित्व का निर्वाह करे। आदर्श गृहस्थ बहुजन हिताय, बहुजन सुखाय हो कर माता–पिता के प्रति कर्त्तव्यनिष्ठ होता है और कृतज्ञ हो धर्मानुसार उनकी पूजा–अर्चना करता है। वह अनागरिक प्रव्रजित ब्रह्मचारियों का आदर करता है, धर्म के विषय में प्रज्ञावान् होता है और राजाओं, देवताओं, जाति–बंधुओं का हित करने वाला होकर; वह मात्सर्य लोक को त्याग कल्याण–लोक को प्राप्त करता है।[७७] इससे स्पष्ट है कि बुद्ध सामाजिक क्षेत्र में ही नहीं बल्कि नैतिक, राजनैतिक, धार्मिक सभी क्षेत्रों में व्यक्ति के कर्त्तव्यों और गृहस्थों तथा श्रमण–परिव्राजकों के परस्पर के आचार–विचार के सतर्क उपदेष्टा थे। **दीघनिकाय** के "सिंगालोवाद सुत्त" से इन सभी तथ्यों पर स्पष्ट प्रकाश पड़ता है।

बुद्ध द्वारा सिंगाल के छः दिशाओं के प्रणाम करने के महत्त्व का खण्डन और उनके स्थान पर माता–पिता, गुरु–अमात्य, श्रमण–ब्राह्मण, मित्र–दास, भृत्य को ही सत्करणीय दिशा बताना

"माता पिता दिसा पुब्बा, आचरिया दक्खिणा दिसा।
पुत्ता-दारा दिसा पच्छा, मित्ता-मच्चा च उत्तरा
दास-कम्भकरा हेटठा, उद्धम समण ब्राह्मणा।
एता दिसा नमस्सेय्या अलमत्तो कुले गिही।।"

वास्तव में व्यक्ति को व्यावहारिक जगत से जोड़ने का प्रयत्न था और उसके सामाजिक और नैतिक कर्तव्यों की पूर्ति का ही उपदेश था।

भिक्षुओं की तरह ही जन सामान्य का भी कर्त्तव्य था कि वह नैतिकता के प्रति सतर्क रहे। इस संदर्भ में उसके लिए ब्रह्मचर्य का पालन, जीव–हिंसा से विरति, सत्य–भाषण और अचौर्यता निर्दिष्ट थी। स्वेच्छया द्वेष, मोह और भय के वशीभूत हो धर्मातिक्रमण करना वर्जित था। गुरु शिष्य के कर्त्तव्य का भी स्पष्ट निर्देश है। जहाँ शिष्य से गुरु की उचित

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७५. दी०नि०, "अग्गञ्सुत्त"

७६. वही, "महापदानसुत्त"।

७७. अ०नि०, ८.४.८(सप्पुरिसुत्त)।

परिचर्या और उसके द्वारा दी गई शिक्षाओं को उचित रीति से ग्रहण करने की अपेक्षा की जाती, वहीं गुरु का धार्मिक कर्त्तव्य था कि वह शिष्य को विनीत बनाये और उसे उचित शिल्पों की शिक्षा दे। वस्तुतः बौद्ध धर्म के गुरु को गुरु, पिता, शिक्षक एवं अनुशासक के रूप में पहचाना जा सकता है। **दीघनिकाय** के "सिंगालोवाद सुत्त" में उसकी दक्षिण दिशा से तुलना की गई है।

आतिथ्य–सत्कार करना गृहस्थों का पुनीत कर्तव्य था। श्रमण ब्राह्मण श्रेष्ठ और पूज्य थे। श्रमण ब्राह्मण समाज में सदगुणों और मानव–मूल्यों का विकास करते हैं, अतः वे उत्तम दिशा के रूप में स्तुत्य हैं। प्रत्येक गृहस्थ का कर्तव्य था कि उनके प्रति मनसा, वाचा, कर्मणा मैत्री भाव रखे और प्रत्येक याचक को यथाशक्ति मुक्त हस्त से दान कर उनकी सेवा करें। बुद्ध का दृष्टिकोण था कि दान से भौतिक सुख प्रतिष्ठादि, स्वर्ग की प्राप्ति एवं देवताओं के सांनिध्य में आनन्दानुभूति होती है।[७८] श्रमण–ब्राह्मण का कर्तव्य था कि वे गृहस्थों को पाप से मुक्त करें तथा कल्याण मार्ग की ओर उन्हें प्रवृत्त करा, स्वर्ग की ओर उन्मुख करें। गृहस्थों को सज्ञान बनाना भी श्रमण ब्राह्मणों का कर्तव्य था।

अर्थ प्रवण नागा समाज जहाँ तत्कालीन समाज की मांग था वहीं स्वयं बुद्ध और बौद्ध भिक्षुओं की भिक्षा जीवी आवश्यकताओं का पूरक भी। आर्थिक दृष्टि से प्रत्येक व्यक्ति का कर्तव्य था कि अपनी भावी पीढ़ी के लिए सम्पत्ति का अर्जन और संरक्षण करें।[७९] धर्म विहित कृत्यों से उत्पन्न कामभोगी-वस्तुएँ हानिप्रद नहीं, बल्कि उनके दान से पुण्य भी होता है।[८०] अच्छे गृहस्थों को मधुमक्खी की भाँति संकेत रूप से भोगों का संचय करना चाहिए और संचित सम्पत्ति का उचित रीति से उपभोग करना चाहिए। वह अपनी सम्पत्ति को चार भागों में विभक्त कर एक को स्वयं प्रयोग में लाये, दो भागों को अन्य कृत्यों में व्यय करे और शेष भाग को आपात काल के लिए छोड़ दे । अतः बुद्ध गृहस्थों के अर्थ–सम्पत्ति सम्बन्धी भौतिक उपयोग के साधनों को भविष्य के लिए सुरक्षित रखने के भी पक्ष में थे। इस प्रकार का प्रबन्ध न केवल भौतिक सुविधा की दृष्टि से अपितु सन्मित्रों की प्राप्ति की दृष्टि से भी अपेक्षित था। किन्हीं–किन्हीं उदाहरणों से तो सम्पत्ति पर सभी पुरुषों के समान अधिकार की प्रशंसा का संकेत मिलता है।[८१] बुद्ध ने नागर सभ्यता के कतिपय दुर्गुणों तथा मद्यपान, असमय–भ्रमण, समज्जासेवन, व द्यूत क्रीड़ा आदि से, जो अर्थ–हानि के साथ ही सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा, मानसिक सन्तुलन, शारीरिक स्वास्थ्य आदि की दृष्टि से भी घातक थीं, दूर रहने का उपदेश दिया। सांसारिक क्षेत्र में सत्संगति और मित्रता सम्बन्धी उपदेश विशेष महत्त्व का था। बुद्ध ने जहाँ लोगों को कुमित्रों से बचने का सुझाव दिया,[८२] वहीं सर्वक्षेत्रीय विकास के लिए सन्मित्रों का साथ भी आवश्यक बताया।

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७८. वही, ५.४.४, तुलनीय, ५.४.१ एवं ५.४.५ सीहसेनापतिसुत्त, तुलनीय, सुमनसुत्त एवं दावानिससंसुत्त।

७९. दी०नि०, 'सिंगालोवादसुत्त।

८०. अ०नि०, १०.१०.१ (कामभोगीसुत्त)।

८१. अ०नि०, ८.३.१–२ (पठम एवं दुतिय उग्ग सुत्त)।

८२. अ०नि०, 'एककनिपात', १७.१०– पाप मित्रता को सर्वाधिक अनर्थकारी कहा गया है। तुलनीय, ६.२.१०(विलामसुत्त);देखो, भरतसिंह उपाध्याय, पालि साहित्य का इतिहास, संवत् २००८,१८२,

सन्मित्र का कर्तव्य था कि वह सुख–दुःख एवं अर्थोपार्जन में सहयोगी हो और उपकारी, अनुकम्पक, गुह्य बातों को छिपाने वाला, पापनिवारक तथा स्वर्ग की ओर प्रवृत्त करने वाला बने। ऐसे मित्र प्रतिष्ठा के योग्य थे और उनकी माता–पिता तथा पुत्र की तरह सेवा परिचर्या आवश्यक थी। ऐसे मित्रों के साथ धनादि से सहयोग करना, समता, मृदुता और विश्वसनीयता, का व्यवहार करना अनुमोदित था। सन्मित्रों से सम्बद्ध व्यक्ति का अन्य भी आदर–सत्कार करते हैं एवं शुभेच्छुओं के सम्भवतः इन्हीं गुणों के कारण उनकी उत्तर दिशा के रूप में कल्पना थी।[८३]

परिवार के संदर्भ में बुद्ध द्वारा उपदिष्ट कर्तव्य निश्चय ही स्पृहणीय हैं। बुद्ध माता–पिता की ब्रह्मतुल्य प्रतिष्ठापना के पक्षधर थे।[८४] माता–पिता की सेवा–शुश्रूषा और सहयोग न केवल सांसारिकों के लिए, वरन् यथावश्यक भिक्षुओं के लिए भी विहित था।[८५] माता–पिता का भरण–पोषण, उनके कृत्यों का सम्पादन, उनकी सन्तुष्टि के लिए वंश परम्परा कायम रखना, भावी पीढ़ी के लिए दाय का प्रतिपादन और पितरों से सम्बद्ध श्राद्ध–कर्म करना गृहियों का प्रायः अनिवार्य कर्तव्य था। पालि साहित्य में माता–पिता की "पूर्व दिशा" के रूप में प्रतिष्ठापना है।[८६]

पत्नी के रूप में स्त्री को अधिकार था कि वह पति से सुख, समृद्धि, अलंकरण तथा यथेष्ट सम्मान प्राप्त करे।[८७] कुल कुमारियों तथा कुल–स्त्रियों को समाज से सम्मान प्राप्त करने का अधिकार था।[८८] पत्नी के रूप में दासी भार्या ही प्रशंसित थी।[८९] उसका कर्तव्य था कि वह मृदुभाषिणी हो और पति के प्रति श्रद्धालु बने। पति से पहले उठे और बाद में सोये। पति के माता–पिता और उसके सम्मानित व्यक्तियों की सेवा पत्नी के लिए प्रशंसित थी। परिवार की संख्या वृद्धि और वंश परम्परा कायम करने में पत्नी पुत्रोत्पत्ति द्वारा तो सहयोग करती ही थी, आर्थिक दृष्टि से भी वह उपादेय थी। पति की मृत्यु के अनन्तर, उसे परिवार में पति के दायित्व का निर्वाह करना और स्वयं के द्वारा अर्जित वस्तु से बच्चों और परिवार वालों का भरण–पोषण करना प्रशंसित था।[९०] सम्भवतः अपने इन्हीं स्पृहणीय कृत्यों के कारण पत्नी और बच्चों की "पश्चिम दिशा" के रूप में प्रतिष्ठा थी।

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८३. दी०नि०, "सिंगालोवादसुत्त"।

८४. अ०नि०, ४.७.३.(ब्रह्मसुत्त)।

८५. वि०म०, ३.७.७.२२.१।

८६. दी०नि०, "सिंगालोवादसुत्त"।

८७. वही, "सिंगालोवादसुत्त"।

८८. वही, "महापरिनिब्बानसुत्त"; अ०नि०,६.३(वज्जिसप्तक वग्ग) आदि।

८९. अ०नि०, ७.६.१० (भरियासुत्त)।

९०. अ०नि०, ६.२.६ (नकुलपितुसुत्त)।

इसी प्रकार पत्नी और पुत्र के प्रति व्यक्ति के कर्तव्य का व्यवस्थित प्रतिपादन है। अपने परिवार का भरण–पोषण करना व्यक्ति का पुनीत कर्तव्य था। पुत्र के प्रति माता–पिता का कर्त्तव्य था कि वे उन्हें पाप से निवृत्त करें, शिल्प में निपुण बनायें तथा योग्य स्त्री से सम्बन्ध करायें। इसी प्रकार प्रत्येक गृहस्थ का कर्तव्य था कि वह पत्नी के प्रति पूर्ण ईमानदार रहे। उसे यथेष्ट सम्मान दे तथा सुख और आभरण आदि का समुचित प्रबन्ध करें।[६१]

स्पष्ट है कि बुद्ध के दृष्टिकोण में स्त्रियों की परिवार की सुख समृद्धि में अहम् भूमिका थी और वह गृही जीवन की अपरिहार्य तत्त्व थी। प्राचीन पालि साहित्य में धारणा सुरक्षित है कि स्त्रियों की प्रतिष्ठा सन्तानोत्पत्ति और मातृत्व में होती है तथा उनके लिए पति की प्राप्ति और असपत्नीक होना परम सुख होता है।[६२] बुद्ध के "स्त्री–प्रकृति–दर्शन" और उनकी अध्यात्मक्षेत्र तथा निर्वाण के प्राप्ति की योग्यता को स्वीकार करते हुए संघ में प्रवेश के आदेश में संकोच ब्रह्मचर्य के पालन में व्यवधान की दृष्टि से तो महत्त्वपूर्ण थी ही, इस तथ्य का भी सूचक है कि बुद्ध स्त्रियों के गृहिणी रूप को ही आदर्श मानते थे। यदि इन तथ्यों में रखकर देखा जाए तो **महावग्ग** में मगधक्षेत्र में बुद्ध के प्रति किया गया यह आक्षेप, कि वे घर उजाड़ने वाले हैं,[६३] न्यायपूर्ण नहीं कहा जा सकता।

बौद्ध एवं जैन साहित्य के अनुशीलन से यह सुविदित है कि प्रायः प्रत्येक समृद्ध परिवारों में नौकर और दास नियुक्त होते थे और अपने क्रिया–कलापों से प्रायः पारिवारिक सदस्य के रूप में मान्यता प्राप्त कर लेते थे। बुद्ध के उपदेशों में इनके लिए भी आवश्यक कर्त्तव्यों का विधान है। प्रत्येक स्वामी का कर्त्तव्य था कि वह दास–भृत्यों से उनकी सामर्थ्य के अनुरूप ही काम लें, अस्वस्थता में उचित उपचार करें तथा उन्हें यथावसर अवकाश दें, उनके लिए भोजनादि का प्रबन्ध और समुचित पारिश्रमिक की व्यवस्था करें। इसी प्रकार दास–भृत्य का अपने स्वामी के प्रति कर्तव्य था कि वे उनसे पहले उठें, पीछे सोवें, चोरी न करें और कार्यों का निपुणतापूर्वक मनोयोग से सम्पादन करें। वस्तुतः दास–कर्मकर सेवा के प्रतीक हैं, और उनके इस महत्त्व को, समाज के षडआयामी ढाँचे में उचित स्थान देते हुए "हेट्ठादिसा" के रूप में प्रतिपादित किया गया है।[६४]

बुद्ध के चिन्तन और उनकी मान्यताओं के विवेचन से यह सुस्पष्ट है कि वे विराट् अध्यात्म–चिन्तक, प्रबुद्ध समाज सुधारक और आचार–विचार के सफल शिक्षक थे। हालांकि कभी–कभी उन्हें तत्कालीन सामाजिक मान्यताओं से समझौता करना पड़ा , भिक्षु–भिक्षुणियों के लिए सामाजिक रीति–रिवाजों के अनुरूप नियम बनाना पड़ा, परन्तु इस प्रकार की समझौतावादी नीति, उनके मध्यममार्गी धर्म और भिक्षाजीवी चारिका प्रधान भिक्षु संघ की आवश्यकताओं को

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६१. वही, "सिंगालोवादसुत्त"।

६२. अ०नि०, ६.५.१० (खत्तियसुत्त), ८.३.७ (पठमबलसुत्त)।

६३. वि०म०, १.२४.५,

६४. दी०नि०, "सिंगालोवादसुत्त",; अ०नि०, ३.४.४ (उग्गहसुत्त)।

देखते हुए, सहज स्वाभाविक है। वस्तुतः समय और समाज की मांग के अनुरूप यह धर्म सिद्धान्त जीवन के व्यावहारिक धरातल पर मानव के दुःख दर्द को लेकर विवेचित एक प्रकार का मानव धर्म था। अतः इसके सिद्धान्तों का समाज–सापेक्ष होना कथमपि विस्मयावह नहीं। रोचक है कि सांसारिक दुःखों को लेकर बुद्ध के चिन्तन का प्रारम्भ होता है और "आत्यन्तिक दुःख निवृत्ति" अथवा "परिनिर्वाण" की अवस्था उनके चिन्तन का परम लक्ष्य है। उनकी कल्याणकारी चिन्तन–दृष्टि अत्यन्त व्यापक थी। उनकी करुणा का विषय न केवल तथाकथित बौद्ध समाज, बल्कि बौद्ध एवं बौद्धेतर सम्पूर्ण समाज था, न केवल मनुष्य वरन् प्राणि मात्र था। उन्होंने तत्कालीन सामाजिक कुरीतियों का तथ्यपरक विश्लेषण कर समता पर आधारित एवं कर्म–प्रधान समाज का आदर्श प्रस्तुत कर सामाजिक सौमनस्य का सुखद मार्ग प्रशस्त किया। इस प्रकार उनके उपदेशों में धार्मिक, राजनैतिक, आर्थिक, सामाजिक, पारिवारिक यत्किंचित् सर्वक्षेत्रीय आदर्शों का सुन्दर समन्वय है। उनके सामाजिक उद्‌बोधनों में विभिन्न जाति–वर्गों एवं पारिवारिक सदस्यों के न केवल पारस्परिक क्रिया कलापों का व्यवस्थित विवेचन है बल्कि गृह त्यागी श्रमण–परिव्राजकों के प्रति उनके तथा श्रमण परिव्राजकों को उनके प्रति परस्पर व्यवहारों एवं उत्तरदाय का सुखकर निरूपण है।

उल्लेखनीय है कि बुद्ध का समाज विषयक चिन्तन उस युग में तो स्पृहणीय था ही आज भी उपादेय है, सामाजिक सन्तुलन एवं सुख–शान्ति की दृष्टि से न केवल भारत अपितु अन्य देशों में भी समादरणीय है। अतः देश–काल की परिधि से परे यह सार्वदेशिक और सार्वकालिक है। वास्तव में बुद्ध के उपदेशों के आधार पर सामाजिक एवं पारिवारिक सम्बन्धों की तथा गृहत्यागियों के प्रति, गृहस्थों के प्रति, गृहत्यागियों के कर्तव्य एवं उत्तरदायों की एक सुव्यवस्थित आचार संहिता तैयार की जा सकती है जो ऐहिक आमुष्मिक दोनों जीवन के अभ्युदय की दृष्टि से महत्त्वपूर्ण है।

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NATURE OF EARLY BUDDHIST HISTORIOGRAPHY

SHANKAR GOYAL

One may begin a study of the nature of the early Buddhist historiography with a reference to the tradition of the late Vedic historiography[1] in the atmosphere of which it originated and developed. In the Vedic age there grew three types of composition which indicate the first systematic attempts of our ancestors to record historical facts. These are, firstly, the *vaṁśas* (succession-lists of Vedic teachers) and the lists of gotras and pravaras (which are translated as family genealogies); secondly, the *gāthās* (epic song-verses) and *nārāśaṃsīs* (songs in praise of heroes); and thirdly, the records of contemporary historical incidents. These are all embedded in different works of the Vedic literature. The early Buddhist historiography was influenced most by the *vaṃśa* lists.

The compilation of succession-lists of Vedic teachers probably begun in the period of the Brāhmaṇas and was continued down to the times of the Āraṇyakas and the Upanishads. The first list is preserved in the *Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa* of the Sāmaveda school; the second and the third are found in the *Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa* likewise belonging to the Sāmaveda school; the fourth and the fifth are found in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad* forming the concluding portion of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* of the white Yajurveda school; the sixth is found at the end of the *Śaṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* of the Ṛgvedic school and the seventh is found in the *Muṇḍaka Upanishad* of the Atharvaveda school. Thus the compilation of these lists can be traced back to the late Brāhmaṇa works of the *Sāmaveda* and *Yajurveda* schools. By contrast the Brāhmaṇas of the Ṛgvedic school (*Ailtareya* and *Kaushītaki*) as well as the Brāhmaṇa of the

1. For Vedic historiography vide V.S. Pathak, *Ancient Historians of India*, Gorakhpur, 1984, Ch. 1 and U.N. Ghoshal, *studies in Indian History and Culture*, 1965, Ch. II.

Atharvaveda school *(Gopatha)* are wanting in such lists. According to U.N. Ghoshal, probably the growing scepticism about Vedic sacrificial ritual, of which we have indications in the Brāhmaṇas themselves and which was to culminate in the revolt of Buddhism and Jainism, led the priestly authors of the late Brāhmaṇa texts to justify themselves with the weight of Formidable authority going back to the gods."[2]

Succession-list of teachers are given in the Gṛhyasūtras also. But there is a great difference between these late lists and those found in the Brāhmaṇa texts. In the lists of the Vedic texts the human teachers were looked upon as historical personages whose names and order of succession were recorded correctly as proof of the genuineness of their teaching while in the later accounts the teachers belong to the rank of semi-divine personages to be venerated along with groups of deities and manes. Now it was felt no longer necessary to transmit their names in genealogical succession. It is true that the oldest names in the Vedic lists consist of the names of deities like Agni, Vāyu, Indra and Brahman. But rest of the names of these lists consist of human teachers who may be broadly accepted as historical. Some of these personages obviously took an outstanding share in the development of Vedic thought and ritual. According to Max mxller "with the exception of the highest links in each chain of teachers the lists have an appearance of authenticity rarely to be met with in Indian composition." However the value of these lists to the modern historian is discounted by the fact that they utterly fail to approach the level of a biography of the human teachers. They are usually were names which acquire some personality only when one is able to relate some ideas or facts mentioned elsewhere in the same or some other text with a particular name. It is against this background that the rise of the early Buddhist historiography has to be studied.

The rise of various religious movements in the sixth century B.C. brought into prominence several tīrthaṅkaras who were marked out from the Vedic thinkers by their more or less distinctive teachings and personified in themselves as it were the whole of their teachings. Nothing, therefore, could be more natural than that their lives should form the subject of reverent investigations by their followers. That the followers of the Buddha were

2. Ghoshal, op.cit, p. 3.

interested in such investigations is apparent from their canonical literature. The present Pali canonical literature represents the scriptures of the Theravādins. The canonical literature of other schools has been preserved in the form of Sanskrit and Prakrit fragments of the original texts recently brought to light in Kashmir and Central Asia, as well as in extensive Tibetan, Chinese and other translations. Like the Vedic lore the Buddhist sacred texts were also at first handed down by oral tradition and were not put to writing till centuries afterwards. According to a tradition preserved in the *Dīpavaṁsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa*, which has been accepted as trust worthy, the Pali *Tripiṭaka* along with its commentaries was fixed in writing for the first time under the Siṁhalese king Vaṭṭagāmaṇī in the first century B.C.

Theoretically the *Tripiṭaka* is a record of important happennings in the life of the Master including his discourses (*Sutta Piṭaka*) and the events connected with the establishment of the Buddhist Church and the enactment of its rules (*Vinaya Piṭaka*), The discourses of the *sutta piṭaka* are not arranged chronologically. Their arrangement is according to their length, topic and mnemonic convenience. However usually the circumstantial account of the events leading up to the discourse, the place where the discourse was given and the time when it was given are mentioned. Thus the *suttas* sometimes include glimpses of contemporary history. The compilers of the *suttas* obviously knew some version of the Paurāṇika history also. They were not much interested in ancient rulers though they have recorded the deeds of some of them. When they wrote, the legends of the chakravartins were no longer historical. The emperors were now ideals to be followed and the Buddhist valued the legends as examples which contemorary kings could follow. The first emperor was Mahāsammata, the Greal Elect. Sometimes he is identified with Manu. Others were Dālhanemi, Reṇu, and Māndhatā, all mentioned in Brāhmanical and Jaina legends also. Stories about historical kings such as Janaka of Videha, and perhaps the ancient kings of Kāśī, Uddālaka, a thinker of the Upanishadic age and probably contemporary of king Janaka, and the fact that he tought at Takkhasilā (as in the *Chhāndogya Upa.*) are also recorded. This 'history', however is already fading into legend and being adapted for the purpose of edification.

In the whole range of Pali canonical literature, no connected biography of Buddha is found. However these texts record some contemporary events in

which activities of the Buddha form a special category. A number of episodes describing the Master's ancestry and birth, his infancy and youth, his renunciation, austerities and enlightenment, his career as a wandering preacher and lastly his nirvāṇa are found interspersed with the texts on doctrine and discipline.

Four suttas in the *Majjhima*, however, describe the days of his wandering in search of Truth. In several more suttas spread over the four Nikāyas and the *Mahāvagga* there are references to Buddha's Enlightenment. The *Mahāvagga* further attempts to narrate the history of the days following the sambodhi, just as the *Mahāparinibbāna sutta* pieces together fragments relating to Buddha's last days and tries to build a continuous narrative. In the *Mahāpadāna sutta* one finds that the attempt to schematize Buddha's life theologically is already far advanced. Basides, there are other incidental references in the Nikāyas which shed some light on Buddha's personality.

Much later is the sketch persented in the *Nidānakathā*. still later, and of only hagiological importance is the Pali poem *Jinacarita*, while *Mālālaṅkāra vatthu* is a quite modern work of uncertain date."[3]

For the authors of these texts the events recorded in them were not records of ordinary events but of "momentous events of cosmic significance, a significance which was not very apparent at first, perhaps (to the immediate followers of the Buddha), but which in any case gained strongly at the expense of the accuracy of the records as the personality of the 'perfect' Buddha (or still more of a Buddha) became a cosmic symbol. The Sthaviras, perhaps more than any other School, preserved ancient records of the Buddha as an ordinary human being living amongst his fellows, subject to sickness and weariness, but they too worked in an accompaniment of supernatural manifestations.[4] The same appears to have been the case with the oldest parts of the Sanskrit canon. Out of these separate legends were woven in later times and with numerous additions, complete biographies of the Buddha, such as we find in the Pali commentaries and chronicles as well as in the Sankskrit *Mahāvastu* and *Lalitavistara*.

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3. G.C. Pande, *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, Allahabad, 1957, p. 369.
4. A.K. Warder, in *Historious of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, ed. C.H. Philips, London, 1961, p.50.

"An early form of the Sanskrit tradition is visible in the collection of legends in the Tibetan scriptures, especially the *Vinaya*. The most important have been translated into English by Rockhill as Life of the Buddha. *Mahāvastu*, belonging to the *Vinaya* of the Lokottaravādins, contains much legendary material for Buddha's biography. *Lalitavistara*, in its present form a Mahāyāna sūtra but containing some clearly old passages, gives a continuous narrative of Buddha's life. The *Abhiniṣkramaṇa* sūtra, existing only in a Chinese translation, has been published in an abridged translation in English by Beal as The Romantic Legend of śākya Buddha. It agrees in the main with the Mahāvastu. Finally, the Sanskrit epic- *Buddhacarita* of Asvaghoṣa-may be mentioned."[5]

According to G.C. Pande the earlier disciples of Buddha paid much less attention to his life than to his teachings, and were inclined to regard him as essentially a human being, a śākya, a Gautama, who, through his own efforts, became Awakened, and finally, at his death, entered a mysterious state beyond common comprehension. He was remembered as a Great Ascetic, a Great Sage; his Dhamma was what remained on earth after his death as the source of inspiration for his followers. The recollection of Buddha's life played a small part in the practice of Dhamma, and hence little attention was devoted to the compilation of his historical biography. Within a century however, the situation began to change through the gradual apotheosis of Buddha, and accounts of his life were embellished and systematised in accordance with the requirements of Buddhological theories."[6]

In the process of transformation of Buddha's personality the authentic fact of his life tended to be obscured or forgotten, while numerous legends gathered around the various incidents of his career. The fact that the romantic tales of Buddha's miraculous conception and birth and the dogmatic beliefs about the six preceding Buddhas occur in the texts of the Pali canon as well as on the relief sculptures of the Bharhut stūpa belonging to the second century B.C. proves their early origin.

Let us begin with the ancestry and birth of the Buddha. Now it is usually accepted that he was born in 563 B.C.[7] and that the place of his birth

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5. Pande, op.cit., pp. 369-70.

6. Ibid., p. 370.

7. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 587; S.R. Goyal, in *Māgadha Sāmrājya kā Udaya*, Pp. 148-52.

was Kapilavasthu, the chief city of the śākyas. The śākyas are described as kshatriyas of pure descent, though at the same time the Brāhmaṇa gotra of Gotama is ascribed to them. In the Ambaṭṭha Sutta of *Dīgha Nikāya* their origin is traced to the eponymous ancestors, four brothers and their sisters, who, expelled by their royal father took refuge in the Himalayas where they intermarried with each other to preserve the purity of their race. The story is put forward as an answer to a proud Brāhmaṇa's description of them as menials and is a deliberate attempt to ennoble the origin of the Buddha, which is not justified by the incidental allusions to the comparative insignificance of the Śākya stock in other parts of the canon. Politically, the Śākya were practically independent till Viḍūḍabha the son and successor of Prasenjit of Kosala invaded them. The administrative and the more important judicial business of their tribal republic was carried out in public assembly while the headship of their state was vested in an elected chief, entitled Rājan. The Pali canon does not try to connect the Śākyas with Mahāsammata, the first king or to carry forward the descent of Śākya kings to the Buddha. Such connected accounts are found for the first time in the Pali commentaries and chronicles, in the Sanskrit and mixed Sanskrit works like the *Mahāvastu* the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins and the *Lalitavistara*. There can be little doubt that these later developments were inspired by the Paurāṇika view of history tracing the descent of royal houses from Manu, the son of Vivasvān and dogmatic belief in a succession of the Buddhas.

Of the genealogy of the Buddha, the Pali texts give very few details. Only in such late discourses as the *Mahāpadān sutta* of *Dīgha Nikāya* and the *Buddhavaṁsa* do we come across the names of Gautama's father and mother. Mahāprajāpati Gotamī is mentioned at serveral places in the *Vinaya* and *Nikāyas*, but her relationship with the Buddha is not mentioned. About his birth and infancy we have a number of stories or legends in the canons of the various sects. In the *Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta* of *Dīgha Nikāya* it is only said that the Samaṇa Gotama is "wellborn on both sides, of pure descent through the mother and through the father back through seven generations with no slur put upon him and no reproach in respect of birth." In the *Achchhariya-abbhuta-dhamma Sutta* of *Majjhima Nikāya*, Ānanda recounts to the assembled monks "exactly as he has heard it from the lips of his Master" that the Bodhisattva, who lived in the Tushita heaven (Heaven of Delight) during the whole terms of his existence, entered his mother's womb to the accompaniment of a measureless effulgence.

When he entered his mother's womb, four deities guarded the four cardinal points to keep watch over the precious child, while the mother was freed from all physical and mental ailments. The mother gave birth in an erect position. The child, as it issued out from her womb was received by the gods and bathed with two jets of water starting from mid-air. Then he took seven strides to the north proclaiming his pre-eminence. However, the incident of the Boddhisattva assuming the form of a white elephant before entering his mother's womb, is not found before the Bharhut stūpa (2nd century B.C.) and later works like the *Nidānakathā*, the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistara*.

The *Nālaka-Sutta* of *Sutta Nipāta*, the *Lalitavistara* and the *Nidānakathā*, introduce us to the famous episode of the visit of the sage Asita to see the holy child shortly after his birth. The metrical introduction (*Vatthugāthā*) of the *Nālaka-Sutta*, which contains this legend, belongs to the class of metrical narratives or ballads. Asita described the Bodhisattva's possession of the external marks of the superman and made the famous prophecy of his attaining the summit of enlightenment. Thus both in form and content the episode has little claim to be regarded as authentic.

On Buddha's education and early life the earliest records are almost fully silent. The later story of his having had in his early-life three different palaces for three seasons does appear plausible in light of the facts that his father was not a king and the Śākyas were not a rich urban community. The early records are also silent on the name of his wife though the Tibetan *Vinaya* speaks of his three wives-Yaśodharā, Gopā and Mṛgajā. Rāhula is mentioned as a monk in the *Nikāyas* but only the *Mahāvagga* makes him the son of the Buddha.

The episodes connected with Buddha's renunciation (*abhinishkramaṇa*) which is said to have occurred in his twenty-ninth year and his search for truth *(ariyapariyesaṇā)* and enlightenment (*Sambodhi*) are related in a number of passages in the Pali *Tripiṭaka*. According to the later tradition the crisis leading to his renunciation came suddenly, and was caused by the first sight of old age, sickness, death and an ascetic. Though sudden conversions are not unknown to history but, as pointed out by Professor G.C. Pande, "It seems difficult to believe that the 'Bodhisattva' could have lived for twenty-eight years without encountering śickness, old age, death and asceticism. The silence of the

Nikāyas over the story deepens our doubts."[8] The earliest accounts of the *abhinishkramaṇa* prove that their authors were not aware of 'the four signs'. In the *Ariyapariyesaṇā Sutta* (Discourse of the Noble Quest) of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, the Bodhisattva simply states that he at first pursued what was subject to rebirth, decay and the rest. Then perceiving the wretchness of these states he sought "the consummate peace of Nirvāṇa which knows neither disease nor death, neither sorrow nor impurity." Then, despite the wishes of his parents, who wept and lamented, he went forth from the householder's to the homeless life. He sought instruction successively from Ālārakālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta, but finding no satisfaction he came to the township of Uruvelā where he sought and won "the consummate peace of Nirvāṇa. The *Mahāsachchaka Sutta* of *Majjhima Nikāya*, speaks of the renunciation in still more general terms and describes the austerities at great length. Here it is said that the Bodhisattva reflecting on the contrast between life at home and life in the open, put on the yellow robes and went forth from the householder's to a homeless life. There flashed on him the three allegories which led him to practise the hardest austerities, till at last, convinced of their futility, he renounced his fasting and was able to enter into the five successive trances and attain the supreme knowledge. "The *Sutta Nipāta* simply states that cramped is this household life, the home of dust. Free as air is going forth. Thus seeing he went forth."

The evolution of the historiography of the episode of renunciation may, however, be noted on the *Nikāyas* themselves. For example a passage in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* attempts to give a dramatic turn to this incident. The Buddha, it says, was a delicately nurtured youth having for himself three lotus pools and three palaces (one for the cold, one for the hot and one for the rainy season). There came to him the poignant reflection on old age, sickness and death, and all the elation in life disappeared. It is unlikely that this is a genuine historical tradition if only because of the poetical character of the story of the three palaces which is also told of Vipassi Buddha in the *MahāpadānaSutta*. Further development of the legend in which Gautama's abstract reflections take the concrete shapes of an aged man, a sick man and a corpse, followed by the sight of a contemplating hermit, was quite natural. Even this

8. Pande, *op.cit.*, p. 374.

development which is found in *Nidānakathā*, the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya* and other works, is anticipated in the story of Buddha vipassi as described in the *Mahāpadāna Sutta*.

After this Gautama spent several years in restless wandering and noble seeking (*ariyapariyesanā*). The *Nikāyas* mention two teachers by name -Ālāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta - from whom he learnt to attain third and fourth immaterial trances respectively. But they failed to answer his quest. Then, passing through Magadha he approached the town of Uruvelā where he had as much austerities as anyone else but could not attain the goal. To strengthen himself he resumed the taking of food, at which his companions left him. Now he adopted the practice of *Jhāna* through which he obtained Enlightenment (*Sambodhi*) under the Bodhi tree. The canonical texts are silent about the temptation of Māra, which played a conspicuous part in the later Buddhist works as well as in Buddhist art. The *Padhāna Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāt*, however, of which parallel versions exist in the Sanskrit *Mahāvastu* and *Lalitavistara*, contain, the first suggestion of this legend. In this *Sutta* not only is Māra said to have vainly tempted Buddha while engaged in the performance of his austerities, but Lust, Aversion, Hunger and Thirst are personified as Māra's armies. According to Thomas, the whole story of the contest with Māra is a mythological development while G.C. Pande sees in it a psychological struggle with secular temptations.

According to *Vinaya* Buddha remained four weeks at the Bodhi tree after obtaining *sambodhi* to enjoy its bliss; later authorities make it a period of seven weeks. After this, according to the *Mahāvagga*, he accepted Tapussa and Bhallika as lay disciples which was followed by Buddha's hesitation to preach and the final decision to preach at the entreaty of Brahmā. In the *Majjhima*, however, Buddha's hesitation and Brahmās entreaty follow *sambodhi* immediately. After this the Buddha went to Benaras where the Pañchavaggīyas were converted. After this there is no continuous narrative of his activities in the Nikāyas. However, the story of his Parinirvāṇa and funeral is told in a number of texts belonging to the canon of the Theravādins (preserved in Pali) and that of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations). These consist of the *Sagātha Sutta* of *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* of *Dīgha Nikāya*, the *Nirvāṇa Sūtras* of *Saṁyukta*

Āgama and the corresponding passages of the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. Jean Przyluski, who has made an indepth comparative study of the traditions contained in these texts, has concluded that there were two *Parinirvāṇasūtras*, one very short and almost entirely recorded in verse and the other quite long and mostly in prose. Przyluski believes that the tradition recorded in the shorter version in verse goes back to extreme antiquity and was superseded by the latter. From the shorter version it appears that Śākyamuni was in the eyes of the faithful not essentially different from other men : he was (only) the Bhikshu *par excellence*. The most ancient tradition accordingly recorded that he had the funeral of a religious and was shrouded in the *chīvara*. Later the rise of the popular concept of *Chakravartū* had great impact upon the legend of the Buddha. Śākyamuni must now appear even superior to the legendary kings. The aim of this legend was to show that Śākyamuni in his former birth was a mighty Chakravartī king, and that the village of Kuśa, where he died, was formerly a capital-city more magnificent than the residence of the greatest monarchs. Now, therefore, it was accepted that the funeral of Śākyamuni had been as magnificent as those of the *Chakravartī* monarchs. It was even said that shortly before his death, he had expressed his ideas on this subject. In the Mahāpadāna Sutta of Dīgha *Nikāya* the career of the Buddha is related with the concept of the great time-cycles (*kalpas*) and their divisions which are marked by diminishing durations of the span of human lives. In course of these kalpas, it is said, there have arisen several Buddhas, viz., Vipassi, Sikhi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Konāgamana, Kassapa and Gotama. The text gives for each of them in identical phraseology his particular time-cycle, his *jāti* and *gotta*, his *bodhi* tree, his two chief disciples and usual attendant, his parents and birth-place. What is more, the miraculous story of Gotama's conception and birth is found to be repeated verbatim in the case of the first Buddha. The *Buddhavaṁsa* which is incorporated in the *Khuddaka Nikāya* gives in as many chapters the legends of the twenty-four Buddhas supposed to have preceded Gotama in the past twelve ages of the world (*kalpas*) and in the last chapter describes in Gotama's own words his last earthly existence. The tendency towards schematization reaches its climax when the same principal incidents are repeated in a very monotonous fashion about the career of each of these Buddhas. The same pattern is found in Jaina texts for the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras.

From the above analysis it is obvious that the Buddhist historiography, even in its early period, passed through several stages :

(1) The earliest layers of the canon describe the various episodes of the life of the Buddha, who they looked upon as a human teacher, in a matter-of-fact manner. The episodes are mentioned disjointedly; no attempt is made to give a connected biography of the master.

(2) In the next stage was added much mythological account professing to trace the story to Buddha's antecedent existence in the Tushita heaven and claiming a supernatural conception and birth of the holy child.

(3) In the third stage the legend of the Buddha was intertwined with the Buddhist theory of the great time-cycles and the Buddhas associated with them, so that now Gautama is presented before us as a superman having a long series of prototypes in the remote past, the chief incidents of whose career are marked by miracles and legends. "Thus was formed what may be called the standard biography of the Buddha which dominated Buddhist art and literature till it was thrown into the shade by the rise of Docetic ideas in the schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism."[9]

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9. Ghoshal, *op.cit.*, p. 36.

KAMALAŚĪLA

Prof. K. K. MITTAL

Kamalasīla is famous as the worthy pupil of *Śāntarakṣita* (*TEIP* : A Tibetan Eye-view of Indian Philosophy being translation of Grub mtha'Shel Gyi Me Long of Thu'U-bkwan Bio-bzang Chos-Kyi-Nyi-Ma with introduction and notes by Kewal Krishan Mittal in colloboration with Lama Jamspal, Delhi, 1984., note 52, pp. 249-52) specially for his commentary *Pañjikā,* on the latter's epoch-making work, *Tattvasaṁgraha.* He was a Professor of *Tantra* at *Nālandā Mahāvihāra* when *Śāntarakṣita* had been the chancellor of that institution. Later when the two got separated in the latter's going over to Tibet, via Nepal, where he died after doing a great deal for the propagation of the *Buddha dharma,* including the establishment of the *besam-yas* monastery, *Kamalaśīla* followed in the footsteps of his master in being the Abbot of *bsam-yas* monastary after *Śāntarakṣita.* In fact, he had gone to Tibet on being invited by the Tibetan King *Khri-śron Ide-bstan.* The king who had also earlier invited *Śāntarakṣita* invited *Kamalaśīla* in order to fulfill the death bed wish of *Śāntarakṣita* that in order to meet the growing challenge of heresy the great debater *Kamalasila* be invited from India to Tibet.

It was at *bsam-yas* monastery, sometimes in 792-94 A.D. that *Kamalaśīla* entered into a debate with *Mahāyāna Hva-san* (or *Hoshang*) a Chinese scholar belonging to the *Dhyāna* School. At this famous debate *Kamalaśīla* maintained 'the gradual path view' as against 'the sudden path-view' of his adversary. He came victorious from the debate but was not allowed to live long after that as he was done to death, by squeezing of his kidneys as he lay resting in his bed, by the followers of *Hva-san* (cf. BHB: *Buston's History of Buddhism,* Tr. by E. Obermiller, 2pts, reprint, Tokyo, 1962, II, pp. 195f; Blue Annals, I, p.40). The henious crime, according to another tradition, allegedly supported by some older Tibetan chronicles, was committed by the local Tibetan heretics the Bonpos- the followers of the Bon Faith (cf. G. Tucci, Minor

Buddhist Texts pp. 5f.). But within that short period of the interval between the conclusion of the debate and his death *Kamalaśīla* had, in a series of three treatises named *Bhāvanākrama* I,II and III or *Uttarabhāvanā* Krama, consolidated the gains of thought emerging out of the debate and propounded a Threefold method of learning (t'os) reflection (bsam), and meditation (sgom) from the standpoint of a *Yogācāra-mādhyamika* (See *SBCI : Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India* during 7th, 8th centuries AD- by Lal Mani Joshi, seocond rev. edn. Delhi, 1977:, pp. 160-61). L.M.Joshi (ibid., pp. 115-18) basing his account of the *Bhāvanākramas* of *Kamalaśīla*, evidently on G.Tucci's edition of *Sanskrit* text and the Tibetan version of the first of them together with notes, a summary in English and an introduction (*Minor Buddhist Texts*, II under Serie Orientale Roma, IX, 1958), puts forth the following significant points :

1. *Kamalaśīla* pleads for the method of learning (*t'os*), reflection (*bsam*) and meditation (*sgom*) to be followed thoroughly for the realization of Śūnyatā the doctrine propounded by the great *ācārya Nāgārjuna*. The three steps put in a slightly different terminology as *śrutamayī-prajñā, cintāmayī-prajñā, bhāvanāmayī-prajñā* remind us of the *Vedāntin's* method of *śravaṇa, manana* and *nidhidhyāsana* as propounded by *Śaṅkarācārya* in his *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi*-See Frank N.Macgil ed., *Masterpieces of World Philosophy in Summary From,* Allen and Unwin, London, 1963, second impression, 1968, pp.268-73.

2. The sudden path view makes short shrift of the practising of the virtues spoken in Buddhist religion and philosophy as the process of ten Perfections-*Daśapārmitās. Bhāvanākrama* recommends the gradualness of the pathway to be followed-i.e. a thorough and step by step following of the process of the utilization of the prescribed means (*upāya*) that helps the realization of the end through acquisition and perfection of wisdom *prajñāpāramitā* (*Bhāvanākrama* i.e. Tucci's Minor Buddhist Texts II, pp. 5-41).

3. The prescribed means (*upāya*) are primarily identified with compassion (*Karuṇā*) through which it becomes possible for a saintly person (the one endowed with compassion) to regard all beings as equal to oneself - *Sattvasamatā* (ibid., pp. 157,187-89). The rise of *Karuṇā* leads to the arising of *Bodhicitta* i.e. the will to seek and reach enlightenment (*Bodhi*) for the final release of all beings from the decline and death (Jarāmaraṇa) to which all are subject in the world (*samsāra*). Now, the *Bodhicitta*, described in *Bhāvanākrama*

by *Kamalaśīla* (ibid., p. 192), *Sikṣāsamucaya* by *Śāntideva* (BST., Darbhanga, p. 8) and *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* (BST., Darbhanga, p. 396) and the like as 'the germ of all virtues of a Buddha' is said to consist of (i) *Pranidhi* - 'The determination of becoming a Buddha for the well-being of all' and (ii) *Prasthāna*- 'The setting in motion or activising the consciousness of enlightenment (*Bhāvanākrama*,pp. 157-58, 192-93; cf. the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* I. 15). *Bodhicitta*, thus activated, leads to realization or practice (*Pratipatti*). *Kamalaśīla*, on the authority of *Vimalakīrtnirdeśa* and *Gayāśīrṣa* asserts that the practice of *upāya consisting* of *Karuṇā, Boddhicitta* and *pratipatti* (the three steps according to Mahāyāna) - must go along with thc three-fold practice of *śrutamayī, cintāmayī* and *bhāvanāmayī prajñā*, none of the two in itself--to the exclusion of the other - can lead one to the goal (*Bhāvanākrama*, p. 194).

This is obvious that if such are the points made in *Bhāvanākrama* then this is a text (or texts) which is of the same genre as *Bodhicaryāvatāra, Bodhisattvabhūmi, Bodhicittotpādasūtraśāstra* and the *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi,* the masterpiece of *Śaṅakarācārya*, the *Vedāntin. Śaṅkarācārya's* assertion in *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi* that the practice of 1. *Viveka* (discrimination between things permanent and transitory); 2. *Vairāgya* (indifference to enjoyment of the fruits of one's actions in this world and in the next); 3. accomplishment of the qualities of tranquillity (*sama*), self-control (*Dama*), sense of fulfilment (*uparati*), forbearance (*titikṣā*), faith (*śraddhā*) and deep concentration (*samādhāna*); and 4. *Mumukṣitva* (yearning to be liberated) must go along with *śravaṇa* (Listening or hearing), *manana* (reflection of reasoning) and *nididhyāsana* (experiential confirmation) and that the two sets of four and three steps make together a single graduated process seems to have been anticipated by *Kamalaśīla's* assertion in the *Bhāvanākrama*, albeit in a different terminology enjoined by a different philosophy.

In addition to his *Tattvasaṃgraha Pañjikā* (mDo. cxii.2 cxiv) and the three *Bhāvanākramas* (mDo.xxx., 7,8 and 9) the Tibetan Tanjur (*bstanhgur*) attributed to Kamalaśīla the following sixteen works :

1. *Ārya-avikalpa-praveśa-dhārṇīṭīkā* (mDo. xxxvii.3).

2. *Ārya śāli-stambakaṭīkā*-commentary on Kg. mDo. tsha xviii 10- (mDo.xxxvii.4).

3. *Ārya- Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitāṭīkā* (mDo. xvi.7).

4. *Ārya-saptaśatikā-prajñāpāramitāṭīkā* (mDo. xvi.6).
5. *Aṣṭa-duhkha-viśeṣa nirdeśa* (mDo, xciv.38).
6. *Bhāvanā-Yoga-avatāra* (mDo.xxx.10=mDo.xxxiii.74).
7. *Citta-sthāpanā-sāmānya-sūtrasaṅgraha* (mDo.cxxvii.3).
8. *Madhyamaka-alaṃkāra-pañjikā* (mDo.xxviii.6).
9. *Madhyamaka-ālokanāma* (mDo.xxviii.7).
10. *Nyāyabindu-pūrvapakṣa-samkṣipti* (mDo.cxi.3).
11. *Prajñā Pāramitā-hṛdayanāmaṭīkā* (mDo.xvi.7).
12. *Praṇidhāna-prayanta-dvaya* (mDo.cxxxvi.39).
13. *Sarva dharma abhāva-siddhi* (mDo.xxviii.9).
14. *Śraddhā-utpāda-pradīpa* (mDo.xciv.40).
15. *Śramaṇa pañcāstika-kārikā-pada-abhismaraṇa* (mDoxc.2).
16. *Tattvālokaprakaraṇa* (mDo.xxviii.8).

ENIP (*Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies* edited by Karl H.Potter, vol.I, Bibliography, 2nd rev.edn. Delhi, 1983., pp. 188-89) enlists almost all these works with reference to N.Cat (New Catalogue Catalogorum of V. Raghavan, K. Kunjuni Raja et al.eds., Madras, 1949), III, 158,159 and adds one *Bodhicaryāpradīpa*, a work said to be that on *Vijñānavāda* a note (an entry) on which we find in *En.Bud.*, III, no.2, 1972, p. 181 by Indumatie Karunaratne. An edition of his *Tattvasaṅgraha Pañjikā* in 2 vols. by Embar Krishnamacharya (in Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda, vols. 30,31,1926) and English translation by Ganga Nath Jha (in Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vols. 80,83,1937) are available to us. Several sections of it are found summarised in *DHIP* (Dasgupta, Surendra Nath, A History of Indian Philosophy in 5 vols. Cambridge, 1922)., II, pp. 171-89. We also have another edition of *Tattvasaṅgraha Pañjikā*, by Dwarikadas Shastri, Varanasi, 1968. *ENIP.,* also lists a couple of the following articles which provide us with useful information about *Kamalaśīla* and his thought :

Anantalal Thakur, "*Śāntarakṣita* and *Kamalaśīla*", *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad, XXVIII, nos. I and 2, 1972 pp. 663-74; (ENIP., 3503).

J.Nagasawa, "*Kamalaśīla's* theory of *Yogācāra*" *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, Tokyo, XIX, 1962, pp. 363-71- This reference of the vol. no.

and pages seems incorrect as NIBS : Nakamura, Hajime, Indian Buddhism, *A Survey with Bibliographical Note* Tokyo, 1980 :., p. 282fn. 76 gives X, no.1 1962, p.34f. for the same. The latter is likely to be more authentic. (Enip., 3627).

Almost all the works of *Kamalaśīla*, with the important exception of the three *Bhāvanākramas*, as is obvious from their very names, are commentaries on important works of great scholars on as wide a range of subjects and topics as is presented by the differing views of their authors. This fact shows *Kamalaśīla* not only to be a commentator par excellence but also a scholar with a great comprehension who shows a thorough understanding of Buddhist philosophy, nay of the entire Indian philosophy, through his upholding the doctrines regarded by him as the true representation of Buddhism and criticising those opposed to them. Within Buddhist thought itself there had been attempts by scholars to identify and associate *Kamalaśīla* with a school or two or a combination of a sort of some to the exclusion of others. For example, Hajime Nakamura describes him alongwith *Śāntarakṣita* to be a *Nirākāravādī Yogācāra* (*NIBS* :., p.282) yet also almost immediately (ibid., p.282) states that their standpoint is also called the *Yogācāra - Mādhyamika* in contrast to that of *Bhavya*, which is called the *Sautrāntika-mādhyamika*. The situation as made rather confusing when Nakamura, evidently on the authority of Jitsudo Nagasawa with reference to his article, in English, in IBK (Indo bukkyogaku kenkyu = *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, Tohoku University tokyo), Xno.1,1962, p. 34f (ibid., fn.76), adds further, "*Śāntarakṣita* united the *Mādhyamika* and *Yogācāra* doctrines, *Kamalaśīla* being very critical to the forerunners, established the third way i.e. the *Yogācāra-Mādhyamika*". The implication of this statement clearly is that though *Kamalaśīla* and *Śāntarakṣita* both have the *Yogācāra-Mādhyamika's* standpoint yet each so in his own and differing sense of the words. This implication seems to be completely ignored when he describes *Śāntarakṣita's* standpoint as idealistic, refuting the assertion of external objects in which 'self-cognition (*Svasamvedana*)', represents the unity of cognition' and 'every cognition is devoid of both the cognized and the cognizer' and tells us that the same is 'clearly expressed in his *Mādhyamikālaṅ-kāra-vṛtti*. He also 'represents the Yogācāra-mādhyamaka' (NIBS., pp. 282-83). It may be true, in a sense, that *Kamalaśīla* was a *Yogācāra-Mādhyamika* in contrast to *Bhavya* being *Sautrāntika-Mādhyamika*, as has been noted already with reference to the statement of Nakamura, yet it also had to be acknowledged by him (Nakamura)

that *Kamalaśīla* followed *Bhāvaviveka*, in a way. This can be inferred from his assertion that '*Bhāvaviveka* tried to demonstrate *niḥsvabhāvatā* or *śūnyatā* by way of syllogism and developed the method (NIBS., pp. 285). It is interesting in this context, that the leaning of *Kamalaśīla* towards *Bhāvaviveka* be not only noted by another scholar, e.g. by Joshi (*SBCI.*, p.196), but also reinforced by showing how they, the former, in *Bhāvanākrama ślokas* 16, 18, and the latter, in his *Kartalaratna* II. 106, use almost the same language when they are making statements concerning the principle of non-duality. Again it is true, in a general way, that *Kamalaśīla* be described as a follower of Nāgārjuna in Philosophy and of a gradual process of 'gnosis and means' in practice (See, Tucci's Introduction to his edition of *Bhāvanākrama as Minor Buddhist Texts*, II, pp. 5-6, 39) yet it also will not be incorrect to say that Buddhist philosophy of transcendental idealism, critical realism and universal flux, reached its, acme in the hands of *Śāntarakṣita* and *Kamalaśīla* (SBCI., p. 194) and nor is Buston's (*BHB* : *Buston's History of Buddhism, tr.by E.Obermiller*, 2pts, reprint, Tokyo, 1962 :., II. 135) regarding them as *Yogācāra-Mādhyamika* alongwith *Śrīgupta* and *Haribhadra* without any justification. *Kamalaśīla* follows Ś*āntarakṣita* in clearly supporting the doctrine of *sva-samvedana* (self-cognition) and the self-luminous nature of the same in *Tattvasaṅgrah Pañjikā* on *Tattvasaṅgraha* verses 2004 and 2009-12, (Ganga natha Jha's translation, pp. 949-51, 953-55) and in accepting the views of *Diṅnāga* and *Dharamkīrti* on the self-cognizing consciousness (ibid., verses 2083-84pp. 964, 987-88). He does uphold the *Vijñānavādi's* conte-ntion that 'the universe is a mere ideation' (see Tucci's *Minor Buddhist* Texts, II,pp. 172-73) yet asserts that 'it must be admitted by all men that the fact that a thing is somehow existent is quite certainly recognised' (TSP : *Tattvasaṃgraha Pañjikā* of *Kamalaśīla* edited as well as translated alongwith TS :, *Tattvasaṁgraha* of *Śāntarakṣita* along with TSP :, by Embar Krishnamacharya in 2 vols., Gaekwad's Oriental Series nos. 30-31, Baroda, 1962 and translated into English by Ganganath Jha alongwith TSP, in 2 vols. GOS., nos. 80,83, Baroda, 1937 : on TS. verse 1393 Eng. tr. p. 691). It is true that he maintains consciousness to be the only reality (ibid., p. 949) and regards such a view to be quite reasonable yet does deny the existence of an eternal consciouness (ibid., pp. 214-15). 'Self-consciousness', he explains, is not that which cognizes itself-is its own cognizer--but that which shines or manifests itself by its very nature (ibid., pp. 949-50). It does not need anything else for its being conscious. 'Consciousness is nothing but self-consciousness through its very nature'. (on TS., verse 2012 ibid p. 954).

It does not require any objective form to give rise to it (on TS., verse 2034, ibid.p. 967). *Kamalaśīla*, thus, regards the existence of a non-mental external world as an impossibility and the very notion of the same as beset with contradictions (on TS., verses 1967-71 Eng. trans. pp. 937-38). Despite all this one can doubt if it would be proper to call *Kamalaśīla* a transcendental idealist especially so when it is known that he criticizes emphatically the known transcendental idealists, the Vedāntin monists (ibid., p. 936), who maintain the reality of 'one unique immutable whole of *Vijñāna* (*Vijñanaghana*), while upholding the Buddhist Vijñānvādin's position that Vijñāna is "infinitely manifold (ananta), changing every moment (*Pratikṣana Vīśrāru*) and manifesting in all being (*ojāyate sarva prāṇabhṛtaṃ*). It does not seem to be without justification when Joshi (SBCI., p. 203) remarks, "That while *Dignāga* and *Dharmakīrti*, who call themselves idealists, and are in fact realists in logic and idealistic monists in metaphysics and ontology their successors, Śāntarakṣita and *Kamalaśīla*, while accepting the doctrine of *sva-samvitti*, are not thorough going idealists." Joshi adds, "though old arguments of idealism are given, *Vijñānavāda* of *Śāntarakṣita* and *Kamalaśīla* does not maintain that consciousness alone (Vijñptimātratā) is the one and only reality". (ibid., pp. 203-05). One is left wondering if that is so, in what sense are then *Śāntarakṣita* and *Kamalaśīla Vijñānavādins*?

This confusing situation, with regard to *Kamalaśīla's* association and identification with one school or the other- so also *Śāntarakṣita's*-can be cleared once we realize that the Buddhist philosophy that 'reached its acme in the hands of *Śāntarakṣita* and *Kamalaśīla* (SBCI., p. 194) is not to be identified with only a few of its doctrines but must be taken as a whole that includes in it not only the *Mādhyamika* (*Śūnyavāda*), *Yogācāra* (*Vijñānavāda*), *Sautrāntika* and *Vaibhāṣika* (both forms of *Sarvāstivāda*)-in its doctrinal aspect (*Darśana-pakṣa*) but also *Śrāvakayāna; Pratyeka-Buddhayāna* (both together considered as *Hīnayāna*), *Bodhisattvayāna, Mantrayāna* and *Tantrayāna* (the three covered under *Mahāyāna*)-in its practical aspect (*Sādhanāpakṣa*). Apparently, there may be a justification fot the opinion of some modern scholars of Buddhism, say for example, Winternitz when he says, "There is nothing in the *Tripiṭaka* or any early Buddhist document to prove that Gautama and his early disciples had anything to do with the *mudrā, maṇḍala* and *dhāraṇīs*". (*Indian Historical quarterly*, IX, p.9). Yet in commenting upon *Tattvasaṅgraha* verses 3486-87

(Eng. trans.p.1527), 'That is described as Dharma by all wise-men from which follows prosperity and the highest good; who so ever properly practices the rules laid down there, regarding *mantrayoga* and such things becomes endowed even with obvious qualities such as knowledge, health, greatness and so forth', when *Kamalaśīla* says that the phrase' and such things' (*mantrayogādi*) is meant to include *mudrās* and *maṇḍalas* clearly suggests that by *Dharma* he means fully developed Buddhism that does include in it all that has come into it as a matter of development, 'a growth from within and never as a graft'. He does point to the inadequacy of *srāvakayāna* when he states that it fails to bring about the removal of *Kleśāvaraṇa* (*Bhāvanākrama* i.e. Tucci's *Minor Buddhist Texts*, II, 172-73) obviously for the reason that it stops short at *pudgalanairātmya* (non-substantiality of the composite-self) only and does not subscribe to the logical implication of the same by accepting *dharmanairātmya* (non-substantiality of the functions in terms of which a conposite-self is analysed) as well but never, through even a remote suggestion, does he doubt that *Śrāvakayāna* is a part and parcel of Buddhist where as he openly questions the claim of *Pudgalavādins* (Vātsiputriyas) to be called as the followers of Buddha (*TSP*., Eng. trans, pp. 217 ff) as their view, in his judgement, goes counter to the Buddhist thought.

Kamalaśīla's philosophical standpoint must not be estimated with reference to a few of the passages from his one commentary or the other but be judged keeping in mind the wide range and span of the whole lot of them, the diversity of which has a running thread of unity represented by Buddhism in general that is marked by the upholding of the doctrines as those of change or impermanence (*anityatā*), non-substantiality or non-egoity (*anātmatā*) and dependent-origination (*pratītya-samutpāda*) and of these doctrines we find an ample affirmation in *Kamalaśīla's* writings. Regarding 'the perpetual flux of things' as 'the climax of Buddhist philosophy' *Kamalaśīla* puts forth the idea that 'without doing much labour we could have with one stroke only (*ekaprahāreṇaiva*) demolished all those theories of permanent entities (God, space, time and the like refuted, independently, earlier by him) quite easily (*Svalpa upāyena*) have we applied our great doctrine of monentariness (TSP., on TS. verse 350 Eng. trans. p. 228; see *SBCI*., p. 196-97).

He adds 'only such of the entities which are of the nature of motion (*calabhāvasvarūpa*), momentary (*Kṣaṇika*) and productive of purposive action (*arthakriyākārī*), i.e. are efficient entities can really be said to exist' (STP., on

TS. verses 288, 390 Gos.Skt.dn.pp.140, 151), 'Nothing that is static and stationary is real. The real is in perpetual motion, constantly originating and constantly ceasing without any break (cf. *SBCI.*, pp. 197-98) 'Existence is efficiency and efficiency is the thing itself.' (*ibid.*, p. 198; *TSP.*, *TS.* verse 378).

The doctrine of non-substantiality or non-egoity which is discussed in a number of important Buddhist treatises - say, for example, in *Nāgārjuna's Mādhyamika Kārikā* or *Mādhyamaka-śāstra*, ch. XVIII; *Sikṣāsmuccaya*, X; *Dvādaśamukhaśāstra* (restored into Sanskrit by N.Aiyaswami in *Visva Bharati* Annals VI, Santiniketan, 1954), pp. 185f; Aṣṭasāhsrikā Prajñāpāramitā (English translation by Edward Conze, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta), pp. 1-4; *Nairātmya-paripṛccha-sūtra* (ed. by P.L.Vaidya, Darbhanga, 1961) etc. has naturally been having a full chapter of *Tattvasaṅgraha* (ch. VII) devoted to its discussion and *Tattvasaṅgraha Pañjikā* (ch. VII) contains *Kamalaśīla's* comment on it. *Kamalaśīla* declares this doctrine to be 'the foundation of moral and spiritual culture' *(tattvasaṅgraha Pañjikā*, II, pp. 870-75, Eng. trans.II,pp. 1474-81; SBCI., p. 95; Satkari Mookerjee, Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux, Calcutta, 1936, pp.260-65). *Kamalaśīla's* forthright observation that 'of all the gems of Buddhist thought the doctrine of causation-*Pratītyasamutpāda*-is the excellent gem shows him to be acknowledging the importance of the same as one of the fundamental doctrines of Buddhist philosophy. This he makes while commentirg upon a verse of *Tattvasaṅgraha* where *Śāntarakṣita* offers obeisance to the *Buddha* in the words, 'obeisance to that Omniscient being, the best of world teachers, who revealed the doctrine of the *pratītyasamutpādā*' (TSP., Skt. edn., p. 10). In *Kamalaśīla's* reckoning, 'to one who understands logic a non-cause is necessarily a non-reality (ibid., p.140; Eng. trans.p.242). He is not satisfied with the traditional formula of *Pratītyasamutpāda* in terms of *'Asminasati idam bhavati'* as we find it enunciated in *Abhidharma Kośa Kārikā* (III, 18,28) and puts forth his own formulation, that is free of the implications that do not go well with *anityatā* and *anātma* (TSP., Skt.edn.p.399, on TS., verses 509-10, 515-17, Eng. trans.pp.300-2) and concludes that the effect arises in functional dependence on the cause (ibid., Eng.trans.pp.303, Skt.edn. p.176).

Kamalaśīla is regarded-alongwith *Śāntarakṣita, Thonmi Sambhoṭa* and *Padmasambhava*-as one of the four suns who brought about the light of *Dharma* to Tibet (*SBCI.*, pp. 137, 145, 159-60). He is one of those, about a score of, scholars who made their contribution to Buddhist Philosophical literature in

chaste *Sanskrit* (ibid., p. 326), *If Dignāga* and *Dharmakirti* are known as the pioneers in Buddhist (Indian) logic then *Śāntarakṣita* and *Kamalaśīla* are the ones who, alongwith *Śākyabodhi Vinītadeva, Ravigupta, Jinendrabodhi, Kalyāṅarakṣita, Dharmottara, Arcaṭa, Aśoka, Chandragomin, Prajñākaragupta, Jetāri, Ratnakīrtī, Jñānaśrīmitra, Mokṣākaragupta* and the like, are to be counted among those systematic logicians who brought that logic to its proper culmination (VHIL : Vidyabhusana, Satischandra *A History of Indian Logic (Ancient, Medieval and Modern Schools)*, reprint, Delhi, 1971;., pp. 323-28; cf. also *NIBS.*, p. 309). *Kamalaśīla* in particular showed his deftness at logic, in its technical aspect as well, through his commentary *Nyāyabindu Pūrvapakṣasamkṣipta* on the *Nyāyabindu* of *Dharmakīrti.* He followed *Dignāga,* in another aspect of philosophy, when he brought the Yogic teachings set forth by *Dignāga* in his *Yogāvatāra*–as elaborated by *Jñānacandra* in his *Yogacaryābhāvanā tātparyārthanideśa* or *Yogaccaryābhāvanā arthasamāsanirdeśa* and by *Jñānagarbha* in his *Yogabhāvanā mārga* to its proper formal conclusion in his *Bhāvanā-Yogāvatāra* (NIBS., p.281).

Though like Candra Gomin *Kamalaśīla* did not write a special treatise on grammar, he did show through his writings specially through the *Tattvasaṅgraha Pañjikā*–his expert understanding of the intricacies of Sanskrit usages in no way less than that of a grammarian (*SBCI.*, p. 127).

Tārānātha's only reference to *Kamalaśīla,* by name, by telling us that he lived during the period of king Sri Dharmapāla (*THB : Tārānātha's History of Buddhism in India* translated from Tibetan by Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya and edited by Debi Prasad Chattopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1980 :., p.283) reminds us of the question of the dates of his existence. Hajime Nakamura assigns c.700-750 AD to *Kamalaśīla* and, c.680-740 AD to *Śāntarakṣita* (*NIBS.*, p. 281) and in doing so his claim is that he relies more on the Tibetan sources than on the Chinese where as the scholars such as G.Tucci, Demieville and others who assign, c. 745-95 AD and c. 725-85 AD respectively to *Kamalaśīla* and *Śāntarakṣita* rely more on the Chinese sources (ibid., fn. 73). As against Nakamura's, the view of others seems more acceptable in the absence of a parallel suggestion and a cogent argument from him for a different comparative date for the crucial 'bsam-yas-debate.'

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